Locating Ourselves: An analysis and theoretical account of strategic practices of identity and connection in Aotearoa/New Zealand's Pacific news media

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For Rosa

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Abstract

This thesis sets out to explore the under-researched field of New Zealand's Pacific media to yield insights into Pacific media and audiences, and what makes media 'ethnic'. It draws on theories about identity, practice and the audience, and a qualitative multi-method approach grounded in Pacific people's actual voices and practices. It breaks new ground on Pacific media, which have not been studied in such depth or from a broad audience perspective, and reveals that Pacific media are highly diverse and face considerable challenges, including a significant demographic shift among their intended audiences. It adds to the scholarship on ethnic media, first, by revealing tensions within Pacific media practice (including a tension between Pacific and journalistic fields), which helps to problematise scholarly assumptions about ethnic media, and, second, by suggesting a model of Pacific media as a media of identity negotiation. It finds that Pacific media are powerful symbolic referents of Pacific identity and key sites where producers and audiences negotiate community and belonging through various locative practices, often in ways that establish tighter connections than in mainstream media. This is notwithstanding that the range of 'Pacific' identities represented in Pacific media can be narrow and risk excluding New Zealand-born Pacific youth.

This study further suggests that societal-wide ideas of journalism and publicness are more central to Pacific audiences' assessments of Pacific media than may have been accounted for to date. Pacific groups are positioned narrowly in New Zealand publicness, including by funders' whose focus on Pacific media in terms of ethnicity and culture tends to overlook audiences' demand for in-depth news, innovation and diverse content. This study concludes that viewing ethnic media within categories of ethnicity or culture (as do funders, scholars and, often, media producers) risks exaggerating the 'otherness' of ethnic minority groups. Instead, we need to reorient our efforts to categorise ethnic media away from a fixation on difference and towards people's actual media practices to better reflect people's multiple and complex realities.

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Publishing Acknowledgements

Chapter Seven of this thesis is derived in part from an article published in the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* copyright Taylor &Francis:

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Chapter One: Charting the tensions within New Zealand's Pacific media

Introduction

By 2038 more than one in ten New Zealanders – and, significantly, nearly one in five New Zealanders under 14 – will be Pacific (Statistics NZ 2015). New Zealand audiences will be 'browner', and the Pacific media that speak for and to Pacific communities will likely have increasing importance. For this reason, it is timely to look more closely at Pacific media in Aotearoa – at their production, consumption and the position they hold in New Zealand's multi-ethnic, multicultural society.

Pacific media constitute a small but busy sphere in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In the last 10 years, Pacific entrepreneurs have started at least two newspapers (*New Zealand Pacific, SamoaNius*), two national magazines (*Spasifik* and *Suga Magazine*), several television programmes (including *Fresh, Pacific Beat Street* and *Pacific Viewpoint*) a Pacific radio network, several online publications (*Pacific Eyewitness*, *NZ Kaniva Pacific*, *Moana* TV, *TheCoconet.tv, e-Tangata* and *The Coconut Wireless),* and a bevy of community radio programmes[1].

Until now, little has been written about these media or their audiences (indeed, as Chapter Four demonstrates, the literature on ethnic media audiences, in general, is limited) and no comprehensive study of Pacific media in Aotearoa/New Zealand has yet been published. Some works have touched on elements of Pacific media, for example Nafiz's (2012) work on community media included empirical research on Samoa Capital Radio. However, much of what has been written on Pacific peoples and media focuses on their under- and misrepresentation in mainstream media rather than on Pacific media *per se* (see, for example, Pamatatau, 2012; Loto et al. 2006; Spoonley & Hirsh 1990). Utanga (2007), Kailahi (2009), Robie (2009) and Papoutsaki and Strickland (2008) made several useful attempts to summarise the Pacific media field, but these accounts are fragmented and have been largely rendered out of date by churn within the Pacific media sphere and rapid change within the wider media industry. The most recent work by Neilson (2015) provides a helpful snapshot of Auckland-based Pacific media, but it is not exhaustive and addresses only media production and not audiences. This thesis attempts to fill these gaps by examining a broad range of

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[1] Some of these outlets have folded, including *SamoaNius, Pacific Beat Street, Pacific Eyewitness.*

Pacific media and their audiences – always with a focus on what Pacific peoples say is important – to investigate how and why ethnic minority groups produce and consume their own media. In addition, my location as a Pacific woman and former journalist, now researcher, is central to my personal engagement with this topic. Papoutsaki and Strickland (2008, p.3) say not enough of the research that has been done on Pacific media has been by Pacific researchers or writers, and it is also my aim to help address that gap.

The task of this thesis is partly theoretical – to find more useful ways to theorise Pacific media. The broader literature on ethnic media elsewhere suggests a variety of purposes, chiefly, maintaining the language of an ethnic group, providing connective links with 'home', providing cultural and political self-representation such as advocacy and an independent voice, and combating negative stereotypes. (For useful overviews, see Matsaganis et. al. 2011; Browne 2005; Husband 1994; Riggins 1992). However, New Zealand's Pacific media do not neatly fit such categories, partly because the categories themselves are predicated on assumptions that suppose a homogenous media and unitary, homogenous audience. In fact, this thesis reveals a diversity and complexity within the Pacific media sphere that challenges some of our thinking about ethnic media.

For a start, Pacific media are increasingly produced in English (Utanga 2007), raising questions about language-based ethnic media models and the assumption that language is central to cultural identity (Johnson 2000). Many audience participants interviewed for this study said they did not have the language to access Pacific language media, and even those who described themselves as fluent enough to hold an everyday conversation in a Pacific language said they struggled to read it. Language holds considerable power within Pacific spaces, where concepts of identity, authenticity, legitimacy and belonging are intricately entwined with the ability to speak a Pacific language. However, within Pacific media, the role of language is not as straightforward as some of the literature suggests (see Chapter Three). Indeed, the fact that more than half of Pacific people in the 2013 New Zealand census were unable to hold an everyday conversation in their first language – and that these numbers are rising (Human Rights Commission 2007; Statistics New Zealand n.d [2013 Census]) – suggests that Pacific languages are less likely to be a defining feature of Pacific media in future.

What's more, in today's globalised media marketplace, Pacific peoples, especially those with ties to larger island nations with their own media production, such as Samoa and Tonga, have plenty of 'home-based' media to choose from for their 'homeland' news (Spoonley & Trlin 2004). When islands-based products are available in New Zealand either in print (admittedly days after publication) or on the Internet, why would Pacific consumers choose New Zealand-based Pacific media to get their connection with 'home'? The mission of cultural and political self-representation is likewise made more complicated by the prevalence of mainstream media content in many Pacific media. When the news is repackaged from dominant sources, how 'Pacific' is it? The reliance of many Pacific media on government funders, advertisers and elite Pacific institutions such as the church similarly raises questions about their mission as advocates and watchdogs. Moreover, the crossover appeal of Māori and Pacific media further suggests that we need to re-look at the assumptions that underpin our explanations of ethnic media.

If, as this thesis argues, the Pacific community is diverse and pluralistic, what value does 'Pacific media' – and for that matter, 'ethnic media' – have as an explanatory or predictive category? Pan-Pacific media such as Niu FM, *Spasifik*, and *TheCoconet.tv* signal the emergence of a New Zealand-born, urban Pacific identity (Macpherson 1999) that differs markedly from the older migrant identities of the Samoan-language audiences of the *Samoa Times* or Samoa Capital Radio. So, what do they share that makes them 'Pacific'? This thesis focuses on how Pacific peoples themselves (producers and consumers) make sense of these media with the aim of yielding insights into not just New Zealand's Pacific media, but also the nature of ethnic media. It aims to get closer to understanding what makes media 'ethnic' when they cannot be explained by factors such as language, geography or ethnicity, and suggests a model of Pacific media that is best described as a media of identity negotiation. This thesis finds that Pacific media are a key resource in community-building, people's identity formation and affective belonging and connection to Pacific communities. It argues that the various Pacific media practices identified in this study may be understood as *locative practices,* that is, strategic practices of identity and connection that are tightly intertwined with ideas of community, interrelationship and one's 'place to stand', and which must be understood within their differently situated contexts.

Research questions

The goal of this study is to examine Pacific producers' and audiences' practices in relation to Pacific news media together with issues of identity and everyday life. The focus is on news and current affairs media, rather than creative media such as entertainment television or music (see Chapters Three to Five for a detailed rationale). It is centred on media produced in Aotearoa/New Zealand (rather than in the wider Pacific) for New Zealand-based Pacific communities, as this more helpfully teases out problems with the traditional ethnic media categories of immigrant and diasporic media[2]. It also takes a pan-Pacific approach to studying Pacific media in New Zealand partly because NZ on Air, the state's main media funding agency, addresses Pacific audiences' needs in a single Pacific Content Strategy (NZ on Air 2012a) and funds content predominantly through pan-Pacific programming and a pan-Pacific radio channel. Moreover, it takes a pan-Pacific approach partly because Pacific media producers often perceive and describe themselves as 'Pacific'. In 2001, producers formed the New Zealand-based Pacific Islands Media Association (PIMA), which has become a lobby group for Pacific print and broadcast media, as well as various ethno-specific radio, print and web media.

As explained elsewhere in this thesis, Pacific media are a complex object – as an identity-based media, for instance, they are constantly being redefined and reconstructed in different contexts – and there are various ways to analyse the field. With a focus on producers, this study looks at how Pacific media are assembled, by whom, in what circumstances and under what constraints. It also examines how producers deploy 'Pacific' cultural identities – from what specific location, in what circumstances, and for what purpose. In an attempt to expand the literature on ethnic media audiences and make connections between production and consumption, this thesis also takes a snapshot of Pacific audiences (including those who do not consume Pacific media). My aim is to examine who these audiences are, how they use Pacific and other media, what sense they make of it, why they use or do not use it and how they integrate it into their everyday lives. Additionally, some Pacific media texts are examined with special attention to identity constructions.

Against these general features, this study asks four broad research questions.
1) How should Pacific media be understood theoretically?
2) What role do Pacific media play in the construction of Pacific identities?

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[2] As such, TVNZ's Pacific Service and Radio NZ International (RNZI), which rebroadcast content to the Pacific region, are not included in this study.

3) What role do Pacific media play in the construction of community?

4) What role do Pacific media play in the everyday lives of Pacific audiences?

As well as drawing on these questions to guide an assessment of Pacific media (and a re-assessment of the role of ethnic media in general), this study draws on a constructivist-interpretive paradigm and a postcolonial framework to raise questions of both Pacific media and ethnic media literature. A transdisciplinary approach to theory draws on cultural studies, media studies and sociological research to understand identities, audiences and media practice.

This thesis is intended as a contribution to the growing body of literature on ethnic media. It breaks new ground by providing the broadest study yet on Pacific media in New Zealand and thereby fleshes out the international data available on ethnic media in different countries (Matsaganis et al. 2011, xvii). It also adds to the scholarly field by providing new research on ethnic media audiences (which have often been neglected in ethnic media research) and raising critical questions about some of the research literature's essentialist tendencies. For instance, Pacific audiences are not as interested in 'home' as is supposed, nor are they wedded to the media of just one ethnicity – in fact, many gravitate to other ethnic minority media, such as Māori media. These audiences are also more focused on ideas of journalism and publicness than may be accounted for in some ethnic media research. In these ways, this thesis aims to make small steps toward an improved concept of ethnic media that can account for their enduring realities without restricting them to essentialist and homogenising definitions.

It is hoped that this thesis will also help to improve media practice. By demonstrating the ways in which Pacific audiences are at once excluded from Pacific media and looking to these media for connection and affective belonging, it points out areas of strength and improvement for Pacific producers seeking to expand and strengthen their audience base, particularly with Pacific youth. Given the overlap between Māori and Pacific audiences revealed at various points in this study, it may be that one way would be for producers to build on the 'Polynesian' media examples of *Spasifik*, *Fresh* and *e-Tangata* by extending beyond their Pacific ethnic sphere to include Māori and Pacific content and audiences.

This thesis also demonstrates the pressing need for Pacific media producers and practitioners to embrace new technologies and multiple platforms (social, mobile, tablet and app) to ensure

that Pacific audiences, particularly Pacific youth, can engage and connect with their content wherever they are (see Chapters Eight and Nine). According to some experts (Haile 2016), the single most important thing media can do to survive in the current turbulent environment is to nurture the growth of as many different platforms as possible. That is a tough ask for small, under-resourced Pacific media, and it may be that they need to work together to invest in the innovation needed to promote their long-term sustainability.

This study also has relevance for policymakers and funders. Its research on Pacific audiences suggests that Pacific groups are positioned narrowly in New Zealand publicness. For instance, the focus of funders on Pacific media in terms of ethnicity and culture tends to overlook ethnic audiences' demand for news and quite likely exacerbates the underfunding of original Pacific journalism, which Pacific audiences say they struggle to find elsewhere. The culture of a Pacific person in New Zealand must also include having access to good journalism, high-quality information and public debate, and various findings in this study suggest policymakers and funders need to rethink how they support Pacific media to build capacity for the in-depth news and diverse content that audiences need.

Chapter overview

The thesis is organised into two sections: Section One addresses theoretical and methodological issues, the broader literature on ethnic media and the context needed to understand Pacific media; Section Two consists of the empirical work that addresses the research questions above. In the first section, *Chapter Two* provides the historical and socio-demographic context needed to understand Pacific media and audiences, a map of the current Pacific media landscape and a preliminary analysis that problematises the fit of New Zealand's Pacific media with the literature on ethnic media. *Chapter Three* explores the literature on ethnic media, paying special attention to some of its inadequacies, and argues for a need to keep diversity and complexity to the fore. *Chapter Four* outlines the theoretical framework that underpins this study, including concepts of identity, ethnicity, news media and audience practice. It argues that the theoretical literature tends to categorise people in problematic ways and it sets out a rationale for both a qualitative, Pacific methodology and an integrative approach to media theory to better listen to diverse and, sometimes, contradictory Pacific voices and experiences. *Chapter Five* spells out the methodological choices made in this study, which are based on the conviction that a qualitative and multi-method research

design enables us to better understand Pacific media as they are understood by Pacific media producers and audiences.

In the empirical chapters, *Chapter Six* introduces several key tensions within Pacific media in relation to practices around language, 'homeland' and Pacific identity, suggesting that these locative practices are part of what makes Pacific media 'Pacific'. *Chapter Seven* examines how Pacific identity is enacted (often in narrow ways) in the long-running television show *Tagata Pasifika* and *Spasifik* magazine and argues that Pacific media are key fora where Pacific identity is meaningfully produced and performed. *Chapter Eight* examines the community-building role of Pacific media, arguing that these fora are key sites where producers *and* audiences negotiate community, belonging and identity (where identity is understood in broad terms of community, relationships, connection and one's 'place to stand'). *Chapter Nine* explores Pacific audiences' expectations for high-quality journalism and spaces to safely debate issues. It suggests that Pacific media are key sites for Pacific people's publicness in New Zealand but their roles are complicated by an apparent tension between cultural and journalistic priorities. The *Conclusion* summarises the contribution of this study and suggests avenues for further research.

Chapter Two: Bringing Pacific media into focus: Pacific Peoples in Aotearoa/New Zealand and their media

> *I think about my own family and who watches what, so like my mother is elderly and she's Palagi[3]. She watches Tagata Pasifika because Dad's in a home and she's lost that kind of home Pacific connectiveness and so when he was home he would watch – he's Samoan -- so he would watch Tagata Pasifika to find out what was happening in Samoa because they have quite a good mix and -- let me think, so I would watch it because I'm not so interested in what's happening here, I want to know what's happening in the islands – that kind of connection because it seems far away. I'm just trying to think of our kids - they would probably go – I don't know if they do? But they would probably think of that programme first if they wanted to know something Pacific, even though their lives are quite far away from being connected to the Pacific community. So that's just our family picture of how we would watch – I think that would be the same; they'd be wanting to look at Pacific-based things as a connection.*
> _Audience focus group participant

This chapter provides an overview of Pacific peoples and Pacific media in New Zealand to set the scene, raise some of the key questions for the discussions that follow and signal why there is a need to re-theorise aspects of ethnic media. Firstly, it demonstrates that New Zealand is in a moment of transition regarding both its Pacific population, which is undergoing significant intergenerational and cultural transformation, and its media, which, like media elsewhere, are grappling with the need to reinvent themselves in a digital age. Secondly, this chapter provides a preliminary broad analysis to raise key issues regarding the awkward fit of New Zealand's Pacific media with the literature on ethnic media. The literature review will engage with these issues in more detail, while the following sections demonstrate various demographic and other challenges to slotting Pacific media neatly under an ethnic media research frame. For instance, the categories and theories traditionally assumed for ethnic media, such as community, language and diaspora, tend to be predicated on unitary, homogenous audiences. That said, New Zealand's Pacific communities comprise multiple and diverse ethnic groupings as well as distinct generational communities of island-born and New Zealand-born (with the latter increasingly using English rather than a Pacific language). Indeed, the diversity revealed in this chapter demonstrates the extent to which the category 'Pacific media', though a meaningful object to study, is not sufficiently explanatory (I return to this in Chapter Five) and therefore requires more discussion than a classic scene-setting background chapter usually enables. Thirdly, this chapter maps the social, economic and

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[3] Palagi is the Samoan word for a non-Pacific person and, like the Māori word 'Pākehā, is often used for European New Zealanders. As this thesis aims to understand Pacific media from Pacific people's point of view, Pacific (and Māori) words are used throughout. A full glossary is attached in Appendix One.

structural contexts of Pacific media that, as later chapters will demonstrate, shape Pacific media practices in various ways.

Pacific peoples in New Zealand

New Zealand's Pacific peoples comprise the fourth-largest major ethnic group in New Zealand, behind Pākehā (New Zealand European), Indigenous Māori and Asian ethnic groups. They are a group marked by multiple ethnic identities, linguistic and cultural diversity, geographic spread throughout the country and a significant inter-generational divide. All of which means that Pacific media speak to multiple audiences, and a younger pan-Pacific audience is a growing element within this mix.

The Pacific population is made up of a variety of linguistically, culturally and geographically distinct ethnic groups, primarily Samoan, Cook Islands, Tongan, Niuean, Fijian and Tokelauan groups, with smaller numbers from Tuvalu, Kiribati, Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu, the Solomon Islands and the small island states of Micronesia (Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs n.d.). There are important cultural and historical differences between these groups, as well as differences in citizenship and residency rights that reflect New Zealand's history as an administrative and colonial power in the Pacific, all of which make it tough for both Pacific media and scholars studying these media. Media producers, for instance, face the challenge of navigating a Pacific space where there are many cultural forms and languages, while scholars face the challenge of generating bounded categories of study to account for the increasing diversity of Pacific experience and identity in Aotearoa/New Zealand. As Macpherson, Spoonley and Anae's volume (2001) attests, Pacific cultural identity does not rest on a homogenous set of shared social experiences. Rather, Pacific identities reflect the varied historical, social, material and legal conditions in which they have been constructed and reconstructed (Macpherson 1999). They differ depending on which 'island' group one belongs to, whether one is overseas- or New Zealand-born, and even the degree of intermarriage across ethnic groups.

In particular, there is an emerging fracture between typically older Pacific migrants and younger New Zealand-born Pacific peoples, which marks significant intergenerational and cultural transformation within Pacific groups (Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs 2006). The social and material experiences of New Zealand-born or -raised Pacific peoples are diverging in terms of the ways they perceive themselves and the importance placed on their Pacific

identity (Tiatia 2008, 6). This is particularly so among those New Zealand-born with mixed ethnicity, who are increasingly adopting a shared Pacific 'Nesian' or 'fa'a NiuSila' identity that departs significantly from their parents' and grandparents' migrant origins and traditions (Anae 2001; Brown Pulu 2002; Macpherson 2001; Spoonley 2001; Borell 2005, p. 205; Teaiwa & Mallon 2005, pp. 210-211). Indeed, in early 2016, the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs rebranded, adopting a new name (the Ministry of Pacific Peoples) and visual identity to reflect the changing story of New Zealand's Pacific youth and their New Zealand rather than 'island' roots:

> The Pacific population of New Zealand is changing, and its narrative is becoming less about migration and more about having a firm place in New Zealand. The story of Pacific peoples in New Zealand is also increasingly about our young people and their place here in New Zealand (Ministry of Pacific Peoples, n.d.).

Almost two-thirds (62.3 percent) of Pacific peoples are now born in New Zealand. As a result, Pacific peoples are not primarily defined in terms of their experience of migration from a distant homeland. Those groups with New Zealand citizenship rights have the highest New Zealand-born numbers proportional to their overall population[4]: Niueans (78.9 percent), Cook Islands Māori (77.4 percent) and Tokelauans (73.9 percent). The Cook Islands and Niue have 'free association' agreements with New Zealand that grant New Zealand citizenship, and the majority of both groups live in New Zealand rather than their home countries. Tokelauans can also travel on New Zealand passports (Tokelau is a non-self-governing New Zealand territory[5]), and the bulk of the global Tokelauan population now resides in New Zealand. These groups, in particular, cannot be described as immigrant or diasporic communities (see Chapter Three); nor can the subsequent generations of Pacific peoples who are New Zealand-born, as these terms refer more to newly arrived communities and their immediate 2nd generation.

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[4] Other Pacific groups (including Tongans and Fijians) have faced barriers to entry, which have changed according to New Zealand's economic conditions and public opinion. For instance, when there was a labour shortage, Pacific peoples had relatively unrestricted access to New Zealand. Currently, a Pacific Access Category sets quotas for people from Tonga, Fiji, Tuvalu and Kiribati to attain residence in New Zealand (Beaglehole 2012). Even with limitations on entry, almost half as many Samoans now live in New Zealand as in Samoa and more than a third as many Tongans as in Tonga.

[5] The Cook Islands and Niue, whose residents were British subjects, both became New Zealand territories in 1901. Tokelauans became British subjects in 1916 and Tokelau was formally annexed by New Zealand in 1948. Tokelauans along with Cook Islanders and Niueans were made New Zealand citizens from 1949, when the British Nationality and New Zealand Citizenship Act of 1948 came into force (Green 2012).

Pacific peoples have been in New Zealand for more than a century now and from a tiny immigrant community of just 2,200 in 1945, they have become a population of considerable size (295,941 in 2013). Together, they contribute to a 'browning' of the New Zealand population, particularly in New Zealand's largest city, Auckland, where Pacific, Māori and Asian peoples make up almost half the population. Most Pacific peoples in New Zealand (92.9 percent) live in the North Island, with almost two-thirds living in the Auckland region (Statistics New Zealand 2014). Indeed, Auckland is regularly described as the world's largest Polynesian city (Fraenkel 2012). In 2013, only 7.1 percent of Pacific people lived in the South Island (Statistics New Zealand 2014). This makes it hard for southern place-based media to reach a large audience and hard for pan-Pacific, nationally focused media to avoid claims of Auckland-centrism.

Today's Pacific population is not only highly urbanised and mostly New Zealand-born, but also predominantly young, with the highest proportion of children aged 0-14 years (35.7 percent compared with 19.6 percent for European New Zealanders and 33.8 percent for Māori). Pacific peoples are the fastest growing young population in the country with a little under half less than 20 years old in the 2013 census, compared with 27.4 percent for the total population (Statistics New Zealand 2014). As these patterns continue, the younger Pacific group will become more numerous and a more important focus for Pacific media, which, until recently, have catered mostly to an older migrant audience. Indeed, staying in touch with the changing tastes of ethnic minority youth is becoming essential for the ethnic media elsewhere that are trying to remain viable across generations and their audiences' stages of life (Matsaganis et. al. 2011, p.85).

Samoans comprise the largest ethnic group within New Zealand's Pacific population (a reflection partly of their island state's size and their colonial relationship with New Zealand[6]), and they have tended to dominate the country's Pacific media.

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[6] Samoa was administered by New Zealand under a League of Nations mandate from 1914 to 1962. From 1967 the island state was granted an annual quota for temporary immigration to New Zealand, and since 2002 a New Zealand government quota has allowed 1100 Samoans residence each year (Anae 2014).

Ethnicity	Number in Pacific home territory at last census	Number in NZ	% of NZ Pacific population	% of total NZ population
Samoan	187,820	144,138	48.7%	3.6%
Cook Islands Māori nfd	17,794	61,077	20.9%	1.5%
Tongan	103,252	60,333	20.4%	1.5%
Niuean	1,626	23,883	8.1%	<1%
Fijian	837,271	14,445	4.9%	<1%
Tokelauan	1,411	7,173	2.4%	<1%
Tuvalu	10,782	3,537	1.2%	<1%
Kiribati	110,136	2,115	0.07%	<1%
Pacific Peoples nfd		1,407		
Other Pacific Peoples		4,866		
Total Pacific Population		**295,941**		

Source: Statistics New Zealand n.d. 2013 census; The World Bank n.d.

Table 1: Pacific ethnic groups as a percentage of the overall New Zealand Pacific population 2013

Multi-ethnic identification is especially pronounced among Pacific peoples and Māori (Kukutai & Callister 2009, p.17), and the proportion of Pacific people identifying with more than one ethnicity is increasing (Callister & Didham 2008). In 1991, 80 percent of Pacific people identified as Pacific only (Statistics New Zealand and Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 2010, p.13). By 2013, this figure had fallen to less than 63 percent (Statistics New Zealand n.d. 2013 census) and multiple ethnicities are now more common, especially among younger Pacific people. The percentage of Pacific peoples who identify as Māori has increased from 15 percent in the 2001 census to more than 18 percent in the 2013 census, almost a fifth of all Pacific peoples. What is more, a longitudinal study of ethnicity in New Zealand found that Pacific people (along with Māori) were not only more likely to report multiple ethnic affiliations but were also more likely to *change ethnicity over time* (Carter et. al. 2009, p.43). Clearly, the multiplicity and fluidity of Pacific identities pose further challenges for media that attempt to target and serve what they assume to be a stable and static Pacific audience.

Ethnicity	Percentage of those aged 65 and over identifying with only this ethnicity in 2013	Percentage of those aged under 15 identifying with only this ethnicity in 2013	Percentage of the overall ethnic group identifying with only this ethnicity in 2013
Samoan	90.8	44.5	62
Cook Islands Māori	93.3	28.5	47.7
Tongan	90.3	53.2	67.7
Niuean	85.3	12.8	34.5
Fijian	73.1	37.8	56.2
Tokelauan	84.4	18.1	37.5
Tuvalu	89.5	67.9	75.7
Kiribati	70	68.3	78.6

Source: Statistics New Zealand, n.d. 2013 census

Table 2: Proportion of Pacific peoples identifying with only one ethnicity in 2013

For people identifying as Cook Islands Māori, 43 percent identified with at least one other non-Pacific group. Numbers were high also for those identifying as Niuean (45 percent), Fijian (39 percent), Solomon Islander (35), Papua New Guinean (34.2), Tokelauan (33.9), Samoan (31.2 percent) and Tongan (23.1 percent), all of which disrupts essentialist concepts of Pacific identity. These multiple identities and high New Zealand-born numbers mean Pacific peoples now have varying degrees of connection to their 'home' islands and cultures (Bedford 1997 cited in Gray 2001, p.5). Some New-Zealand-born and -raised Pacific youth have more in common with New Zealand's young urban Māori than their island-born parents and grandparents or island-based cousins (Macpherson 2001; Borell 2005, p.205; Teaiwa & Mallon, 2005, pp.210-211). A Pacific media producer said his daughter had limited connections to his home islands and looked "down her nose at being Cook Island".

> You've got huge generations of Cook Islanders who don't – who actually feel more Kiwis, who have a closer affinity to Māori than they do to being Cook Island, because they've never been there, they hardly ever get back and they don't know their families in the islands and they don't know the language, and their parents maybe have that disconnect from their own times here. _Pacific media producer.

Many Pacific groups, particularly those with longer-standing rights of residency in New Zealand, are also experiencing a shift towards English as their preferred language and some groups now face serious language loss. More than half of Pacific people in New Zealand are

unable to hold an everyday conversation in their Pacific language and fewer still can read it (Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs 2011; Human Rights Commission 2007). The extent to which Pacific peoples speak their heritage language differs from community to community, with some communities experiencing language loss at a faster rate than others. Overall, 63 percent of Tuvaluans in New Zealand reported in the 2013 census that they could speak their own language, compared with 12.8 percent of Cook Islands Māori, 18.7 percent of Niueans, 27.7 percent of Fijians, and 31.9 percent of Tokelauans (Statistics New Zealand n.d. 2013 census). In many cases, Pacific languages are limited to use in the private domains of the family and church, and it is English that is used in wider communication, business, employment and education (Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs 2011) and, increasingly, in Pacific media (Utanga 2007).

Pacific group	2006 Census percentage of speakers	2013 Census percentage of speakers	2013 Census percentage of speakers who were born in NZ	2013 Census percentage of speakers who were born overseas	2013 Census: number of speakers
Tuvalu	66.2	63.2	43.7	78.9	2,109
Samoan	60.7	55.6	36.1	88.5	77,892
Tongan	58.2	53.2	34.9	80.4	30,807
Tokelauan	38.1	31.9	18.7	69.5	2,229
Fijian	27.6	27.7	6.8	41.4	3,912
Niuean	23.7	18.7	7.5	60.1	4,335
Cook Islands Māori	16.1	12.8	3.6	44.9	7,725

Source: Statistics New Zealand n.d 2013 census

Table 3: Percentage of Pacific ethnic group able to speak their Pacific language[7]

These language shifts fundamentally challenge assumptions about the centrality of language to cultural identity and ethnic media (Johnson 2000). Most models of ethnic media identify preserving and transmitting native culture and identity, chiefly by maintaining the language, as a key function. In the New Zealand context, however, that is increasingly not the case. State-run and -funded media Niu FM, *Tagata Pasifika* and *TheCoconet.tv*, and other pan-Pacific media such as *Spasifik, Suga Magazine* and *New Zealand Pacific* have created Pacific identities in English. What's more, they have forged a Pacific identity that is not dependent on

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[7] Defined as the language(s) through which they can hold a conversation about everyday things.

a geographic locale or community in New Zealand or a particular island locale in the Pacific. As such, these Pacific media are neither language- nor place-based and must work harder to distinguish themselves from mainstream media and to define the boundaries of their conglomerate ethnic media audience. Just how they do that, and the problems that this situation raises, is a key theme examined in the chapters that follow.

Despite these many differences within and between Pacific groups, there is still value identifying 'Pacific' as a category. Pacific peoples share a sense of mutual social connection and many share common genealogical and cultural links that have become a basis for collective identity in New Zealand (though some, particularly older Pacific people have resisted a collective Pacific identity [Anae 2001; Macpherson 1999; Macpherson 2001]). Indeed, solidarity with other Pacific peoples has provided a sense of security (Health Research Council 2014, p.3) in the context of being the smaller 'other' to more numerous and politically dominant groups, and one of the more vulnerable and marginalised groups in New Zealand.

While there have been some improvements in Pacific people's educational and economic prospects, they have lower levels of educational attainment than the total population, higher rates of unemployment and lower income rates (Ministry of Social Development 2016a; Statistics New Zealand 2002). Recently reported income figures (for the June 2014 quarter) show Pacific peoples had the *lowest* real median hourly earnings of all ethnic groups (Ministry of Social Development 2016b, p.272). Pacific peoples, like Māori, are disproportionately represented in the more deprived areas of the country (White et al. 2008, p.22), and typically have poverty rates that are around double those of the European/Pākehā ethnic group (Perry 2013 cited in Marriott & Sim 2014, p.4). Research indicates that while New Zealand has had some successes in reducing inequalities, large gaps remain between Māori and Pacific peoples and the rest of the population – and in some areas, outcomes for Māori and Pacific peoples are worsening (Marriott & Sim 2014). Pacific peoples, for instance, have faced a net decline in household incomes since 2007 and are much more likely than other groups to face material hardship. Recent figures (Ministry of Social Development 2016b, p.141) show that where only 5 percent of Europeans/Pākehā face material hardship, 35 percent of Pacific peoples face the same[8]. As such, their ability to buy and/or consume a

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[8] For Māori, the figure is 20 percent.

range of media is likely to be limited. In turn, the media that serve them are likely to have a harder time generating subscriptions and advertising.

Pacific and Māori identity politics

<u>Pacific people's marginalised position within New Zealand in many ways echoes that of Māori.</u> In the decades of prosperity following the end of World War II to the mid-1970s, rural Māori and (later) Pacific peoples migrated to New Zealand's major urban centres where they supplied the unskilled and semi-skilled labour for the country's growing industrial economy. They were incorporated into a narrow range of economically inferior positions, characterised by lower wages, poorer conditions, less security and fewer prospects (Ongley 1991, p.17), and former Prime Minister Robert Muldoon described them in 1981 as an emerging 'brown proletariat' (Loomis 1991, p.48). There are key differences between Indigenous Māori and immigrant Pacific peoples, however, which have deepened in the face of Māori demands for biculturalism and the need to acknowledge the Treaty of Waitangi. These two elements – a shared 'Polynesian' experience of socio-economic marginalisation (and racism) and the role of Māori as Treaty partners – have set some of the key ingredients for contemporary New Zealand 'race' relations (Spoonley 1990, p.27) *and* the 'ambivalent kinships' (Teaiwa & Mallon 2005) between Pacific people and Māori.

Polynesian affinities

As a nation, New Zealand is built on the relationship, formalised in the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi, between Indigenous Māori and British colonisers. Despite the guarantees of that Treaty, and initially cooperative relations between Māori and non-Māori, the two groups were at war by the 1860s, resulting in the confiscation of several million hectares of Māori land and the crippling of large sections of the Māori population, which created "grievances that lasted more than a century" (Derby 2011). Following these wars, Māori and Pākehā tended to live largely separate lives, with Māori living mostly in rural communities. They did not come into widespread contact with each other until after World War II when Māori migrated to the cities, becoming, in little more than a generation, an overwhelmingly urban people (King 2003, p.473). In 1936, only 11.2 percent of Māori lived in urban areas, but by 1996 that had risen to more than 81 percent and suburbs that had previously seen few Māori became predominantly Māori: Otara in South Auckland, Frankton in Hamilton, Porirua East in Wellington (ibid.). Just a few years later, Pacific migrants followed the same path in a parallel process of urbanisation – and marginalisation.

With that increased contact, King (2003, p.473) says, came challenges, prejudice and conflict. Māori and Pacific migrants were expected to assimilate into the dominant Pākehā culture, which was shaped largely by British traditions and culture (Hayward 2012), and discrimination was widespread (Consedine 2011). Māori and Pacific migrants were residentially segregated in the larger cities and, in South Auckland, Māori were barred from hotel bars and barbershops and restricted to the back stalls of the movie theatre until the early 1960s (ibid.). In effect, Māori and Pacific migrants' rapid population displacement, along with their relative youth and lack of educational, trade and professional qualifications, served to create an urban brown underclass and

> a cycle of circumstances that was self-reinforcing and difficult to break: lower standards of educational attainment led to lower standards of housing and health, which led to higher rates of crime, which led back to lower educational attainment, and so on (King 2003, p.476).

Teaiwa and Mallon (2005) argue that these shared living and working experiences in New Zealand's poorer suburbs and factory floors, along with the shared cultural history of Pacific migrants and Māori (who were originally Pacific peoples), forged close affinities between the two groups. Pacific migrants related to Māori through the respect model of 'tuakana/teina' (senior sibling/junior sibling) common in Polynesian societies and, among youth, there was increasing recognition of a pan-Polynesian identity. Anae (2006, cited in Hill 2010, p.296) describes an increasing ambiguity of ethnic boundaries as urban Māori and New Zealand-born Pacific peoples, in particular, "learned together, played sports together, laughed together, and fiercely supported each other's political agendas". Will 'Ilolahia, a New Zealand-born Tongan and former chairman of the Pacific and Māori activists' Polynesian Panther Party, declared "that 'the only difference between you Māori and the rest of us Pacific Islanders [is] that you came on a waka[9] and we came on a jet'" (Hill 2010, p.296).

Because of their lower levels of educational attainment and position at the lower end of the labour market, Māori and Pacific migrants (like migrant ethnic minorities elsewhere) felt the brunt of New Zealand's economic downturn in the mid-1970s (Ongley 1991, p.17). And when the negative connotations of their material disadvantage were associated with and explained by their supposed 'racial', that is 'Brown'/'Polynesian', characteristics (ibid., p.31), they experienced similar racism. Indeed, Brown Pulu (2007, p.260) argues that the taint of Anglo-

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[9] Canoe.

Māori colonial 'race' discourse has lingered in the mass labeling of Māori and Pacific peoples as

> a *meta* class of situational 'sameness' that is characterized by ethnicity, culture and low socio-economic status and social deviancy compared to the 'national' averages and norms associated with the majority *Pākehā* population.

That shared Māori/Pacific identity is not just a categorisation imposed by others. It is also an identity embraced (in more positive ways) from within group, as can be seen today in the language used by Pacific media, such as the Pacific youth television programme *Fresh*, which aims to "cater to the generation of *Poly kiwis* [my italics] who want to be reflected on TV in ways that affirm their cultural identity" (*Fresh*, n.d.) and *Spasifik* magazine, which is pitched at Pacific and Māori and regularly labels the two as 'Brown' in stories about "brown faces", "brown and proud artists" and the "brown vote". Its regular photo wrap at the back of the magazine is called "Brown and Around" (Spasifikmag.com n.d.), and on its Facebook page it says, "There is a rapidly growing middle class 'brown' population who appreciate the fact SPASIFIK showcases our people excelling beyond the boundaries we are stereotyped for" (*Spasifikmag* n.d.) Clearly, then, there are affinities between New Zealand's Pacific peoples and Māori – based on class, ethnicity and cultural history – which are at the heart of various 'Brown', 'Poly' and 'Nesian' identities. It should also be noted that there are also significant differences: the two groups' relative status as immigrants versus Indigenous peoples.

Dawn raids and the Treaty of Waitangi

Well into the 1950s, New Zealand retained for the most part a two-cultures society – Māori and British – and an unofficial 'white New Zealand policy' (Sibley & Ward, 2013, p701). Between 1947 and 1958, 85 percent of immigrants were British and national unity was preserved by the continuation of what Pearson describes (1991b, p.206) as a very narrowly defined exclusivity in racial and ethnic terms. That changed with the boom in Pacific migration, which was fuelled by New Zealand's post-war labour shortages. While the economy was buoyant, the country maintained a semblance of social cohesion, but divisions between rich and poor intensified during the economic recession of the 1970s – and these divisions were overlaid by distinctions based on physical appearance ('race') and ethnicity (Pearson 1991a p.7).

Up to this point, most New Zealanders had been relatively unconcerned about immigration but the rapidly deteriorating economic conditions brought fears of migrant competition and

deteriorating ethnic relations (ibid., p.8). Successive governments began a series of 'random' street checks and dawn raids to catch illegal immigrants, mostly Pacific overstayers who made up a small portion of illegal immigrants to New Zealand but who had been made the scapegoats for unemployment, a deterioration in law and order and other urban problems (Ongley 2004; Ross 1994). The term 'overstayer' became synonymous with Pacific migrants (ibid.) and, even today, Grainger (2009, p.2341) says, some of the social stigma of once being 'undesirable' immigrants persists in the discursive framing of Pacific peoples. The state's scapegoating of Pacific migrants at this time 'othered' Pacific peoples in ways that distanced them from Pākehā – and from Māori and their shared 'Polynesian' class/ethnic experience. Grainger (2009, p. 2343) writes that Pacific peoples have never simply been New Zealanders; their identities are always overlaid with ideas not just about 'race' but also 'the foreigner within'.

> To be a Pacific person, to be a Samoan-, or Tongan-, or Fijian-New Zealander, is to be less than a full New Zealander. For Pacific peoples this is the paradox of belonging and not-belonging, of living in the national space while not being 'New Zealanders.' No matter how 'multicultural', New Zealand national identity still bears the traces of Eurocentric discourse, and of ambivalence towards immigrants (ibid., pp.2349-50).

Another factor that further underlined Pacific people's dissimilarity, particularly to Māori, was the reassertion of Māori demands for the protection of Māori land and language (King 2003, p.484). Māori protests through the 1970s and 1980s, which mirrored international social movements, placed 'race' relations at the centre of public debate and gradually brought about major changes in state policy and practice, particularly following the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975 and the widening of its powers in 1985 (ibid.; Spoonley 1990, p.28). But it was Māori/Pākehā relations with the Treaty of Waitangi as the pivotal focus that dominated public discourse. Pearson (1991b, p.210) argues that this politics of indigeneity and biculturalism effectively marginalised the claims of other ethnic minorities, including Pacific peoples. Thus, despite New Zealand's growing cultural, ethnic and religious diversity, the state does not have a formal policy of multiculturalism and officially recognises only the dominant Pākehā and indigenous Māori cultures (Hayward 2012).

Pacific people's representation in mainstream media

Pacific peoples' marginalised status is reflected in mainstream media, where there is little reflection of the Pacific, Pacific issues or Pacific peoples (Loto et al. 2006). A handful of empirical studies shows that: mainstream media frame stories with dominant Pākehā

discourses (Abel 1997; Barnes et. al. 2012; Hokowhitu & Devadas 2013a; Loto et. al. 2006; Nairn et. al. 2012; McGregor 1991; Rankine & McCreanor 2004); reinforce pre-existing views and privilege certain groups (Spoonley & Trlin 2004); rely overwhelmingly on Pākehā sources, even in stories about other ethnicities (Barnes et al. 2005; Comrie & Fountaine 2005 cited in Matheson 2007, p. 92); and overwhelmingly employ Pākehā journalists (McGregor 1991). An analysis of New Zealand print media portrayals of Pacific people (Loto et al. 2006) found Pacific peoples were overwhelmingly framed as 'others' to the Pākehā majority's 'us', and predominantly portrayed – 92 percent of the news reports studied – in negative terms. Where Pacific people were portrayed in positive terms, it was usually restricted to individual sportspeople or artists depicted as exceptions to the rule. Loto et al. (2006) also found Pacific people were cited as sources in only 19 percent of stories about Pacific issues; of 123 expert sources cited, only one was identified as Pacific.

This is unlikely to be a unique representational problem for Pacific communities but reflects the dominant culture's relationship with ethnic minorities. NZ on Air's stock-take (2012a) of news coverage for Pacific audiences bears out audience participants' criticisms in Chapter Nine. Several television channels had no specific Pacific programming and those that did had minimal news programming: TV1 broadcast the 30-minute *Tagata Pasifika* programme once a week, while TV2 broadcast the more entertainment-focused magazine show *Fresh*. Auckland's regional television channel, Face TV, broadcast the most – up to five Pacific programmes including *T-News* (Tongan language), *Talanoa* and *Pasifika Nius* (Samoan language), and *Pacific Viewpoint,* all of which were produced by independent Pacific producers. Similar trends were apparent in print. Mainstream magazines had relatively few specific Pacific stories and they tended to be Pacific celebrity and sports-focused stories. The number of Pacific stories and features appeared to be increasing in mainstream newspapers, but these tended to focus "on negative aspects of Pacific community stories" (NZ on Air 2012a, p.43). On the airwaves, Radio New Zealand broadcast Pacific news stories provided by RNZI, but these were stories about the wider Pacific region and not about New Zealand's Pacific communities.

These patterns of invisibility and alienation are particularly significant for younger Pacific peoples, who can find themselves choosing between Pacific media that have been produced to suit the tastes and interests of older migrants and mainstream media that rarely recognise or feature them. Indeed, Pacific audiences' talk about media in this study revealed a strong sense

of alienation from mainstream news media (see Chapter Nine), which they described as untrustworthy and racist. Participants considered the media portrayal of Pacific peoples was non-existent at best, or negative and stigmatising.

The misrepresentation of ethnic minorities in New Zealand's mainstream media is partly the result Abel (2004) says, of a lack of cultural diversity in the newsroom and the media's largely ethnocentric news values. NZJTO (2009) figures show Pacific journalists are employed in smaller numbers than their population size would dictate – only 4.6 percent compared with about 7 percent Pacific representation in the total New Zealand population – with only some journalists working in the mainstream media (Kailahi 2009). Several media producers interviewed for this study said Pacific peoples did not value the job highly – parents wanted their children to be doctors and lawyers while Pacific youth preferred performance media, such as music, over news. Others said there were cultural impediments to being a journalist, suggesting Pacific values of deference and respect for elders clashed with professional norms of challenging authority and 'asking the hard questions'. Whatever the reason, with so few alternative voices in New Zealand's mainstream newsrooms, it is inevitable that media reflect the experiences and assumptions of their largely white, middle-class workforce (Abel 2004; Rankine & McCreanor 2004). That bias is further exacerbated by the use of news values (to select, order and prioritise what is news), news routines and organisational practices, and professional norms of balance and objectivity that tend to advance dominant views and values (Cottle 2000; Phelan & Shearer 2009). For example: time constraints make it easier to cover council meetings than Pacific fono, or to focus on *what* happened rather than *why*, which precludes a deeper structural, political and economic analysis (Abel 2004); budget and resource constraints mean little attention is devoted to searching for non-institutional voices or viewpoints (Cottle 2000); and commercial pressures – the drive to attract maximum audiences and thereby advertising revenue – means stories are centred on the middle ground of Pākehā opinion and interests (Abel 2004; Cottle 2000).

NZ on Air's stock-take (2012a) found most news coverage of Pacific communities was in community media: mainstream community newspapers (which were also more likely to cover positive Pacific stories) and Access community radio, which hosted programmes produced by Pacific community groups. Notably, both community platforms are small and localised, and thus reach a limited range of Pacific audiences. What is more, the majority of Access radio programmes are funded by individuals, Pacific churches, Pacific social service providers and

Pacific community groups (and, occasionally, by sponsorship from government service providers such as District Health Boards). Maintaining the ongoing cost of these programmes is a challenge (NZ on Air 2012a, p.40), as is maintaining independence from programme patrons.

Pacific media in New Zealand[10]

Pacific media in New Zealand are mostly small, under-resourced and heavily reliant on state funding and patronage from other funding sources, and there is high degree of churn within the field. They are also highly diverse in terms of media type (including whether they are state-owned or funded, commercial and/or community media), funding, location, language and audience (multi-ethnic or specific ethnic, national or local). Several are cross-platform, and many blur the lines between traditional corporate and community categories, which makes it hard to generalise about the Pacific media landscape or to categorise according to established theories of community media, minority language media, alternative media and so on (see Chapter Four). This section provides a brief overview, as well as an examination of the elements that make these media distinctive. It also provides, in Appendix 2, a stock-take of Pacific media, to update older media lists (NZ on Air 2012a) that have been rendered inaccurate by industry churn and to help tease out patterns and gaps among Pacific media offerings.

Broadly, Pacific media are small in comparison to most other media in New Zealand, where the mediascape is dominated by outlets that are largely Pākehā-dominated and, in the commercial sector, foreign-owned (Myllylahti 2014). The country has a handful of publicly owned broadcasters – Television New Zealand (TVNZ), Radio New Zealand (RNZ), the Māori Television Service (MTS) and the National Pacific Radio Trust, as well as funds for public service programming that can be used by community-owned and privately owned broadcasters. However, following the deregulation of broadcasting in the late 1980s, the public service role of television, in particular, has diminished and commercial success, which counts against ethnic minority audiences, has become the dominant concern of mainstream media (Stephens 2014). The Māori media sphere, though small, appears to be thriving, helped partly by legislative and state funding support for Indigenous media. Funding for Māori Television, along with funding for more than 20 iwi radio stations and various Māori

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[10] The rationale for choosing Pacific media as a focus of study is discussed in detail in Chapter Five.

programmes, follows Waitangi Tribunal and Privy Council decisions in the 1990s that forced the Government to support the cultural revitalisation of te reo and tikanga Māori[11] through public broadcasting. These state-sponsored Māori media, along with smaller commercial media, such as *Mana* and *Tu Mai* magazines, comprise a small but conspicuous Māori media sphere that, as later chapters demonstrate, also serves Pacific audiences, further problematising the ways we theorise the role that ethnic identity plays in people's media choices.

Mostly small and diverse

Pacific media are minnows in comparison and, like ethnic (and mainstream and alternative) media elsewhere, are highly diverse, comprising various types, ownership, content and target audiences (Yu 2015: 133). Outlets include a range of mostly small, family- or church-run newspapers; two national magazines (*Spasifik* and *Suga)*; a handful of radio stations (for example, the Samoan language station Radio Samoa); a handful of community television programmes (such as *T-News)*; and a growing number of online media such as *Moana TV, Kaniva Tonga* and *TheCoconet.tv* (Utanga 2007; Kailahi 2009). The snapshot of Pacific media (Appendix 2) illustrates the diversity of the Pacific media landscape in 2016, detailing outlets that produce content in different languages, with different frequencies, for different audiences (for example, single ethnicity vs. pan-ethnic and local vs. transnational). They operate on different scales, with church-run newspapers sitting alongside medium-sized corporates such as *Spasifik* magazine and larger public broadcasters such as Niu FM, and they rely on a varied workforce that includes trained journalists and untrained employees and volunteers.

Their income levels differ, but a lack of funding is common to all (see discussion further in this chapter). Most of the broadcast content for Pacific audiences is fully or partially public funded as Pacific audiences are among the special interest groups that s36(1)c of the Broadcasting Act requires NZ on Air to address (NZ on Air 2012c, p.1). Hence, the State funds TVNZ's weekly news and current affairs programme *Tagata Pasifika*, the Pacific Media Network (which operates the national Niu FM channel and Auckland-based Pacific language channel Radio 531pi) and the Wellington-based Samoan-language station Samoa Capital Radio (which broadcasts fewer than 40 hours a week). Indirectly, the state also

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[11] Māori language and custom.

supports various Pacific community radio programmes through its funding for community Access radio and its advertising and information campaigns. Those that are not publicly funded are usually self-funded or heavily supported by churches and other charitable sources. Because audiences for Pacific media are small (and, typically, have little disposable income), there is little or no money to be had from subscriptions and very little advertiser support.

The distinctions between private enterprise, community and public service Pacific media are blurry, with all three components often co-existing in the one media organisation. Radio Samoa, for instance, is a privately owned station operating on a commercial radio license, but it is small, local and participatory. The station says its community 'owns' it, to the extent that people bring food for its workers (a typically Pacific gesture of belonging) and raised a staggering $30,000[12] in donations through the course of one day. It shares content with the state-subsidised community radio station Samoa Capital Radio, and the two entities regard each other as community radio partners. Samoa Capital Radio more closely resembles definitions of a community station – it is localised, participatory, run by a community trust, and broadcast on community Access radio – but it also airs considerable paid-for commercial content and views itself as a public service broadcaster for Government agencies. Similarly, the national broadcaster Niu FM is a hybrid organisation that couples public funding with commercial interests, and commercial programming through the day with Pacific community language programming at night, all of which makes it difficult to neatly categorise Pacific media according to theories of community or alternative media (see Chapter Three).

New Zealand's Pacific media share the characteristic of heavy influence from mainstream media. Pacific media's commercial productions have corporate structures, many have the same style or format as dominant mainstream media, and media content is very often lifted from mainstream sources. Many Pacific language media translate news directly from mainstream media[13], while newer digital media such as *The Coconet.tv* and the *Coconut Wireless* often curate news reports from mainstream outlets. Thus, in most respects, these are not alternative media in any radical sense. Having said that, not all Pacific media adhere to

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[12] This is a substantial sum for a community that is over-represented among the unemployed, lower skilled, and low-income earners (Statistics New Zealand, 2002). Radio Samoa illustrates Browne's finding (2005, p.180) that communities are key to non-state-subsidised ethnic broadcasters' survival, through fundraising, volunteering, donating goods and so on.

[13] For example, Nafiz's analysis of Samoa Capital Radio news (2012, p.252) found that over 90 per cent of news content was obtained from national newspaper websites and the rest from Samoan newspaper websites.

mainstream professional norms; some distance themselves from what they define as 'Palagi' practices. How and to what extent they do this is discussed more thoroughly in Chapter Six.

These New Zealand-based Pacific media sit within a wider context of Pacific Islands-produced media – a context in which English-language and imported media content figure prominently. This is an important detail, for several reasons. First, any adequate theory needs to account for the mixed language use of Pacific media *in the islands*. Fiji's media organisations publish or broadcast predominantly in English (Robie 2004). Elsewhere, English is often used in tandem with Pacific languages (as in the Tongan government-owned newspaper, the *Tonga Chronicle*) and is often the main language on Internet news sites (Cass 2004; Molnar & Meadows 2001), while English-language radio programming from New Zealand and Australia is broadcast 24/7 (Moala 2010). All of which raises questions about New Zealand-based Pacific media that are produced only in Samoan or Tongan; why are they not, like many of their Pacific Islands-based counterparts, bilingual?

Secondly, the prominence of transnational content in the Pacific region's media economies (that is, in the economies of the Pacific island states other than New Zealand) highlights their smallness and relative poverty (Molnar & Meadows 2001; Robie 2005). This situation sits alongside the economic and structural limitations that hinder diasporic Pacific media flows *into* New Zealand. Pacific communities in New Zealand do not enjoy the profusion of 'homeland'-produced and exported media products that are experienced, for instance, by the Chinese or Latino diaspora. Papoutsaki and Harris (2008, p.4) note that small market size, diversity of languages and peoples, low levels of literacy, difficulties in distribution to remote areas and low circulation figures all affect the profit margins of independent publishers and publishing a daily newspaper is simply not economically viable for many Pacific nations. However, this is not to say that there is no media flow between New Zealand and the wider Pacific. Several islands-produced newspapers are distributed in New Zealand. Publications such as *Islands Business* are produced for consumption across the region, and *Asia Pacific Report*[14]*,* though produced in New Zealand, combines news reports and news links produced from the wider Pacific. That said, the flow of media is more heavily weighted toward outflow *from* New Zealand *to* the Pacific. Various New Zealand media, including *Spasifik* magazine

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[14] Formed in 2016 from Scoop Media's former Pacific news site, *Pacific Scoop*.

and *Tagata Pasifika,* are distributed in the Pacific, and Radio New Zealand International (RNZI) is produced in New Zealand, specifically for a South Pacific audience.

As such, New Zealand's Pacific media are often globalised in their orientation, with connections to the wealthier Pacific communities in large urban Pacific-rim centres: Brisbane, Sydney, Melbourne, Hawaii and Los Angeles[15]. According to *Spasifik'*s 2010 readership survey, 12 percent of the respondents lived in Australia and 4 percent in the United States – compared with 4 percent from 'other' countries that comprised the Pacific Islands. According to *TNews'* producers, more than half of its website hits came from America, with Tonga ranking a distant fifth, behind Australia, New Zealand, Fiji and Hong Kong. In fact, the website was set up explicitly to reach more than 100,000 Tongans in other parts of the world[16], and *TNews* sources stories directly from mainland America, Hawaii, and Brisbane to further that aim. Similarly, *Pacific EyeWitness* producers deliberately chose a '.com' rather than a '.co.nz' address to encourage a global audience. Indeed, many of its hits came from Tongan and Samoan readers in California and Utah as well as Pacific peoples serving in the US military. Samoa Capital Radio fields email and phone requests for on-air birthday messages to friends and relatives in Utah, Seattle, Los Angeles, Brisbane, Sydney and Melbourne. Correspondingly, a *Koli Tala'aho*'s producer, though focusing on news for New Zealand Tongans, regularly aired live news from Australia, took a news bulletin from San Francisco, and recorded news bulletins about Auckland Tongans for two Australian radio stations. Pacific media stories are increasingly global, a producer said, because "our Pacific people are more global than they ever were".

While clearly a consequence of the increasing geographic spread of Pacific populations, these transnational media connections are also a product of economic realities. They offer opportunities for New Zealand's Pacific media to expand their audience (and thereby revenue), especially among communities that are wealthier than 'homeland' populations in the islands and, thus, more attractive to advertisers. Niu FM, for instance, has been constrained by a trust deed limiting its focus to New Zealand. Nonetheless, it still maintains an international following, getting more website hits from Australia and America than from

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[15] Samoa has more people living overseas than in Samoa itself and Tonga has about as many people living overseas as in Tonga. In both cases, expatriates live mostly in New Zealand and the USA, followed by Australia (Stahl & Appleyard 2007).

[16] Small and Dixon (2004) state about two in 10 of Tonga's expatriates are residents of Australia, four in 10 live in the U.S., and another four in 10 live in New Zealand.

New Zealand. Its board had asked the government to amend its deed so that Niu FM could expand its operation offshore via the Internet and use platforms such as a recording label and digital music store.

> That's where we need to go. And we need to go with other PI places around the world. We need to provide them with those things because, one, we can make money out of it and, two; it's for our survival. _Pacific media producer

Clearly, these media practices have an underlying commercial imperative but, as discussed in Chapters Seven and Eight, they are often *presented* as something else, such as community service or networking. Large collective identities come with notions of how a proper person of that kind behaves (Appiah 1994, p.159), and the Pacific identity allows little room for profit-making or market expansion. In Pacific spaces, community service, family links and obligations, charity and reciprocity are valued more highly than money or business acumen (University of Otago 2011, p.7; Mila-Schaaf 2010, p.120), and market imperatives are often downplayed. As discussed in Chapter Six, English-language, pan-Pacific productions such as Niu FM are often more compelled than others to perform these values, because their repertoire of recognisable Pacific traits is small – they cannot call on language markers or specific ethnic community connections to establish their Pacific belonging.

A field connected by funding and structural challenges

Some Pacific media are long established and many of these (though not all[17]) are funded directly by the state. In television, the long-running magazine-style programme *Tagata Pasifika*, which is funded by NZ on Air, has been the only special interest programme aimed at Pacific audiences to run continuously since the establishment of the Broadcasting Act in 1989. Browne (2005) notes that state financial support is a significant factor in the establishment and survival of ethnic media, especially broadcast media. In New Zealand, even private enterprise Pacific media indirectly rely heavily on state funding through local and central government advertising campaigns aimed at Pacific communities. Some producers said their publications were launched to capitalise on this advertising.

Of the directly state-funded media, some, such as *Tagata Pasifika*, are lightly regulated (though subject to the dictates of the state broadcaster, Television New Zealand, which hosts the programme). A *Tagata Pasifika* producer said his programme could pretty much do what

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[17] Radio Samoa and the *Samoa Times* have been operating for more than 10 years as private enterprise productions with no direct state funding.

it wanted because it was freed from the resourcing problems faced by other Pacific media, "which is a way big luxury". Others, like the National Pacific Radio Trust, are heavily regulated. Its national radio station Niu FM has been required to report to multiple taskmasters – the Minister of Broadcasting, the Ministry of Culture and Heritage, NZ on Air, the Ministry for Pacific Peoples[18] and Pacific communities, through annual public meetings in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch. Together with Radio 531pi, it is required to produce more than 4100 hours of programming annually in at least nine Pacific languages (Ministry of Culture and Heritage 2015). Niu FM producers said they were straitjacketed by the station's trust deed and funding agreements, which require the station to foster and maintain Pacific languages through set hours of programming in Pacific languages (National Pacific Radio Trust 2010). They said the station repeatedly lost listeners when it switched its national channel over to Pacific-language night programmes, and they were looking for other ways to meet its language obligations. They said Niu FM had stopped playing music in Pacific languages for the same reason.

> What we've found, once you start pushing language at our audience, they just switch off, because we don't just cover one language; we cover up to eight. If I'm a Samoan and I'm listening and I hear a Fijian song, that doesn't resonate with me. I'm going to switch. Which is why Niu FM today is way different than what we were in 2002. In 2002, we catered for everybody; we played a Fijian song, we'd play a Samoan song, we'd play a Cook Islands song. Now we don't play any of that in the language. How we offer the language is in the *way* we speak, is in the other things that we do that are Pacific. _Pacific media producer

A NZ on Air forum with Pacific broadcasters in 2012 found some broadcasters wanted less restraint from bureaucracy, arguing that 'they know their communities best' (NZ on Air 2012b).

While Pacific media operate under varying degrees of regulatory and bureaucratic restraint, they all (even those that enjoy state funds) face the similar challenge of having to meet the needs of diverse Pacific communities with limited resources. The challenge of being all things to all Pacific peoples is felt most acutely by media like *Tagata Pasifika* and the National Pacific Radio Trust, which are tasked with serving *all* Pacific ethnic groups and, in the case of the trust, their myriad languages. One producer said, "I've always felt that TP's days are numbered, but mainly because of the wide brief. It's just too big; it needs to be split up". Matsaganis et al. (2011, p.73) note that media serving conglomerate identities (larger shared identities like Pacific, rather than identities based on a country of origin, like Samoan)

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[18] Formerly the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs.

generally do not enjoy the same levels of popularity as ethnic media that target specific groups. In the UK context, Lay and Thomas (2012, p.374) note outlets targeting multi-ethnic audiences in London are significantly outnumbered by outlets targeted at specific ethnic groups. Of 175 black and minority ethnic media products and outlets, only six percent were targeted at a multi-ethnic audience. Matsaganis et al. (2011) say this may be because ethnic identities are closely tied to particular social conditions

> and the boundaries of a conglomerate identity may shift to include or exclude different groups at different times, making it difficult for producers to define the boundaries of a conglomerate ethnic media audience (p.73).

That said, even those Pacific media that cater to one Pacific ethnic group face an increasing challenge to bridge the interests of younger and older generations within their specific island community. This is backed up by NZ on Air research (2012a) that showed marked differences in interest between younger New Zealand-born Pacific peoples and those of older, island-born generations.

The key challenge, however, is to produce content for relatively small and fragmented audiences with minimal resources. Generally speaking, Pacific media, like other ethnic media, have audiences that are too small, too poor or too scattered to attract advertisers (Riggins 1992), and Radio 531pi founder Sefita Hao'uli says (in Neilson 2015) that it is difficult to get returns, particularly on smaller Pacific communities:

> The Tongan and Samoan communities are carrying all of the rest. The number of people in Kiribati and Solomon Island communities won't attract one single advertiser. It is a public good, but will never cover the cost of being on air (p.36).

As a result, these media are often short-lived (Downing & Husband 2005). Three of the commercial media where interviews for this research were conducted folded within a year or two of being interviewed. A further two voluntary-staffed media closed and another was reviewing its news service amid concerns that it attracted no advertising and was expensive to maintain. Access radio plays a major role providing broadcast services to Pacific peoples, yet the majority of programmes are part-funded by individuals, Pacific churches, Pacific social service providers and community groups – people and groups with generally lower incomes than the rest of the New Zealand population. One of the producers of the now-defunct *Koli Tala'aho* community radio programme said she and her co-presenter had to find about $600 a month to meet the cost of phoning sources for interviews and the $45 an hour fee (excl. GST)

to be on air[19]. Some of that money sporadically came from advertising by Tongan businesses, but often the producers paid it themselves.

> Because some of the Tongan businesses are not doing that well I have a hard time. If I go this month and ask at the end of the month, if I ask them for their payment and if they're not doing well then they'll say can I come back next month. It's not like – I wish there was some sort of funding but that's the most – because I'm very shy I ask [S] to go and do this. But it's, that's what I find it is hard about the job because I have run out of funds and I hate doing that…. We just make it up from our own money…. Before when we first started, we used to do fundraising but I hate doing that now because I know people are struggling, and it's hard work. _Pacific media producer

Even Samoa Capital Radio, which receives NZ on Air funding, had to temporarily suspend its popular weekly live newsfeed from Samoa because of the costs involved (Nafiz 2012, p.248).

Often, the costs of radio are covered by 'sponsorship' from government service providers such as district health boards, but the cost of maintaining these programmes is an ongoing challenge for most of Access radio's community programme-makers (NZ on Air 2012a, p.40). Samoa Capital Radio has very little, if any, business or classified advertising. The station gets $180,000 a year from NZ on Air, which pays just over half of its running costs. It then works hard to raise further funds by selling airtime (usually sponsored programmes or interviews) and advertising to NGOs (non-government organisations) and central and local government departments such as the departments of health, education and labour who want to disseminate information to the Samoan community. A Samoa Capital Radio producer said government departments got "better value out of using our Pacific media, you know like radio stations than sending out all these circulars".

> That's where we have our niche in the market place. I saw that we need to help government departments and local bodies to disseminate their information and if we do it well enough they'll be willing to part with their money and pay us. And that's exactly what's happened. _Pacific media producer

Spasifik magazine has a similar dependence on indirect state support. In 2014, it launched *Pacific Peoples Health*, a health magazine insert that is supported by the Ministry of Health and various health boards and foundations, which enables it not only to be distributed for free but also subsidises the cost of producing *Spasifik* (Neilson 2015). Arguably, this dependency on government advertising and sponsored information campaigns may risk a production's independence. It certainly problematises the view of Pacific media as alternative media, and is an area that deserves further research: Who do media serve in these instances – their Pacific

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[19] Access radio stations typically charge programme-makers a small fee per show.

audiences or fee-paying clients – and in what ways are they challenging or maintaining dominant ideologies?

NZ on Air's research (2012a, p.46) shows that, over time, funding for Pacific broadcasting has been consistent with the percentage size of the Pacific population and has grown in dollar terms. A closer examination, however, shows that while television funding has increased since 1990, both in dollar terms and percentage of total NZ on Air television expenditure, funding for Pacific radio has declined (ibid.). What's more, compared with Māori media, state funding for Pacific broadcasting remains relatively small. Māori Television, iwi radio stations and various broadcast programmes such as *Mana News*, are publicly funded as part of the Crown's obligation to preserve the Indigenous Māori language under the Treaty of Waitangi and, as treaty partners, Māori can and should expect a greater claim on the state. Iwi radio stations, for example, each received $500,000 in operational funding in the 2014/15 year, compared with $180,000 for Samoa Capital Radio (NZ on Air 2015; Te Māngai Pāho 2015). However, this has not shielded Māori media from financial pressure. Māori Television, for instance, operated on an eight-year funding freeze until 2016[20], and, in 2015, reported ongoing cost cutting to reduce the financial pressures of inflation and increasing costs (Māori Television 2015). If Māori broadcasters struggle with more funding, it can only be assumed that Pacific broadcasters are finding it even harder to remain sustainable.

State funders' reports (NZ on Air 2015; Te Māngai Pāho 2015) also show that the Māori broadcast sector has more capacity and, presumably, efficiencies of scale than Pacific media. Between them, NZ on Air and Te Māngai Pāho funded more than 30 independent production studios to produce Māori television content in 2015, several of which were funded for more than one show or content across more than one channel. By comparison, NZ on Air funded only three studios to produce Pacific television content: Tikilounge Productions (to produce *Fresh)*; Sunpix, the company formed by Television New Zealand's (TVNZ) former *Tagata Pasifika* staff (to produce *Tagata Pasifika*); and Zoomslide Media, a mainstream commercial studio (to produce the Pacific cooking show, *Real Pasifik 2). In fact, when TVNZ decided in late 2014 to outsource its Pacific programmes, prompting the hurried formation of Sunpix by *Tagata Pasifika* staff, Radio New Zealand (2014) noted that New Zealand then had only one

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[20] In 2016, Māori Television was finally granted a funding boost to develop new technologies so that its content could be consumed on multiple platforms, particularly by young Māori who are high users of mobile technology (Māori Television 2015; The Treasury 2016).

small Pacific production company. Further, the programme also noted that Pacific communities questioned the capacity of such small companies to produce Pacific shows to the same quality with the same budget (*Spasifik,* 2014).

Tikilounge Productions founder Lisa Taouma (in Neilson 2015, p.44) has described her company's position as a small-scale producer reliant on NZ on Air funding as precarious. The company, which produces *Fresh* and *TheCoconet.tv,* had to jump through hoops every year to get its money and lived from funding round to funding round. Even more challenging, the company must compete, in social platforms and search engines, against copies of its work. *TheCoconet.tv's* videos are downloaded and re-uploaded across a number of Facebook pages, often resulting in a high number of views (Lisa Taouma 2016, pers. comm., 30 May). One video was reposted on the *Proud to Be Tongan* page where it gained 287,000 views. Though this sharing and re-posting indicates a strong appetite for the company's content, it may also discourage people from clicking through to *TheCoconet.tv's* social media pages and website, from where it reports traffic to justify its NZ on Air grant. Elsewhere, Smith (2016) argues that the media industry's measures of value, which draw on problematic and simplistic quantitative ratings tools, are a significant constraint on ethnic minority media. She says other tools are needed that can measure success in alternative terms of audience appreciation, trust, and positive impact on language and culture.

NZ on Air's content strategy for Pacific peoples (2012c) identified several key gaps in Pacific broadcast content that were invariably the result of funding constraints and, sometimes, a limited business case. NZ on Air found: insufficient content overall (as mainstream outlets rarely prioritised Pacific audiences); an insufficient range and diversity of content, meaning the few programmes there were had to be all things to all people (young and old, urban and rural, every Pacific ethnic group covered, island-born and NZ-born, multiple languages); and very little larger-budget content, such as high-end documentary. Moreover, content on mainstream outlets was scheduled at inconvenient times, which, likely, dilutes the potential of content to enhance individual and collective wellbeing in the same way as Māori Television (Smith 2016), where strength-based representations are broadcast in prime time and not just at the margins of the programming schedule.

In addition, NZ on Air (ibid.) found that the little Pacific content that did exist was diffuse and not everyone knew about it. A Ministry of Culture and Heritage survey (2010) of Pacific

listenership found that the biggest barrier to listenership of the key Pacific radio station Radio 531pi was awareness, with 75 percent of non-listeners stating they were not aware of the station. Indeed, discovery and engagement, especially online, is a challenge for Pacific media. Niu FM performed well in the same survey (ibid.). Nonetheless, one of its presenters interviewed for this study said the station clearly lacked reach.

> Contrary to popular belief and some of the people you might talk to in here, we're not as big as we think we are. We're not even big, but I'm saying there are people who don't know and that's kind of embarrassing from my point of view because we should be hitting the hearts and minds of every young Pacific Islander. But even in Wellington last week there were these young college students who didn't know who I was -- not that I want them to know – but we're not doing our job properly if we're not spreading the word out that this is available to everybody. _Pacific media producer

Longstanding criticism of *Tagata Pasifika*' scheduling (it has moved around TVNZ's schedule, from off-peak mid-morning weekend and late-night week-day slots to its current schedule of 9am Saturday and 7.30am Sunday) was echoed in this study, with many participants saying it prevented them from viewing the programme.

> P1: I think I've only watched twice, to be honest, but I think a lot of it only because it's too late at night. If the time was more realistic...
> P2: Yeah, I'm the same.
> P1: If it's not too late at night, it's too early in the morning on your day off.
> P2: Yeah
> P3: Yeah, too busy getting ready for church. _Audience focus group

The programme is now available at any time on TVNZ's online On-Demand site, but Molnar and Meadows (2001) warn that inequality of access to computers and affordable connection and usage fees can limit the Internet's accessibility (see more on this below). Ministry of Social Development (2016b) statistics show that while access to the Internet in a typical Pacific household is increasing, Pacific people's rate of access still lags significantly behind other New Zealanders[21].

Certainly, in the online and social media spaces where young Pacific audiences are looking for news, most Pacific media are still building their presence. A search of Pacific media outlets revealed several had no website or a website that was under construction, broken or out-of-date. At the time, Niu FM's website did not list news items and instead provided a link

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[21] 65 percent of Pacific households had access to the Internet in 2013, compared with 90.2 percent of households in the Asian ethnic group and 84.7 percent of European/Others. That said, another New Zealand study found that when they are Internet users, Pacific peoples tend to be more frequent users than Pākehā across most types of online activity (Bell et al. 2008).

to audio of its latest news bulletin, but the link was broken and the bulletin was almost two months out-of-date. It has since updated the site to include news items on its home page, but its companion station, Radio 531pi, retained multiple broken links on its home page, including a news link that had not been updated in more than 15 months. Moring (2007) says minority producers have yet to take full advantage of the opportunities afforded by electronic media, and their 'institutional incompleteness', that is their inadequate range of media of all types, risks a 'functional incompleteness' that leads the audience towards other, mainstream media.

Much of the content on some Pacific sites is also not original, further illustrating the challenges faced by Pacific media online. On *TheCoconet.tv*, a website funded by NZ on Air in 2012 to address gaps in Pacific content online, most of the news was copied from other sites. The website has a mix of content, comprising profiles, cultural information on 'knowing your roots' and 'how-to' videos on how to "do things the island way", as well as language games and vlogs. Its producer Lisa Taouma (in Neilson 2015) says the site's *Cocoblog,* which posts Pacific news items, current events and human interest stories, had "taken off". But a tally of the first 50 news posts on 26 May 2016 showed 62 percent of the stories were produced elsewhere: 14 of the stories came from mainstream media such as *Stuff* and the *New Zealand Herald*; 12 came from Pacific regional media such as the *Samoa Observer* and *Matangi Tonga;* another three stories came from other New Zealand Pacific media (Niu FM, *NZ Kaniva*, and TNews); and two stories came from YouTube[22]. Thus, while the site does a lot to generate new and innovative content in the digital space (see Chapter Eight), it does less to expand on the news that Pacific audiences can already find elsewhere. By reposting stories from other New Zealand Pacific media, it also competes with them for audience share using their content.

In terms of social media, an additional search of Pacific media outlets revealed several had no social media presence at all, including larger outlets like Samoa Capital Radio, which was talked about on social media by audiences but which had no social media accounts of its own. In fact, when asked if it had a social networking site, a producer said, "No, could be a time waster". The larger state-funded media Niu FM and *Tagata Pasifika*, and newer outlets such as *Fresh* and *TheCoconet.tv*, had a stronger social media presence, but Niu FM's posts were

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[22] Less than a third of the stories (15 of the 50) were generated by *TheCoconet.tv*, though a further four stories were reposted from its sister production, *Fresh.*

more often promotions for upcoming shows and competitions than news updates and the news items on *Tagata Pasifika's* Facebook page were often curated from mainstream and Pacific regional media. Of eight news items posted on 11 December 2016, *Tagata Pasifika* had generated only one.

Pacific audiences

There is little data on Pacific audiences, but what there is suggests two key points: that they want Pacific media outlets but are not following existing outlets in large numbers, and that they are increasingly likely to want them online rather than on the linear broadcast channels that have traditionally served Pacific communities. However, this picture is fuzzy as sourcing accurate audience data is difficult[23]. Even when audience data is available, it is often incomplete or limited in its usefulness. Ratings figures for *Tagata Pasifika,* for instance, do not include numbers for those watching online on-demand, which Pacific producers say obscures the number of younger viewers (Nielson 2015, 47), while the Pacific research sample recorded in bigger surveys is often too small to be statistically reliable (NZ on Air 2012a). Yet, such data is vital for Pacific media producers to refine their practice, market themselves to advertisers and justify their grants from state funders.

This study finds that Pacific audiences are hungry for news and information about themselves and their communities, particularly more in-depth news, which they struggle to find in mainstream media.

> You might sometimes find little bits in Māori media so Te Karere sometimes and Māori TV but if you want to see relatives or people that you know who are really active in the community, or just news about that Pacific then you can't find that in mainstream. _Audience focus group participant

They clearly look to Pacific media to provide this coverage but, as will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Nine, have various ideas about how Pacific media could be doing it differently. All of the 46 focus group participants interviewed for this study said they had consumed Pacific media at some point, with 19 saying they had used Pacific media in the previous week. Of those 19 consumers, the majority (n=15) listened to a Pacific radio station, five read Pacific newspapers and more than half (n=11) watched *Tagata Pasifika,* New Zealand's longest-running Pacific television news and current affairs programme. NZ on Air research into *Tagata Pasifika* in 2001 (cited in NZ on Air 2012a, p.18) found Pacific

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[23] This is an issue for Pacific media, most of whom cannot afford ratings services or specialist analytics software.

audiences were generally positive about the programme but said its stories were too brief and skimmed the surface, and they wanted more education and health stories on the show. More recent research into Pacific broadcasting as a whole (NZ on Air 2012a) found Pacific communities wanted to see and hear more in-depth coverage of Pacific issues as well as a broader cross-section of Pacific stories from around New Zealand and the Pacific.

Two of the 19 participants who had used Pacific media in the last week said they had followed Pacific news online (one read an online newspaper, the other read Pacific news on YouTube). In the actual focus group discussions, participants spoke more often of using social media to get their news – hunting on YouTube for videos and independent documentaries on Pacific issues or using Facebook and other social media to share information and links to Pacific news. This tends to support Statistics New Zealand (2013) research that shows Pacific Internet users are high users of social networking sites; almost three-quarters (74 percent) of Pacific Internet users engaged in social networking in the previous 12 months compared with only 61 percent of Europeans. Indeed, social networking is one of the few areas of Internet use where Pacific peoples exceed other ethnic groups (ibid.). In terms of general Internet use, Pacific peoples have the lowest rates of Internet access of all ethnic groups in New Zealand. In the 2013 census, 65 percent of Pacific peoples reported living in households with Internet access, compared with 67 percent of Māori, 84.7 percent of European/Pākehā and 90.2 percent of Asians (Ministry of Social Development 2016b, p.222). Significantly, their rates of access are changing rapidly, and their Internet access had improved more than any other ethnic group since 2001, when only one in five Pacific peoples reported living in households with Internet access.

Though audience participants in this study clearly hunted for media online and on smartphone apps and social media, many were unaware of long-standing and relatively prominent Pacific media that are online, including *Tagata Pasifika* (one audience participant asked, "Can you watch it online? Is it online?") and the Samoan-based *Samoa Observer*, which has a website as well as print distribution in New Zealand.

> The *Samoa Observer*, do they do it online? They do? Well, you know TV3 they do that, like you know they have the Facebook page. They have the iPhone app and all the kids nowadays have iPhones and stuff and that's you know the accessibility to the media. Like just knowing where it is because I didn't even know there was the *Samoa Observer* online. Just knowing that there's stuff out there that you could actually use

> … Like, say there's a *Samoa Observer* online you could check it out like www. whatever the website is and see that. _Audience focus group participant

Data from *TheCoconet.tv* shows most people following videos on its YouTube channel found them through organic topic searches rather than the website. This demonstrates that even those media native to the online space, and on the social platforms where many Pacific audiences are, face challenges in terms of their profile and reach.

In terms of overall media consumption patterns, traditional broadcast platforms (television and radio) still deliver the biggest audiences in New Zealand (NZ on Air 2014a), and most New Zealanders tune into these media more often and for longer than any alternatives. Audience data provided by Nielsen for the three state-funded television programmes *Tagata Pasifika, Fresh* and the now defunct *Pacific Beat Street*[24] reveals some key issues in the Pacific broadcast media landscape. First, for *Tagata Pasifika*, the data shows a steady decline in audiences (Māori and Pacific, and overall audience) – and a sharp drop following the programme's outsourcing from TVNZ at the end of 2014 (see Chapter Nine for more on this). Nielsen ratings data, showed average Pacific audience had fallen from a high of more than 10 percent of the overall Pacific population in the mid-90s to about four percent in 2010 (see Figure 2 below). Some have attributed this to changes in scheduling (NZ on Air 2012a, p.48). However, an analysis of ratings data by annual scheduling shows no straightforward link between viewership and programme timing (see Figure 2.), suggesting there is more to the ratings decline than scheduling alone.

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[24] Nielsen would not provide Pacific audience numbers as the data was too small to meet the minimum sample size it requires; instead it provided overall audience numbers and a breakdown of Māori and Pacific audience from 1995-2015 (Neilsen 2016), which obscures actual Pacific audience figures.
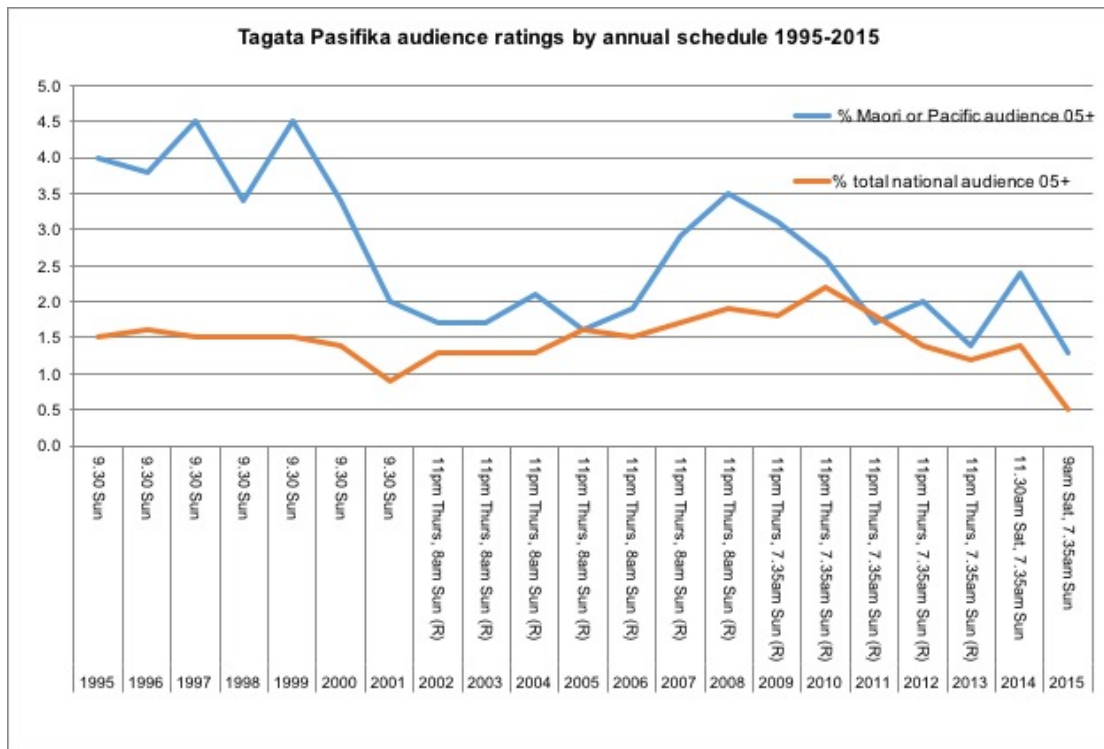
Source: Nielsen 2016; *Listener* and TVNZ programme schedules.

Figure 1: *Tagata Pasifika* audience ratings by annual programme schedule

What is clear, too, is that all three state-funded Pacific TV programmes had significant numbers of non-Pacific viewers. Māori and Pacific viewers made up between a fifth and less than half of the *Tagata Pasifika* audience and, given the aggregated figures, the Pacific proportion may be even lower than that (see Table 4). This raises key questions. What does it mean for media products that are defined as being 'by, for and about' Pacific peoples if the majority of their audience is not Pacific? In audience focus groups, one participant was adamant that it mattered who the audience was. Using the metaphor of a camera lens, she asked: "You're on one side looking through it to the other side, so as a media who do you see on the other side?" Is there a risk that, in reporting to a mixed audience, these media become more *about* Pacific peoples than *for* them? Certainly, some Pacific audience participants had concerns about this, as evidenced by their talk about the 'tourist perspective' of some Pacific media, discussed in Chapter Nine.

	Tagata Pasifika (TVOne, incl TVOne Plus 1)			Fresh (TV2, incl TV2 Plus 1)			Pacific Beat Street (TV3, incl TV3 Plus 1)		
	All people 05+	Māori & Pacific 05+	Māori & Pacific as % of audience	All people 05+	Māori & Pacific 05+	Māori & Pacific as % of audience	All people 05+	Māori & Pacific 05+	Māori & Pacific as % of audience
2001	31,600	10,900	34.5%						
2002	46,400	8,400	18.1%						
2003	48,700	7,400	15.2%						
2004	47,400	9,000	19.0%						
2005	60,000	9,900	16.5%				31,400	9,800	31.2%
2006	56,700	12,000	21.2%				30,300	12,000	39.6%
2007	64,600	15,900	24.6%				23,100	8,400	36.4%
2008	76,500	24,100	31.5%				24,000	10,300	42.9%
2009	72,600	28,700	39.5%				25,500	13,600	53.3%
2010	89,100	24,800	27.8%				51,500	24,800	48.2%
2011	72,300	14,400	19.9%	58,300	30,000	51.5%			
2012	58,500	15,600	26.7%	49,000	29,200	59.6%			
2013	49,900	11,200	22.4%	56,800	27,800	48.9%			
2014	48,100	18,000	37.4%	41,900	26,100	62.3%			
2015	22,600	10,500	46.5%	63,600	37,600	59.1%			
Median			**24.6%**			**59.1%**			**39.6%**

Source: Nielsen 2016

Table 4: Audience ratings for NZ on Air-funded Pacific TV programmes

Also revealing is the relatively small Pacific audience for these programmes in relation to the overall Pacific population. The combined total of Māori and Pacific viewers for the three programmes is 72,900, based on their last recorded ratings (which likely double-counts viewers who watch more than one programme). Nevertheless, that audience is shrinking. The median Māori and Pacific audience for *Tagata Pasifika* in 2015 (again, this is an aggregate figure) was only 1.3 percent of the overall Māori and Pacific population, down from more than four percent in 1999 (Figure 3.). Even ethnic-specific data for *Tagata Pasifika* (NZ on Air 2012a, p.48) shows that, at the programme's ratings peak, little more than one in ten Pacific people watched the programme, raising important questions about why a majority of Pacific people do not watch the country's main Pacific news and current affairs programme.

Figure 2: Percentage of Māori & Pacific Audience 05+
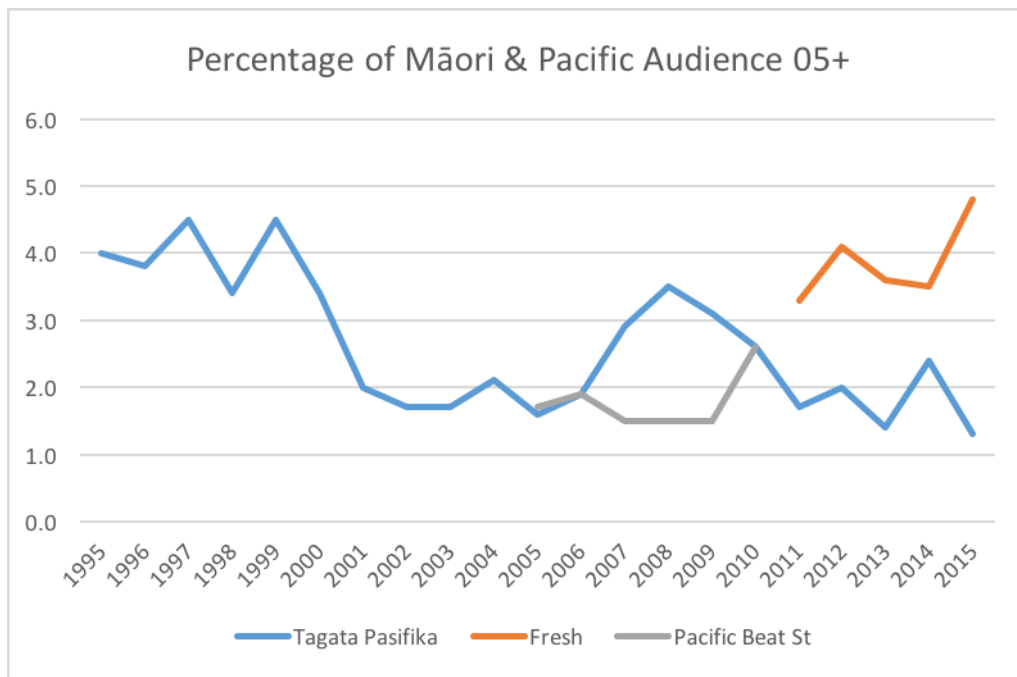
Figure 2: Māori and Pacific audiences for Tagata Pasifika, Fresh and Pacific Beat St 1995-2015, as a percentage of the Māori and Pacific population

Even more revealing, is the difference between *Tagata Pasifika* and the youth-oriented programmes *Fresh* and *Pacific Beat Street*. *Fresh* has more than three times the Māori and Pacific audience than *Tagata Pasifika,* and its Māori and Pacific audience is proportionately bigger*,* making its audience comparatively 'browner' than *Tagata Pasifika'*s. What's more, *Fresh* attracts a much bigger proportion of the total Māori and Pacific population (see Table 4). Clearly, the programmes are not strictly alike – *Tagata Pasifika* is a news and current affairs magazine-styled show, while *Fresh* (and its forerunner *Pacific Beat Street*) has a lighter format, with a mix of news and current affairs and entertainment. Still, importantly, the difference in audience figures may highlight the considerable challenge faced by generalist media like *Tagata Pasifika* (as opposed to specialist youth outlets), in bridging the interests of older (particularly island-born) *and* younger, New Zealand-born Pacific generations. Certainly, the youth programme's ability to attract a far bigger Pacific audience suggests that others could look to their success for ways to speak to the younger cohort.

Online innovation is just beginning and is patchy, but it may be a good place to start given increasing evidence of younger Pacific peoples' preference for online media. Accessing news

online has arguably become native youth culture (Huang 2009), and there is some literature to suggest that younger Pacific people are active users and producers of online content, and their internet use can form a key tool in their negotiations of ethnic and cultural identity (Franklin 2003, 2004 & Howard 1999 cited in NZ on Air 2012a, p.20). Socio-economic levels, income and occupation all influence media consumption, but *age* is the more powerful factor according to NZ on Air research (2014a). The youthful composition of New Zealand's Pacific population[25] skews Pacific consumption toward the Internet. Pacific peoples are, thus, more likely than average to watch online TV and less likely to listen to broadcast radio (NZ on Air 2014a, p.39), which has serious ramifications for Pacific radio formats. Pacific peoples are also more likely to watch on-demand media than the overall population (21 percent compared with 12 percent overall) and more likely to watch online video (44 per cent compared with 30 percent) (NZ on Air 2014a, p.39).

Media consumption in terms of daily reach		
Media	Pacific	All NZers
Ondemand	21%	12%
Online video	44%	30%
Music streaming	47%	23%
CDs/iPod	49%	38%

Source: NZ on Air 2014a, p.39

Table 5: Pacific media consumption compared to the average in terms of daily reach

Since launching in October 2013, *TheCoconet.tv* has recorded 4.5 million page views and has an average monthly audience of 70,000 users/viewers (Lisa Taouma 2016, pers. comm., 30 May). Founder Lisa Taouma says:

> There is increasingly more audience for the content we make for Coconet than there is for off-peak TV. It delivers to the niche Pacific communities who aren't serviced well on NZ television and they are increasingly looking to online play outs for content.

All of which indicates a pressing need for Pacific media to boost their investment in online and mobile technologies to engage in those spaces, especially if, as some predict (Huang 2009), young consumers continue to spurn text-heavy and legacy news approaches for high-quality multimedia news that is customisable, relevant, participatory and online.

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[25] The Pacific peoples ethnic group has the highest proportion of children than any other ethnic group in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand 2014, p.15) and a median age of 22.1 compared with 41 among Pākehā/Europeans.

Thus, Pacific media face challenges in terms of which platforms are best for delivering their content to a generationally divided audience. They face a second divide between young and old Pacific audiences in terms of language and content preferences. A Ministry of Culture and Heritage survey of Pacific Media Network listenership (2010) demonstrated a sharp split between a young population who are increasingly English-speaking and rooted in New Zealand and an older Pacific population who want news from 'home' and in a Pacific language. The survey of more than 600 Pacific people aimed to test people's radio listening habits and impressions of the state-funded radio stations Radio 531pi and Niu FM, and found Niu FM had a strong listenership among young people[26], partly because of its music programming. Niu FM listeners' media choice was driven more by music than news (though connection to the Pacific Island community, particularly Pacific news, set the station apart from its main commercial competitors Flava and Mai FM). Radio 531pi listeners, on the other hand, who were more likely to be aged between 30 and 49, preferred radio stations that delivered news or information from the Pacific Islands, which presents a difficult challenge for Pacific media needing to target both groups.

The survey also demonstrated the challenges facing Pacific media in terms of language use, especially with younger New Zealand-born audiences. Niu FM targets a primarily New Zealand-born demographic with English-language music programming during the day, but it switches to Radio 531pi's language-specific programmes from 6pm, which has made it difficult to maintain brand identity and audience. Niu FM producers say they struggle to retain their audience when programming flips so significantly from day to night, and the Ministry of Culture and Heritage survey clearly shows Niu FM's younger audience falling away from 7pm once language programming peaks[27]. The trends suggest second- and third-generation Pacific audiences in New Zealand, like younger ethnic audiences studied elsewhere (Lay & Thomas 2012), want something different from their media compared with their parents and grandparents. They also demonstrate just how big a task New Zealand's small-scale Pacific media have. They face significant challenges, armed with meagre

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[26] Its audience was younger than the average Pacific population (63 percent under 29, compared with 55 percent in the general Pacific population).

[27] Since this survey was undertaken, Niu FM has introduced the *Niu Nights* programme from 6pm to 10pm, extending its youth and music programming further into the schedule.

resources and, often, little training to cater for an increasingly disparate population that is fractured by language, identity and significant generational and cultural difference.

Summary

This chapter shows that Pacific media in New Zealand are highly diverse, which makes it hard to categorise them or make generalisations about the field. Pacific media face considerable structural challenges in terms of their small, scattered audiences and lack of funding which, inevitably, influences their media practices and content in ways that will be explained in later chapters. They also face key challenges to their reach and relevance as they deal on one hand with an apparent shift of Pacific audiences to newer digital media formats and, on the other hand, diverse audiences that cannot be easily addressed with universalising content and that are also undergoing significant demographic change. This chapter also introduces some of the strengths of Pacific media, such as tight connections to their communities and the ability of some to innovate. Here, innovation is understood in terms of generating income streams (such as capitalising on government advertising campaigns and pitching content to a Māori as well as Pacific audiences) as well as experimenting online, for example *TheCoconet.tv*. Later chapters will look at these characteristics in more detail, along with how Pacific media are meeting the challenges identified above and how audiences make sense of their efforts.

Chapter Three: Review of the literature

There is a rich, intersecting literature on ethnic minority, minority language, community and diasporic media that has variously sought to describe media that do not fit into the mainstream, and which is useful for this study. However, none of these subsets of literature on their own is a good fit for Pacific media, and the small body of local literature, which is patchy, does not give a strong theoretical position for Pacific media. This chapter, then, works through some of the inadequacies of the scholarship to demonstrate the lack of a consistently useful and stable theoretical literature that might shape this study. In that absence, the following chapter suggests that we need to re-orient towards the importance of identity work and ethnicity, which feature as constant points in the scholarship.

As signalled in Chapter One, little has been written about New Zealand's Pacific media or their audiences This thesis aims to build on that scholarship by looking at a broad range of New Zealand's Pacific media, examining Pacific audiences as well as Pacific media content, and by considering the landscape more theoretically. A small body of research has focused on Pacific people's under- and misrepresentation in mainstream media (see, for example, Pamatatau 2012; Papoutsaki & Strickland 2008; Loto et al. 2006; Spoonley & Hirsh 1990), which is discussed in Chapter Two. The following discussion outlines the even smaller literature on Pacific media practice in Aotearoa/New Zealand and relevant works on Pacific identity, before discussing in more detail the scholarship on ethnic media generally: the various ways in which ethnic media have been categorised, how they have been understood theoretically and key debates within the field. What emerges is a map (punctuated with blank spaces) that helps to guide understanding of Pacific media in some, but not all respects. Some of the location points on this map include: the structural positioning of ethnic minority media; their role in identity formation; and their diverse production and audience practices, which problematise simplistic explanations. The fragmentary nature of the scholarship, its definitional problems and awkward fit with the New Zealand Pacific situation lead me away from relying too heavily on the literature described below. Instead, this study makes sense of the terrain by drawing on the scholarship in a way that is sensitive to people's practices and driven by phenomena more than theory.

Pacific media in New Zealand

In the New Zealand context, Utanga (2007), Kailahi (2009), Robie (2009), Papoutsaki and Strickland (2008) and Neilson (2015) have all made useful attempts to summarise major issues within Pacific media from a production perspective. Utanga's early attempt (2007) to map Pacific media in New Zealand is largely descriptive and not empirical. However, it does helpfully paint a mediascape dominated by radio (which was the strongest medium largely because of the government's funding injection to launch Niu FM in 2002), rounded out by newspapers, which were nearly all published in Pacific languages and distributed in New Zealand by offshore publishers, a handful of television offerings and a couple of magazines. Utanga notes significant churn (he lists several failed attempts to sustain media operations), the nascent growth of online offerings (far fewer than in the USA where Pacific communities were better served by online news operations), an increasing use of English and a lack of formal training for most Pacific journalists. Robie (2009) drew on Utanga (2007) in a brief discussion of Pacific news media, in which he describes a lack of Pacific journalists and Pacific stories in the mainstream. Kailahi (2009), whose work is also descriptive, argued the need for strong Pacific media by contrasting specific examples of poor reporting in mainstream media with deeper coverage by *Tagata Pasifika* and Niu FM. She also mapped the Pacific mediascape and raised the shortage of trained Pacific journalists as a key issue, saying the lack of prestige, along with cultural and economic reasons, meant Pacific peoples were not attracted to journalism (2009, p.34). These accounts are helpful starting points, but are not based on empirical research and do not address how Pacific media producers are addressing the challenges they describe. As older accounts, they have also been rendered somewhat out of date by churn within the Pacific media sphere as well as significant technological and economic change within the wider media industry as a whole.

A more recent mapping exercise by Neilson (2015) provides a snapshot of Auckland-based Pacific media and, unlike the earlier works, focuses only on those media produced in New Zealand, rather than those that originate in the Pacific (which mostly deal with events outside of New Zealand). The monograph is largely descriptive and, by focusing only on Auckland media and media production, is limited in just how much it can say about Pacific media. However, by providing interviews with various Pacific media producers and a more up-to-date, if short, summary of Auckland-based media, it adds appreciably to the small literature on Pacific media. As in the earlier works, Neilson outlines the historical shortcomings of mainstream media and their misrepresentation of Pacific peoples, then argues that Pacific

media have emerged largely in response to these negative portrayals and, as such, have an underlying push to publish positive stories. Drawing on Robie's 'Four Worlds' model (2001), he likens Pacific media to Māori media, which largely follow nation-building (or in this case, culture-building) news values. These include development, social responsibility, integration and education, as well cultural survival and language revitalisation, although he does not draw these threads through the media profiles that follow.

Neilson asserts (2015, p.21) that Pacific media have "more than kept up with the global growth in online and social media", which overstates the current situation. As Chapter Two demonstrates, many of the Pacific media investigated for this study were still catching up in the digital space, and several had no social media presence while others had no website or a website that was under construction, broken or out-of-date. However, Neilson does profile several media that are based solely online, including *TheCoconet.tv, NZ Kaniva Pacific, e-Tangata* and *The Coconut Wireless*, thereby demonstrating advances in the online space since Utanga (2007) and Kailahi's (2009) snapshots. Based on media producers' assertions, Neilson also says issues of (negative) coverage and access have largely been solved, but he provides no clear evidence or contextual information to substantiate the claim. Indeed, he describes his analysis as a "top-down approach" that neither touches on audiences nor the quality of the news produced, instead "simply relying on the words of those producing it" (2015, p.63), and as such it must be read as but one view of Auckland's Pacific media. More usefully, Neilson charts the significant churn among these media, providing a list of past newspapers (though not broadcast or online media) and a succinct summary of Pacific newspapers' challenges, which included: difficulties attracting advertisers, small readerships, difficulties in gathering audience data, and competition with other newspapers, including those produced in the Pacific Islands.

These works have tended to be small in scope, and none goes far in developing a theoretical framework for understanding Pacific media, nor do they look at actual media content or Pacific audiences. Papoutsaki and Strickland do more in this regard in an older, Auckland-based pilot study (2008; see also Papoutsaki 2009) that interviewed not only media producers, audiences and community leaders, but also attempted a conceptual and methodological framework for what they called 'Pacific Islands diaspora media'. This included media produced in the islands as well as in New Zealand and drew on concepts of diaspora and hybridity to frame the diversity and multiple functions of Pacific media. They found that

Pacific diasporic media catered to a complex, multi-layered audience and Pacific media had different functions depending on the profile of their target audience which included: their island of origin, age, language proficiency and level of education, whether they were 1st, 2nd or 3rd- generation immigrants and where they lived (South Auckland, West Auckland or other areas).

> The Pacific media in New Zealand has been shaped and diversified along these lines, addressing those New Zealand-born residents and those born in the islands and [who] have migrated here. The former group which includes those NZ-born urban English speaking Pacific peoples, educated or middle professionals tends to be catered by media outlets such as Tagata Pasifika, Pacific Beat Street, Niu FM and Spasifik magazine. While the latter is catered by a plethora of community radio stations and newspapers, [and is] more likely to be working class and older first generation migrant families (Papoutsaki 2009, p.4).

Papoutsaki argued (2009) that Pacific diasporic media in New Zealand were opening up new and alternative ways of expression and representation that offered positive images and role models; addressed communication needs in culturally appropriate ways; and provided advocacy in the community and wider society. That said, her argument continues that they could not be seen as compensating for the lack of Pacific media content in the mainstream media, which remained to be addressed. Papoutsaki (2009) described Pacific media as offering 1st generation groups a sense of familiarity that kept their identities closer to island cultures, while in the case of diaspora-born, English-speaking youth, Pacific media helped create new hybrid identities that were less ethnic but culturally Pacific. However, she provides little detail on the *actual* differences in media content. Papoutsaki (2009) also observed that many Pacific peoples were turning to Pacific diaspora media such as the Pacific Radio Network to listen to their stories not only from a Pacific perspective but with a Pacific news style. Earlier (Papoutsaki & Strickland 2008), she noted that Pacific audiences made a distinction between a mainstream media news style and Pacific ways of presenting news that followed a Pacific storytelling mode, but neither publication provides the detail to explain what Pacific storytelling or news style looks or sounds like.

Nafiz's (2012) subsequent research into community media in New Zealand, Nepal and Sri Lanka includes empirical research on one Pacific media organisation, Samoa Capital Radio (SCR). It found that in the station's effort to stay economically viable it was evolving as a 'hybrid' of community and commercial radio. Programmes formerly produced by local community members had been displaced by programmes produced by paid staff and NGO- or

government agency-driven programmes, which meant programming was geared toward sponsors. He found that community voices had been marginalised, which tends to contradict the advocacy role advanced by Papoutsaki, at least regarding community-driven advocacy and representation. Nafiz considered that the station instead attempted to encourage community participation in three key ways: through its morning talkback programmes (although the restricted schedule meant only those at home could participate [ibid., p.225]); through ambitious plans to strengthen its website by uploading podcasts and live-streaming; and by establishing a platform for community members to upload news and information about community events, send in their photos, recordings, special songs and personal stories (ibid., p.271). That said, in 2016, the SCR website was still relatively basic. It had introduced a live-streaming function and podcasts but had few if any interactive features. Similarly, it posted infrequently to its Facebook public group page, which had only 701 members.

In summary, the few works on Pacific media in New Zealand helpfully highlight their role in combating negative stereotypes, as well as the challenges they face regarding a lack of resources (income, audience data and trained staff) and competition for small but highly diverse audiences. However, they have little to say about how Pacific media are responding to these challenges. Several of these works are also now out of date, and all lack either empirical data or data on audiences or Pacific media outside Auckland. The lack of data raises questions about whether all Pacific media face these challenges, as well as the nature of these (and new) challenges in New Zealand's contemporary environment. This thesis aims to build on the small body of scholarship by taking a broader view of New Zealand's Pacific media, and by looking at media content and Pacific audiences. As a way of getting beyond the patchy, soon-out-of-date mode of the existing literature on Pacific media, this thesis also aims to consider the landscape more theoretically. Papoutsaki (2009) attempts this, using diasporic theory, but does not explore in depth the relationship of local and Pacific, community and public and other binaries. As the following chapters argue, to understand these complexities of the Pacific experience in New Zealand and, thereby, Pacific media we need to consider more closely notions of identity.

Pacific identity

This study's focus on questions of identity- and community-building also requires an examination of the literature on Pacific identity and transnationalism. As described in Chapter Two, the Pacific community in New Zealand is undergoing significant demographic and

cultural transformation and various scholars attest to the challenges of trying to pin down identity within a population that is diverse and in flux (Anae 2001; Fairbairn & Makisi 2003: 40; Macpherson 2001). New Zealand research (Carter et al. 2009; Kukutai & Callister 2009) has found that multi-ethnic identity and ethnic fluidity is pronounced among younger and Māori and Pacific peoples. Borell (2005, p.205), Fairbairn and Makisi (2003, p.40), Macpherson (2001) and Teaiwa and Mallon (2005, pp.210-211) have all written about the adoption of a Pacific 'Nesian' identity by Pacific youth that departs significantly from their parents' and grandparents' migrant origins and traditions. Significantly, scholars have also described a lack of discourse around 'Pacificness' and the discouragement of identity critiques (see Brown Pulu 2007; Luafutu-Simpson 2006; Mila-Schaaf 2010; Southwick 2001; Tiatia 1998). This may speak to enduring notions of an 'authentic' traditional identity and value judgments between identities that are considered traditional and stable and those considered fragmented or hybrid, which are often cast in terms of the pathology of loss and marginalisation (Mila-Schaaf 2010).

Anae's work (1998, 2001), which explores the journey of New Zealand-born Samoans from immature identities to secure identities, illustrates these ideas of authenticity. Anae privileges traditional identities associated with the church, family, Samoan language and genealogy, equating all else as "identity confusion". She imagines identity as a linear process and singular destination when describing factors that get in the way of forming a strong Samoan identity, such as: family links put under strain by geographical dispersal; Western-style education; multi-ethnic personal networks; intermarriage; language loss; and the development of a common 'PI' or 'Nesian' identity that falls short of Samoan identity. Others have argued differently. Tupuola (2004) says the model of achieved identity is too linear and simply unattainable for diasporic youth for whom identity is a multi-faceted construct. She demonstrates that Pacific youth identify with multiple identities and cross between cultures to adopt signifiers, such as US gangsta fashion and hip hop culture, that are far removed from their Pacific genealogy and local geography. Instead, she employs the concept of 'edgewalking' to describe these Pacific youth as walking within and between cultures with relative ease and with a resilience about their multiple identities, thereby challenging the view that this is a transitional stage.

In her work on 2nd-generation Pasifika in New Zealand, Mila-Schaaf (2010) interviewed 14 high-achieving 2nd-generation Pasifika to explore connections between identity, acceptance

and belonging and found that, in different spaces, participants encountered competing narratives about whom Pacific peoples ought to be. Mila-Schaaf found that despite being racialised and constructed in limited ways by enduring ideals of Pacific homeland identities and culture, participants drew on diverse symbolic resources and capital to voice alternative stories and to construct multi-dimensional selves. She used the concept of polycultural capital to describe their ability to deploy cross-cultural resources strategically in different contexts. In so doing, she sidesteps deficit models that depict 2nd-generation Pasifika as being either "inauthentic, incomplete people" or 'caught between', and instead represents them as "strategic actors with multiple forms of capital, using it strategically to navigate relational spaces" (2010, p.299).

Mila-Schaaf's argument draws on concepts of diaspora, transnational relations, hybridity and double or diasporic consciousness (2010, p.134). Tupuola (2004) similarly employs ideas of hybridity and fluidity to assert that the self-identifications of Pacific youth are increasingly global and cut across multiple cultural and transnational boundaries. Brown Pulu's autobiographical and ethnographic study of Tongans in New Zealand (2007) further uses ideas of flux and ambiguity to explore the role of inter-generation and social memory in identity work; and Southwick's (2001) research on Pasifika nurses focuses on the in-between spaces – between traditions and between the contexts of academia and home – to explore how her participants negotiated identity, belonging and those 'spaces between'. Helpfully, Southwick argues against reducing complexity to simplistic explanation. She deconstructs the concept of marginality that places the mainstream at the centre and limits the 'marginalised' to a residual category "distinguished more by what we are not (i.e. "not one of us'), than by who we say we are" (2001, p.57). Instead, Southwick reconstructs the concept to give voice to Pacific women's experiences and to privilege views that are different.

As argued in Chapter Four, this thesis draws (loosely) on concepts of diaspora and hybridity (Gilroy 1993; Gillespie 1995), borderlands (Anzaldua 1999), and third space (Bhabha 1994, 1998) to problematise discourses of essentialism, fixed origin, and 'authenticity' and to foreground contested sense-making and transformation. In so doing, it aims to widen the lens through which questions of identity, community and belonging are examined – and, hopefully, avoid the pervasive hierarchies and assumptions about ethnic identity that privilege binaries about the 'stable' and 'authentic' (Mila-Schaaf 2010, pp.141-3). As these differing accounts show, and as Pearson (1999, p.363) notes, there are many complexities to Pacific

identities in New Zealand that require more than a simple framework for their explanation – and a more nuanced understanding of the role that media play in constructing, representing and navigating these identities.

A different but similarly small body of literature examines aspects of Pacific identity and the media in a transnational context. Spoonley (2003) and Spoonley et al. (2003) noted that Pacific communities in New Zealand constitute a much greater proportion of the global diasporas of any Pacific community. They argued that the growing influence, size and economic power of these communities mean they are becoming centres of cultural and communal life in their right. As such, Pacific diasporic communities have become capable of developing new forms of Pacific identity and cultural practices as well as altering the nature of diasporic relations (which is a strong argument for the timeliness of this study's focus on media produced by Pacific peoples in New Zealand). Spoonley (2003) identified new identity positions (fa'a Aukilani and fa'a Niu Sila) signalling that the relationship between members of New Zealand's Pacific communities and their original societies had begun to change. He suggested that the use of websites such as *Kava Bowl*, the *Polynesian Café* and *Rotumanet* had become an important means of linking virtual ethnic communities.

In her paper on the weakening transnational ties between 2nd-generation Tongans and the Tongan homeland, Lee (2004, p.247) also argued that media, especially websites such as *Planet Tonga*, could help to build an emotional sense of attachment to the idea of a homeland and a greater sense of a global Tongan community. However, this did not necessarily translate into actual transnational ties (such as remittances). Her implication that the attachment of diasporic Tongans to the homeland was 'less than real' is not clearly explained, however, Lee (2004, 2007) does suggest that the fact many Tongans have an ambivalent attitude toward the diaspora, whom they had never fully acknowledged as "real" Tongans, might explain the feelings of ambivalence that diasporic Tongans have toward the 'homeland'.

Howard's older work on Pacific-based virtual communities (1999) argued that meaningful (as distinct from emotional [Lee, 2004]) communities could be built over the Internet, but that maintaining such a community required:

> a core group of participants who engaged in a frequent exchange of news and information (in addition to exchanging goods and services when called for), and a sense of collective history built from continual exposure to common lore and shared interests (1999, p.161).

Interestingly, Spoonley et al. (2003) argued that technology had, on the one hand, contributed to new transnational spaces and forms of transnational exchange in the development of 'virtual neighbourhoods' that reinforced linkages between communities in New Zealand, Australia, the USA (especially Hawai'i and California) and the Pacific. However, they argued it had also created challenges to cultural orthodoxy and the nature of communities. By democratising discussion about culturally significant issues without relying on the norms, institutions and sanctions that prevail in traditional cultural processes, information technologies had subverted or altered cultural dynamics and signalled a new era in the ways that diasporic communities interacted.

Whether new technologies have enabled different forms of community or identity dynamics within New Zealand's Pacific media is an interesting question. *Spasifik* and *Pacific Beat Street* have challenged traditional identities without resorting to new technologies, while one of the newest digital innovations *TheCoconet.tv* both reinforces and challenges cultural traditions and ideals of Pacific 'authenticity.'[28] It is too simplistic to say that technology makes the difference, but such questions indicate the need for closer examination of the nature of the communities that coalesce around different forms of Pacific media.

The ethnic media scholarship

The literature on ethnic minority media is small and dispersed across different disciplines. It is also: hard to find (Benavide 2006); largely descriptive (Johnson 2010, p.113); and often conceptually unclear (Hickerson & Gustafson 2016, p.946). Much of the research has been investigated through case studies that, while informative in specific situations (Le 2015), do not necessarily translate in the New Zealand context. That gap further underlines the need for this empirical study. The literature also reveals some big gaps – studies of ethnic minority audiences, in particular, are relatively rare (there are few reliable statistics about their audience reach), and very few studies have much to say about how people use ethnic media. Other gaps include policymaking; the under-representation of ethnic minorities in the media workforce; the nature of the societal structures within which ethnic minority media operate; and the political economy of ethnic media (Browne 2005; Downing & Husband 2005). The intention of the discussion that follows is to review what the literature says specifically about ethnic media. Wider theories about identity, ethnicity and culture as well as media structures, audiences and practices are discussed in Chapter Four.

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[28] The platform includes how-to sections on traditional practices and 'knowing your roots', and an online talk show that tackles controversial topics (see Chapter Eight for a fuller description).

One dominant line of research on ethnic media has concentrated on media content and representational problems in relation to: ethnicity and 'race' in the media (the use of racialised stereotypes and systematic under- and misrepresentation of minority ethnic groups); and the marginalisation of minority journalists (see P. Smith 2016; Spoonley & Hirsh 1990, and Whimp 2008 for New Zealand examples; see Jakubowicz et al. 1994 and Molnar & Meadows 2001 for Australian examples; and see Cottle 1998, 2000; Downing & Husband 2005; Gandy 1998; van Dijk 1991 and Wilson, Gutierrez & Chao 2003 for more general summaries). Hesmondhalgh and Saha (2013) note that scholars have tended to concentrate on content and questions of interpretation and meaning, while research on race/ethnicity and cultural production (and related issues of power, inequality and social justice) is sparse and marginalised.

There is also a strand of research summarising the extent to which ethnic media are constrained by structural and commercial realities such as poor resourcing (Bell et al. 1991; Husband 1994; Naficy 1993; Ojo 2006; Riggins 1992; and Zhou & Cai 2002); a lack of trained staff (Ananthakrishnan 1994; Kailahi 2009; Ngui 1994; Ojo 2006; Utanga 2007; and Yu & Murray 2007); limited audiences and therefore advertising reach (Sinclair 2009); and their patronage and dependency on majority authorities (Caspi et al. 2002, p.552). Georgiou (2003) alludes to broader structural issues when she points out that the poverty of some nations is reproduced as communication poverty in their diaspora; there is very little Black African (and little or no Pacific) satellite television, for instance, but a large amount of Turkish and Latino satellite television. Indeed, Adriaens (2012, p.129) argues that not all of a group's members, or even a majority of them, have access to the media. This, along with the existence of power imbalances between and within different groups, provides reason for using the term 'minority media' (as is the case in this study) to underline those power differentials.

Browne and Uribe-Jongbloed (2013) note that the history of minority language media reveals economic support is a major factor in the development of many; newspapers and radio have been short-lived, largely because of a lack of funding, and television has been beyond the means of most. In her study of Sami media, Pietikäinen (2008, p.176) describes a typical ethnic minority mediascape where radio is the strongest medium, newspapers languish due to a lack of resources and television and internet-based media are either at an early stage of development or do not exist at all. Though these works provide a useful summary of some of the challenges faced by ethnic media, Hesmondhalgh and Saha (2013, p.185) argue that we

must do more to attend also to "the entrenched ways in which racism operates in contemporary societies, and how it manifests in cultural production".

Bonfadelli et al.'s overview of the European literature on media and ethnic minorities (2007 cited in Adriaens 2012) identifies three key theoretical strands in the literature: media effects, mostly in terms of the social integration of migrants through their use of host country media (see Subervi-Velez (1986) for a summary of earlier research in this strand); cultural studies, which has studied texts and audiences in terms of media representations and the construction of hybrid identities and communities; and uses and gratification, which mainly questions the uses and functions of media. The cultural studies perspective, which is closest to the approach of this study, is discussed and examined through the lenses of community, Indigenous and diasporic studies in more detail below (*Critical approaches*). Likewise, the uses and functions research is teased out in more detail in the following section (*Functionalist approaches*), where my approach is not to borrow from Parsons (Kunczik 2008) by assuming that things are always functional within a system, but to use the term more broadly. Relatedly, I use the terms 'function'/'functionalist' only in reference to the literature, and elsewhere in this thesis refer instead to the 'role' of Pacific media. The distinction attempts to maintain a conceptual gap between the functions that scholars or social norms attribute to activities and the roles that those activities play in people's worlds. This study is interpretive and follows categorisations put forward by participants, so while the terms 'function/functionalist' explain the scholarly literature, 'role' is the more appropriate term elsewhere.

Both discussions, *Critical approaches* and *Functionalist approaches*, demonstrate the usefulness – and limitations – of these approaches in the New Zealand Pacific context. The media effects approach, which focuses on normative questions of integration, is a poorer fit for this study. The majority of Pacific peoples are not migrant but born *in* New Zealand, which requires a different academic approach. Moreover, as Adriaens (2012, p.119) notes, the media effects scholarship is problematic in that it 'others' minority audiences by focusing on how using homeland media 'makes' them different. Thus, it relies on nation-centric understandings of the role of media, and it is blind to the subjective and demographic diversity of audiences and the rapidly changing landscape of global media and communities.

Functionalist approaches

Various works attempting to pin down the role of ethnic minority media, including Arnold &

Schneider (2007), Bell et al. (1991), Browne (2005), Forde et al. (2009), Georgiou (2004), Guzman (2006), Hayes (2006), Hanusch (2013a), Johnson et al. (2004), Karim (2008), Lind (2008), Matsaganis et al. (2011), Ojo (2006), Riggins (1992), Sreberny (2005), Viswanath and Arora (2000), Yu and Murray (2007), and Zhou and Cai (2002), suggest they serve several functions, chiefly: maintaining the language and culture of an ethnic group; combating negative stereotypes and providing a counter-narrative to mainstream media reporting; and providing self-representation, that is, 'telling one's own story and celebrating one's own culture in one's own way' (Browne 2005, p.31). Subsidiary functions include: providing news about the ethnic community and covering its activities through a culturally appropriate framework (Hanusch 2013a); and providing a public sphere (Browne 2005) that can act as a space for empowerment (Forde et al. 2009; Hanusch 2013a). This space can encompass activism, such as promoting groups' political interests; motivating them to be politically active; and serving as collective expressions of anger at injustice (Lind 2008).

Fleras (2011, p.248) typifies these pluralistic functions in terms of inward/outward and reactive/proactive dynamics. Ethnic media are inward, he argues, when they focus on the needs of local ethnic communities. That might be reactive in terms of countering mainstream under- or misrepresentation, or proactive in terms of building community cohesion or cultural pride. At the same time, ethnic media are outward looking when they advocate for their communities within broader society. Again, that can be reactive (counteracting prejudice and discrimination) or proactive (fostering minority civic participation). However, it's not clear where the mainstream production of ethnic media content, transnational or pan-ethnic media (all of which bridge quite different ethnic groups) fit within this typology. As such, functionalist approaches to ethnic media are examined more closely here to tease out what each tends to find, as well as their inherent tensions and the areas each leaves underexplored.

Language and culture

Several scholars – Cormack and Hourigan (2007), Davila (2001), Downing (1992), Henningham (1992), Ip (2006), Lewis (2008), Moran (2006), Pietikäinen (2008) and Moring et al. (2011) – have viewed language maintenance as a core function of ethnic media. A typical argument (Pietikäinen 2008) is that such media provide, among other things, the linguistic and cultural resources to bridge 'old' and 'new' homelands, a link (and sometimes the only link) to world events for those who have no command of the majority language, and a crucial space for the practice and survival minority languages. However, it is not clear *how*

minority language communities' use of the media actually helps language maintenance. Indeed, as Smith notes (2016, p.29), ten years of Māori Television provision has not improved fluency in te reo Māori[29], and research on language and media shows there is no way to identify a definitive link between broadcasting practices and increases in the health of a language.

Smith and others have suggested instead that language may fulfil symbolic rather than informative functions, such as media branding (Narbaiza et al. 2013) or standing as a symbol of ethnic belonging (Dolowy-Rybinska 2013) or prestige (Smith 2016). Johnson (2000) has challenged language-based ethnic media models by demonstrating that some ethnic media do thrive *without* their ethnic language. The rapid growth of bilingual Hispanic television shows and bilingual and English-dominant Hispanic print media, which create Latino identities in English*, proves the need, Johnson argues, for a revised model of ethnic media that takes into account the possibility of more symbolic ethnic media functions – and, I would argue, diverse content. Her argument is directly relevant here, as Pacific media are also increasingly produced, not in Pacific languages, but in English, and the assumption that language must be a determinant of Pacific media does not hold here. Moreover, there is evidence (Ang et al. 2002; Gillespie 1995; Hargreaves 2001; Hargreaves & Mahdjoub 1997; Madianou 2005; Milikowski 2001; Rios & Gaines 1997, 1998; and Wilkin et al. 2007) that few ethnic minority groups consume media only in their minority language – most also use dominant language media. Indeed, Cormack (2007) rightly asks: why do bilingual audience members choose to consume their media in one language or another? This study hopes to explore that question with Pacific audiences.

Markelin and Husband (2013), in their study of Sámi language media, further demonstrate that for some ethnic media, it can be difficult in practice to sustain language and culture across an ethnic minority group when it is fractured by diverse languages and cultures (as are Pacific peoples in New Zealand). This highlights the need to avoid theorising that masks the heterogeneity of ethnic communities. Indeed, the challenges of finding staff and the need to reach as wide an audience as possible meant Sámi producers often resorted to using a majority language such as Swedish or Norwegian or, when they did operate in a Sámi language, North Sámi rather than the smaller Sámi languages. This suggests the language

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[29] The 2013 census found 21.3 percent of Māori could hold a conversation about a lot of everyday things in Māori, down 4.8% from the 2006 census (Smith 2016, p.29).

revitalisation role of ethnic media cannot be taken on faith; instead, we need to examine ethnic media's actual language practices closely. Johnson (2010, p.108) notes, too, that ethnic media definitions based on language take no account of media produced for groups whose languages have been lost or rarely used (such as U.S. Native Americans) or groups like Europe's Roma (and New Zealand's Pacific peoples), who speak a variety of languages. In these ways, language cannot always be seen as a unifier. Uribe-Jongbloed (2016) further argues that, despite similarities between minority language media, the specific context of each must be studied in detail to determine how language interacts not only with other identity markers but also with competing functions such as being a space for overcoming stereotypes.

A few studies have examined the link between cultural values and journalism and there is evidence (especially from comparative studies) that such work is useful explaining differences in journalistic practices, that is production (Hallin & Mancini 2004; Hanitzsch et al. 2010; Hanitzsch et al. 2011; Obijiofor & Hanusch 2011). Most have so far been concerned largely with analyses of published news content or with news producers' views of their journalism (Hanusch 2013b & 2014; Mercado 2015; Pietikäinen 2008). There seems an emerging scholarly emphasis on the importance of culture argued, for instance, by Hanusch (2013b & 2014) who calls for a renewed focus on culture in his papers on the influence of culture and cultural values on Māori journalists' professional views and practices, and Kenix (2013), who argues that culture is central to how journalism is conceived by audiences and journalists and is more influential than organisational norms or professional orientation. While there is evidence to say that cultural differences influence journalistic work, it is less clear, however, how or to what degree cultural differences influence audiences' media practices. In summarising the scholarship on ethnic minorities' media consumption, Siapera (2010, p.171) says the overall picture is mixed, with no discernable patterns, and internal group differences prevent generalised conclusions.

What makes such analysis difficult, too, is the fact that culture is fluid and constituted differently at different times and in different places (Underhill-Sem 2010, p.9; see also Chapter Four). In the New Zealand Pacific space that is especially true. There are significant differences between and within Pacific ethnic groups such as between island-born and NZ-born and between language speakers and non-Pacific language speakers. Culture is also contested, as evidenced in debates over authenticity and tradition, which is often performed in special Pacific events and festivals and privileged as culturally representative (Underhill-Sem

2010, p.11). Similarly, contrary to the language revitalisation ideal for ethnic media, Pacific media in New Zealand are increasingly produced not in Pacific languages but English (see Chapter Six). In fact, language loss within Pacific communities means that more than half of Pacific people are unable to hold an everyday conversation in their first language and fewer still can read it (Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs 2011). This clearly undermines the ability of Pacific media to fulfil their roles supporting language and, possibly, cultural revitalisation. All of which points to a complex terrain that merits closer empirical study.

Counter-narrative to mainstream

Ethnic media have been equated with providing an alternative to mainstream news (e.g., Alia & Bull 2005; Deuze 2006; Silverstone & Georgiou 2005; Shumow 2010). However, several scholars have raised questions about their independent nature and alternative voice (and ethnicness) by demonstrating that they can be a copy of the profit-oriented mainstream news media. Daniels' (2006) case study of Native American media revealed that, far from producing their own 'ethnic' content, some ethnic media republished mainstream content in large quantities – up to 95 per cent of their product. Ngui (1994) and Bell et al. (1991) cite ethnic media journalists who see themselves more as translators of other media content than originators of news; Browne (2005), Molnar and Meadows (2001), and Riggins (1992) note heavy use of mainstream media content, production values and styles by ethnic media; and Lay and Thomas (2012) find evidence within black and minority ethnic media in London of a desire by producers to get closer to the mainstream. Indeed, Browne and Uribe-Jongbloed (2013, p.21) note a growing tendency for minority language media to sound more like 'mainstream professional' operations, with similar style and content, and, in some cases, a prioritising of content that reaches a mainstream audience.

Moran's (2006) content analysis of mainstream and Spanish-language television news channels revealed Spanish media follow the conventions of the mainstream, just in a different language. They have similar story types, corporate structures, news values, presentation, focus on profits and even their journalists share largely the same training. Riggins' (2015) study of stories about mining in an Indigenous newspaper in Canada found very few stories demonstrated the traditional environmental knowledge that was claimed to distinguish the Indigenous population; rather the dominant environmental discourse reflected Euro-Canadian values and the weak organisational structure of Indigenous papers in Canada. Similarly, Hargreaves (2001) notes many of the programmes on Turkish satellite television are not

'Turkish' in content or style but are hybrids of an American entertainment model broadcast in Turkish. This adoption of mainstream market models belies the cultural studies view of diasporic (and other ethnic) media resisting dominant structures and discourses (Karim 2003).

In addition, Walker (1999) challenges research that assumes a homogenous 'ethnic' media, whether it is 'Hispanic' or 'Chinese' (or, for that matter, 'Pacific'), by demonstrating significant differences in content between the different kinds of Haitian radio and newspaper media in Miami. Sharma (2007) similarly traces historical differences in the structure, form and content of America's South Asian print media, demonstrating that content is not only heterogeneous across media, but also across time, which indicates that any assertion about the counter-hegemonic role of ethnic media content must be carefully grounded in empirical research. Indeed, these various works suggest that to embrace the diversity they highlight, ethnic media must be examined with sensitivity to a broad range of practices and understandings – across all mediums and within the contexts of consumption as well as production – and always with complexity in the foreground

Self-representation and identity formation

A key idea behind ethnic minority media is that ethnic groups lack adequate representation and voice in mainstream media and require their own media to fill the gap (Siapera 2010, p.94). Various scholars have raised interesting questions about issues of representation and identity in minority media, such as who has the right to speak on behalf of whom, especially when small groups or individual minority entrepreneurs run ethnic media (Georgiou 2003), as is the case for many Pacific media. Silverstone & Georgiou (2005) ask whether journalists from ethnic minorities speak as members of that ethnic group or as disinterested and professional journalists. It is an important question. Riggins (1994) says it is not unusual for ethnic media journalists to be better educated than their target audience and to differ in personal interests and linguistic skills. Similarly, Smith (2006) warns, in the case of Māori Television, that producers can risk 'staging' cultural identity in a way that privileges a fluent Maori-speaking elite when most audience members do not speak Māori. In her study of the media uses of working-class Chinese women in America, Shi (2009) says such social differences are crucial, whether they are based on class, gender, income, or education. She questions the extent to which editors, producers and writers can speak for their audience, especially in a commercial outlet where they have close connections to power elites and

advertisers, and where commercial imperatives limit their ability to attend to the weak and poor. Sreberny (2005) raises a different but no less important issue about the risk of ethnic reification, whereby ethnic media, through their narrow representations, freeze communities in isolated positions in relation to each other and the majority ethnic group.

Several works have also raised questions about ownership and its role determining ethnicness and ethnic representation. According to Gandy (1998), most Latino and Black radio stations have been owned by non-Latinos and non-Blacks, which complicates how we define ethnic media: Must they be ethnic minority owned to be 'ethnic'? Major (White) American media corporations have produced publications, programmes and channels directed towards Spanish-speaking audiences, while notable ethnic television networks BET and Telemundo have been bought out by mainstream (White) corporate interests (Wilson et al. 2003). Hayes (2006) asks how we define ethnic media in the face of such media consolidation, when the mainstream absorbs ethnic media to the extent that its largest outlets are owned by Whites and simply managed by people of colour. Browne (2005) says the situation bears watching to determine whether services thus acquired become less ethnic-community minded. Le also notes (2015, p.7) that other media outlets' success hinged on the fact they were not just operated by ethnic group members, but also owned by them, which implies that ethnic ownership is indeed a condition of 'ethnic' credentials. In contrast to this, Wolseley (cited in Gandy 1998) argues that ownership alone is not enough. In his analysis of the Black American press, he argues that media must not only be owned by Blacks but also *intended* for Black audiences. Caspi and Elias (2011) draw a similar distinction between media-*by* and media-*for* minorities to demonstrate numerous theoretical and practical implications for a media outlet's social roles and relations between majority and minority, as well as who participates in public discourse and how. Thus, seemingly simple questions of ownership, which cascade into curlier questions about representation and media practice, highlight the complexity of the ethnic media terrain.

There is also an assumption that ethnic media play an important role in building the affective dimension of identity (the feeling of belonging to a group) and negotiating and reinforcing ethnic identity and solidarity within minority groups (Le 2015; Noronha & Papoutsaki 2014; Matsaganis et al. 2011). Bailey (2015) says media are key resources for shaping ethnic communities' identities – spaces where complex identities are constructed and where people are invited to construct a sense of self – while Lay and Thomas (2012) argue that media have

symbolic value for community, identity and social cohesion. Various studies have examined the role of media in identity formation (see, for example, Hargreaves 2001; Gillespie 1995; Sreberny 2000; Tsagarousianou 2001a, 2001b, 2004; and Yin, 2015). However, as Nurse et al. (2015) note, the extent to which media interact with minority identity formation remains highly ambiguous. Browne and Uribe-Jongbloed (2013) note that the interactional aspects of community building – who is represented by a minority media's output, who isn't, and in what ways a sense of community is reinforced – are key questions that demand further research, and it is the intention of this study to explore this in the context of Pacific media.

Some recent works suggest useful areas of focus. Johnson (2010) and Mora et al. (2016), draw on social identity and self-categorisation theories to argue that ethnic media play an important role in generating and reinforcing socio-cultural categories. They hypothesise that individuals form and adopt collective or social identities based on processes that accentuate in-group prototypes, which enable in-group definition as well as dictate proper group practices and values. Four social identity and self-categorisation concepts are considered especially relevant to ethnic media: *accessibility* (the range of ethnic labels available for self-identification)*; social norms* (the cultural practices and values that structure identities, for example, the privileging of Pacific language fluency); *prototypes* (the group attributes commonly associated with an ethnic group); and *fit* (the match between media representations and audiences' realities)*. In their study of social identity and English-language Latino programmes, Mora et al. (2016, p.32) found a positive association between the programmes' hyphenated and pan-ethnic social identities and the self-worth and ethnic solidarity of their respondents, who were mostly second-plus generation Latina or Latino. Conversely, respondents felt their competence decline when programme characters identified their Latino social identity through a specific ethnic label such as Mexican, Cuban or Puerto Rican.

> Because national ethnic labels signal a foreign-born status, viewers could have associated it with the immigrant stigma that situates Latina/os into a working class social status, unintelligent, or incapable of acquiring English-language competencies …. Such foreigner connotations perhaps reduced their competence since current participants felt that others would not validate their accumulated cultural capital (e.g., English-language proficiency, citizenship) that facilitates upward social mobility as U.S.-born Latina/os (ibid.).

This suggests that the range of representations available in Pacific media – and their fit with different Pacific communities' everyday realities – will be key to how well such representations resonate with Pacific audiences.

Adriaens (2012) argues that studies exploring ethnic media's role in identity formation have tended to disavow the heterogeneity and diversity of audience identities and media offerings, notwithstanding their insights into the ways in which ethnic minority audiences interact with texts and negotiate meaning, However, it is clear from some studies that producers' diverse identity positions (and contexts) have a material bearing on what representations are created in the media. Naficy (1993) and Milikowski (2001) have noted that diasporic migrant media portray their ethnic 'homelands' and culture differently from 'homeland' media. They tend to fetishize an 'authentic', often defensively traditional representation that bears little relation to the reality of modern life, but that more accurately reflects cultural longing for 'home' and processes of cultural maintenance and demarcation in the migrants' host country. Shi (2009), Tsagarousianou (2001a, 2001b), De Santis (2003) and Davila (2001) argue that transnational media produced in the 'homeland' or other diasporic locations often fail to address the needs and interests of diasporic communities who want local content that is specific to their host country and their local communities. They treat them, instead, as part of a homogenised, transglobal ethnic group, serving up content that is designed for a different geographical and often social, historical, political and economic context. Scholars have also noted differences in the identities expressed by producers and their audiences. In a study of Canadian Greek media practices, Panagakos (2003) found that identities expressed in the relatively 'anonymous' space of self-created web pages and Internet chat rooms were very different from those created for public display to the dominant 'other'. The latter represented a more symbolic ethnicity and acceptance of the dominant Canadian version of what Greekness meant suggesting that it is important to examine questions of identity and community-building across a range of media. All of which raises the question: is there such a thing as 'Pacific' style or content, and if so, does that define media as 'Pacific'? Certainly, it suggests that empirical research needs to be sensitive to the way this category is a construct of producers, policy makers and audiences (and researchers) – and is not the same for each of these interest groups – requiring us to look closely at where Pacific content is produced, how, who by and for whom.

Identity processes involve multiple motivations but key among them is the need to belong – to feel close to others and to experience social acceptance and relatedness (Vignoles 2011, p.419). Ethnic media are an important resource in this respect, but some studies suggest we must avoid overstating their role. For instance, Nurse et al. (2015) found that the media consumption of ethnic minorities was (mostly) *not* determined by the search for ethnic

identification. Siapera (2010, p.172) cautions against a causal relationship link between minority groups' media use, belongingness and identity when noting the relative dearth of reception studies on ethnic minority groups. Indeed, empirical audience research (Aksoy & Robins 2000; Georgiou 2004; Gillespie 1995; Madianou 2005; Ogunyemi 2015) reveals significant differences in minority audiences' media use – which is complex and not obviously tied to ethnic identity. This, in turn, complicates our understanding of the role that Pacific media might play in the construction of identities and community. Arnold and Schneider (2007) found only 12 percent of respondents used solely ethnic media. Ang et al.'s Australian study (2002) found non-English-speaking background (NESB) groups not only used a wide mix of mainstream and culturally specific media but also used media in similar ways to other Australians, regardless of background, thereby scotching the idea of 'mainstream' and 'ethnic' audience blocks. In a related vein, Milikowski (2001) showed that high use of Turkish satellite television and strong identification with other Turks in the Netherlands was matched by more (not less) active participation in Dutch life – it was not an 'either/or' situation.

Others have shown as many differences *within* ethnic groups as between them. Hargreaves (2001), Hargreaves and Mahdjoub (1997), Gillespie (1995), Madianou (2005), and Ang et al. (2006) have found media use is determined partly by gender, age and generation. Wilkin et al. (2007) further suggest that it may be 'geo-ethnic' differences that influence people's media use, after finding significant differences between people of similar ethnic backgrounds who live in different communities – even when controlling for socio-economic status, immigration history, residential tenure, and home ownership. In this vein, Harindranath (2000) warns that audiences who have been acknowledged to inhabit several intersecting social spaces simultaneously cannot be unproblematically reduced to just one social variable or position, such as ethnicity; to privilege one over the other is to be reductionist. Moreover, it is doubtful whether the knowledge of a person's class, age, gender or ethnicity is enough to predict their interpretation of a text (Harindranath 2000). As such, this study attempts to view Pacific people's media use and production as multi-faceted.

It also aims to stay grounded in people's broader practices, to avoid the risk of reading too much into people's media consumption. As some researchers (Ojo 2006; Ngui 1994; Lewis 2008; Arnold & Schneider 2007) have demonstrated, in some cases, only a minority of ethnic minority group members prefer or actually use ethnic media. This raises the possibility that,

for a majority of ethnic group members, ethnic media are not important. Also, just as Hermes (1995) discovered that media use could be mundane and even meaningless – merely a secondary activity that fills 'empty' time – Aksoy and Robins (2003) highlight problems with viewing audiences as having anything other than ordinary motivations. They found that migrants' diasporic television viewing was neither ethno-cultural nor 'diasporic' in motivation, but entirely social – migrants, like homeland viewers, were simply looking for the familiar. Madianou (2005) also found media consumption in Athenian Turkish households was nothing more than ordinary, shaped by social rather than ethnic parameters. Audiences, regardless of their ethnicity, used Greek *and* Turkish media and used them in banal ways (although, interestingly, that changed in situations of tension or crisis between ethnic groups). Such works highlight the importance of staying attuned to the mundane everyday uses of media – rather than misreading departures from the ordinary as the norm.

Public sphere and democratic role

Another strand of ethnic media scholarship places ethnic media in the traditions of public sphere and democratic function by viewing them as: upholding the right to communicate and shape public debate (Husband, 2000; Downing & Husband 2005); contributing to the creation of counter-public spheres (Cunningham & Sinclair 2001; Couldry & Dreher 2007; Fleras 2011; Yu & Ahadi 2010) and acting as empowering forces (Forde et al. 2009; Howley 2005; Mercado 2015; Molnar & Meadows 2001; Meadows 2015); or agents of activism or political action (Johnson et al. 2004; Skjerdal 2011; Waller & McCallum 2014). Again, however, the picture is complex. Comrie (2012) argues that minority media can be closer to public service norms than state-owned media, while Browne (2005), Downing and Husband (2005), and Riggins (1992) describe ethnic minority media as largely politically conservative and, in many cases, wary of taking a political stance to avoid losing already small audiences and advertising (Park 1922, cited in Johnson 2000, p.243). This situation necessarily limits their role as empowering agents or advocates. Shi (2009) says scholars have been too narrowly focused on community-based, non-commercial ethnic media (where the observation of an alternative and democratic role largely holds true) and they have failed to consider the changing political economy of many ethnic media outlets. In the United States, at least, these outlets are nation-wide businesses that belong to multinational media corporations or have close connections to mainstream media. Clearly, the role described for ethnic media must be

carefully situated in each outlet's wider socio-economic context – and described in ways that resist the temptation to homogenise.

Various scholars have identified ways in which ethnic media facilitate public spheres, public debate and democratic engagement. Forde et al. (2009) argue that Indigenous media enhance the democratic process by acting as a 'cultural bridge' through which citizens can bring their issues to the dominant public sphere and influence policy decisions. Carpentier et al. (2015, p.491) further suggest that community media (which includes many ethnic media) enhance a wider democratic culture through participatory practices and agonistic problem-solving strategies. In work with African-Australian broadcasters, Budarick (2016; Budarick & Han 2015) also finds that ethnic minority media can be central mechanisms through which cross-cultural dialogue is established and maintained, although significant structural barriers often get in the way. Echoing Couldry and Dreher's (2007) call to examine the interrelationship and dialogue between public spheres, he warns scholars to pay closer attention to the potential for minority communities to speak across publics (rather than only as representatives of a particular community) and to be understood and acknowledged by the mainstream and others. Waller et al. (2015) similarly note that while digital and social media have built on Indigenous media traditions and enabled a proliferation of new Indigenous voices, it is not clear that these Indigenous-produced media are listened to by the powerful. The authors draw a distinction between participation as involvement in the production and dissemination of media, and participation as political influence, arguing that both are necessary to fully realise the democratic potential of Indigenous media.

Shumow and Vigon (2016) demonstrate further limitations among Spanish-language media, which fall short of the normative democratic expectations of media to present a plurality of viewpoints and ideas. They found coverage of key topics identified by Hispanic voters was scant, and there were high levels of content duplication and homogenisation that were hard to defend as providing a diverse array of news, information, opinions, and viewpoints for a diverse audience. Likewise, Li (2015) found that market competition and profit concerns trumped the normative goals of Chinese language media in Canada, while Le (2015) writes that technological constraints can and do limit minority media's participation in debates.

> Depending on a number of factors (i.e. economic standing, place of production, range of their reach, technology and audience), the type and amount of participation they enable, provide and encourage varies and affects differently the functioning of democracy (p.16).

As such, these works question the extent to which ethnic media fulfil a public sphere role, and highlight the need for researchers to critically examine the power imbalances that shape the experience of many ethnic media. They advocate for carefully contextualising our research to allow for complex and multiple realities, as Shi (2009) argues below.

As this discussion demonstrates, there is a risk of overstating the fit of functions that are defined for other contexts with Pacific media in Aotearoa/New Zealand, as well as the extent to which media successfully carry out the functions summarised here. Functionalist approaches tend to obscure issues of power in and around ethnic media and overlook the fact that news outlets do not necessarily function identically for people or groups (Hess & Waller 2014, p.124). In these respects, functional explanations can only help us so far. Shi (2009) warns against simple explanations that privilege one function or type of media over others, arguing that ethnic media scholars have tended too often to homogenise ethnic media that differ in origin, history, ownership, production processes, circulation patterns, discursive mission and connection to community. The consequence is to disregard people's multiple crosscutting affiliations and complex media use. Instead, she says we must consider the historical, political, economic and cultural characteristics of different ethnic media outlets to better understand ethnic media, audience and media use as heterogeneous and complex. I would add that we must also attempt to see ethnic media in terms of the meanings and power they hold for their various participants, that is, from a 'bottom up' perspective (Madianou 2011) that is grounded in the specific histories and cultural sensibilities of their national and cultural contexts. Further, as Johnson (2010, p.107) urges, ethnic media need to be understood in terms of processes, rather than merely motivations for and outcomes of ethnic media use. As such, in the empirical chapters that follow, I am cautious about how I bring these functional perspectives together.

However, the literature on the functions of ethnic media does help to narrow (and justify) this study's focus on journalism and news. Many of the functions spelled out in the scholarship are fundamentally journalistic functions – enabling access to news and information about one's own community, packaging information that is likely to be considered important to a specific group of people – which strengthens the case for studying journalism argued by Wahl-Jorgensen and Hanitzsch (2009, p.3). News, they said, shapes the way we see the world, each other, and ourselves and advances key narratives of modernity. Bleich et al. (2015) note elsewhere that news media provide sources of information about minority groups and issues;

convey or construct particular representations of them; and act as a space where minorities can advance their interests and identities. For all these reasons, Pacific news media are the particular focus of this study. However, to avoid a reductionist approach, this study also examines a range of theoretical (as opposed to functional) approaches to ethnic media, which help to tease out a framework for studying Pacific media.

Critical approaches

Community media

A key question of this study is about the role that Pacific media play in the construction of community, and the scholarship on community media is a natural starting point for that empirical project. Community media are primarily focused on localised communities, not necessarily communities that are ethnically different. That said, many ethnic media are also small, locally situated productions that serve a particular neighbourhood (Viswanath & Lee 2007, cited in Matsaganis et al. 2011, p.207) and the idea of local community, and community voice and cohesion is often prevalent in the work of ethnic media producers (Budarick 2016, p.2). As such, there is a growing body of work looking at ethnic or immigrant media that serve localised audiences (Forde et al. 2009; Molnar & Meadows 2001; Rodriguez, 2001 & 2016; Shumow & Vigon 2016, p.53). This includes media that are ethnically *and* geographically specific in their focus and content, which variously examine the identity of the community these media serve, their relationship with mainstream media, their participatory practices and role in civil society, and processes of cultural maintenance and empowerment. The work of the University of Southern California's Metamorphosis Project on geo-ethnic storytelling (see Ball-Rokeach et al. 2001; Kim, Jung & Ball-Rokeach 2006; Lin & Song 2006; Lin, Song & Ball-Rokeach 2010; Matsaganis et al. 2011; Wilkin et al. 2007) argues that the culturally relevant, locally focused content of *geo-ethnic* storytelling, which encourages residents to connect with community resources and organisations, is an essential component of people's paths to belonging and to becoming members of a neighbourhood.

However, Hess and Waller (2014) argue that 'community' has been used to describe media with very different forms and functions and it is, in fact, a weak theoretical foundation for building understanding of the changing place of community media in the digital era. For a start, the concept of community media is slippery. Community media have been variously studied as alternative, radical, independent, amateur, participatory and citizens' media (to name just a few examples), with each incarnation hiding as much as it reveals (Atton 2015,

p.3). While not wanting to refute that the interaction of geography and ethnicity can shape different communities' experiences (Matsaganis et al. 2011, p.12), the geographically bounded aspect of much community media research is particularly problematic for this study. This is largely because it fails to account for different types of relationships and communities – communities of interest, virtual or online communities, and transnational communities – and is a difficult fit for many Pacific media, which straddle multiple geographic (and ethnic) spaces.

In the same way, the tendency to view ethnic media within a community framework that focuses on non-commercial, amateur community-owned and -run media as opposed to corporate or public service media (Deuze 2006) fails to account for many Pacific media that, like ethnic media elsewhere, operate mainstream market models and are either privately owned and profit-driven, or heavily influenced by mainstream professional values and styles (Browne, 2005; Lazarte-Morales 2008). The research focus on 'alternative' media (see Atton 2015; Downing, 1984; Downing et al. 2001) is similarly problematic given the heavy borrowing of mainstream content, styles and practice noted above. Indeed, Kenix (2011) argues that the distinction between alternative and mainstream media more generally, particularly commercially minded alternative and mainstream media, is increasingly hard to draw. Further, arguments for the participatory nature of community media are belied by empirical work such as that by Nafiz (2012), which found that those who participated in community media were often powerful elites, rather than grassroots community members.

Reader and Hatcher (2012) argue that community journalism has tended to be studied in silos, with scholars focusing only on commercial print newspapers or not-for-profit, citizen-owned radio or media produced by community volunteers, and scholars need to adopt new approaches to break out of these old conceptual boundaries. Atton (2015, p.9) and Carpentier et al. (2003) similarly caution against reductionist understandings of alternative and community media, arguing instead for a multi-theoretical approach that takes account of the situated nature of these media to account for diverse content, diverse audiences and diverse practices. For this reason, this study attempts to step back from the potentially narrow categories of citizen-run, alternative or geo-ethnic community media to look instead at the community-building *practices* of a broad range of Pacific media. In this respect, Rodriguez's (2016) call to re-centre our focus on human agency and context (including the political economy of media), and Hess and Waller's (2014) 'geo-social news' concept, which retreats

from the concept of physical community as less useful in digital spaces, provide helpful steps forward. These approaches demand a finer-grained analysis of local evidence to explore how news outlets and audiences connect, particularly through 'sense of place', in a digital and highly connected global era.

As with the functionalist approaches to ethnic media, there are overlaps between critical approaches. For instance, much of the community media scholarship on ethnic media has focused on immigrant communities or Indigenous groups and their media (see Forde et al. 2009; Howley 2005, 2010; Molnar & Meadows 2001). This review looks next at the scholarly lenses of Indigenous and migrant media to discuss how neither adequately accounts for the media practices of Pacific peoples in New Zealand.

Indigenous media

McCallum and Waller (2013a) note that the term 'Indigenous' is a problematic one (see also Smith 1999, 2012; Hokowhitu & Devadas 2013b), and it is an awkward concept for the Pacific population in New Zealand, which is neither Indigenous[30], nor the distant other. Indeed, there are strong cultural connections and an acknowledged whakapapa between Pacific peoples and Indigenous Māori. However, there is a small but growing body of scholarship in this area (often comprising case studies from different parts of the world [Hanusch 2013a]) that usefully analyses non-western media systems and questions the ethnocentricity and predominantly Western orientation of media models (Obijiofor and Hanusch 2011, p.35). That said, like the literature on diaspora, it can risk being too essentialising. It variously describes Indigenous media as providing community information and alternative ideas about the world, contributing to debate, activism, language maintenance and resilience, and acting as a public sphere and/or cultural bridge between Indigenous and non-Indigenous spaces (Alia 2010; Alia & Bull 2005; Hartley & McKee 2000; Forde et al. 2009; Markelin & Husband 2013; Molnar & Meadows 2001; Meadows et al. 2002; Meadows 2015; Pietikäinen 2008; Waller et al. 2015). Hokowhitu and Devadas (2013b) summarise the field's recurring themes as including:

> representations of Indigenous peoples in and through dominant media practices, access of Indigenous communities to media technologies, use of media by Indigenous peoples to articulate an Indigenous media aesthetic, the tactical use of the media for activism and advocacy, and the use of media for preservation and revitalization of

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[30] The Indigenous peoples of New Zealand are Māori.

cultural identity and community building (p.xvii).

Hanusch (2013a) outlines five main dimensions as constitutive of Indigenous journalism – an empowerment role, an ability to offer a counter-narrative to mainstream media reporting, a language revitalisation role, reporting through a culturally appropriate framework, and a watchdog function – which differ little from the roles described for ethnic media above. Of note here, is Meadows (2009) argument that the significant weakening – and even absence – of a barrier between audiences and producers in Australia's Indigenous media (see Forde et al. 2009) is a key characteristic of Indigenous media in relation to both mainstream and other forms of 'community' radio and television. It's not clear why this is asserted as a characteristic of Indigenous media alone and this study aims to test the idea in the New Zealand Pacific context as part of its examination of the role Pacific media play in constructing Pacific identities and community.

Also of note in this area of scholarship is the critical focus of some of the work. McCallum and Waller (2013a) argue for the importance of critically analysing media systems and pervasive societal discourses in terms of the ways they enable and constrain media practices and the production and dissemination of information for, by and about Indigenous population. Elsewhere, Waller et al. (2015) take up Dreher's (2009) call to look beyond the goals of empowering marginalised voices and improving representations to practices of 'listening'. Doing so broadens our focus to discursive privilege and refusals to listen as well as shifting some of the responsibility for change from 'ethnic communities' to the institutions, conventions and privileges that shape who and what can be heard in the media. Similarly, Meadows (2016) notes that Indigenous media producers continue to struggle for communication equality in the face of the failure of top-down, government-initiated programmes and a lack of a coherent Indigenous media policy. Such works demonstrate Livingstone and Lunt's (2011, p.171) call for media scholars to make their research count by engaging critically with sites of decision-making to further citizens' mediated interests and communication rights, and this study aims to generate insights that similarly contribute to shaping policy around Pacific media.

A smaller part of the scholarship on Indigenous media has focused on Māori media, the media of the Indigenous peoples of New Zealand, which, given its use by Pacific peoples and proximity to Pacific media, deserves closer attention here. Various works have charted the

development of Māori media (Beatson 1996; Fox 1990; Taira 2006; Smith 2015, 2016; Smith & Abel 2008) and their collectivist values, respect for tikanga Māori (cultural values) and roles in advocacy, reconfiguring the national imaginary and revitalising Māori epistemology, culture and language (Abel 1997; Archie 2007; Comrie 2012; Hanusch 2014; Hodgetts et al. 2005; Smith 2013; Stuart 1996, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2005). A key text, Hokowhitu and Devadas' (2013a) book, *The Fourth Eye: Māori Media in Aotearoa New Zealand,* looks at the continued misrepresentation and non-recognition of Māori by mainstream non-Indigenous media. This is as well as Māori uses of Indigenous media, with a particular focus on media as a resource for Indigenous empowerment, sovereignty and resistance. It pulls together key debates and theoretical approaches from the distinct fields of Media Studies and Indigenous Studies and, though particularly focused on film, includes an essay by Hokowhitu (2013) that raises critical questions of relevance for Pacific media. He argues for a renewed understanding of Indigenous media production as more complex and hybrid, looking at Māori appropriation of media tools to highlight a scholarly tendency toward essentialism and false binaries. Hokowhitu identifies the juxtaposition of modernity versus tradition (where use of modern technologies implies departure from 'authentic' traditions) and the assertions of media technology's colonisation of Indigenous culture versus Indigenous producers' complete revamp of media technologies. It is a useful argument for attending to complexity and avoiding essentialism when looking at Pacific media. More importantly, in the vein of the critical research noted above, Hokowhitu raises the need for media producers (and scholars) to analyse the politics of recognition that underpins state funding of Māori media. Asking the question, "How does Indigenous media not merely reify a Western episteme through brown-tinted glasses?" (2013, p.118), he argues that the relationship between Māori media and state funders necessarily limits the radical potential of Māori media through a trade-off of autonomy for short-term economic gains.

In an article that assesses Māori Television's ability to present a counter-narrative of New Zealand national identity that challenges orthodox representations, Smith and Abel (2008) argue that Māori Television may present a domesticated form of Māori cultural difference that conceals structural inequities by affirming a harmonious national identity that normalises te reo and tikanga. In later work, Smith (2013) echoes the calls above for more critical analysis of Indigenous media by questioning the emancipatory potential of Māori Television in the context of institutionalised media and settler government systems. Nonetheless, she does see hope in the subtle power of Māori Television's 'voice' to invite audiences to think in different

ways, encouraging scholars to attend carefully to the negotiated relationships between Indigenous media and the institutionally embedded systems used to support them. This is in contrast to Abel (2013), who suggests that Māori Television provides audiences with a sense of 'New Zealandness' but little connection to te ao Māori[31].

In her most recent work on Māori Television, Smith (2016) argues that although the network has contributed to greater political and cultural representations for te ao Māori and raised the profile of te reo Māori within New Zealand's mediated sphere, it has been limited in its ability to contribute to a decolonising agenda for Māori. Indeed, she says we cannot understand Indigenous (and, by extension, ethnic minority) media without understanding the wider context and forces that help to shape (and, at times, limit) their practices. Smith outlines five frameworks for understanding the work of Māori Television: historical context; cultural context (tikanga); production context; audiences; and a politics of culture (roughly, the demands on a media outlet to be an agent for social change). Together, they usefully underline the need to locate the media we study, as this thesis attempts to do, within their specific social, political, economic and cultural contexts.

Smith also makes several key points that are of note for this study. First, she suggests that Māori Television programming has enhanced individual and collective wellbeing by broadcasting strength-based representations of Māori people and things Māori and, interestingly, by facilitating whānau connections through practices she describes as e-whanaungatanga – texting, posting or calling whānau and friends when something of shared interest is on screen. It is an example of the kind of media-related practices that Couldry (2004) says we must remain open to, that is, practices that are not about media consumption per se, but which are key moments of community-building enacted through and around media. Second, Smith outlines several key challenges facing Māori Television, which have parallels for Pacific media. One arises from Māori Television's mandate to protect and promote te reo Māori, "an unpopular language of the minority" (Te Kāhui o Māhutonga 2009, cited in Smith 2016, p. 89), using a medium that needs an audience to justify the funding it attracts. Another stems from the network's aim to conduct itself in a Māori way – using tikanga-based media practices – within an industry and social context where non-Māori values, viewpoints and practices have long prevailed, and when what constitutes a Māori way of being and doing is an increasingly vexed question. A third challenge lies in providing space

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[31] The Māori world.

for diverse Māori voices within the constraints of language practice, production norms and a funding context where budgets have been frozen since 2008. Taken together, these various works on Māori media suggest the need to critically examine the funding structures and media-state relationships of Pacific media.

Migrant/diasporic/transnational media

Another body of research in the ethnic media field focuses on immigrant and/or diasporic media and the media uses of diasporic communities. One tradition views ethnic media as a migrant phenomenon, usually in terms of their role in assimilation and integration processes and providing civic and cultural explanation (see Ahmed 2015; Hickerson & Gustafson 2016; Viswanath & Arora 2000). Subervi-Velez (1986) criticises the early research in this tradition for drawing too many generalisations from simple descriptive data. As noted above, this research has also been criticised for 'othering' ethnic groups, and it often risks being too essentialising. It also tends to 'other' ethnic minority media by failing to examine immigrant media alongside dominant ethnic media, often Anglo mainstream (for example, questions are asked about the assimilative or pluralistic role of ethnic media but not of mainstream media). However, before examining particular works within this critical strand, I note some features that necessarily limit its broad application in this study.

First, the definition of ethnic media as immigrant media is too restrictive for New Zealand's Pacific peoples and their media as it does little to explain the relationship of ethnic media to increasingly non-migrant ethnic communities. It refers to media that are created for newly arrived immigrants, but the majority of Pacific peoples are now born and raised in New Zealand. As Matsaganis et al. (2011, p.9) note, key roles of immigrant media include introducing new arrivals to their host country and helping them integrate; providing links with 'home'; and maintaining cultural cohesion and symbolic connection to a 'homeland' or transnational community to help settlement. However, younger demographics do not necessarily seek this role. These diasporic functions are discussed more fully below, but it is important to note here that while such 'home' and 'host country' functions might have been key to New Zealand's Pacific media in the past, they are, arguably, less so now in the face of significant demographic transition. Niu FM, for instance, targets third- and fourth-generation New Zealand-born Pacific youth who are not only a long way removed from the migration experiences of their forebears but who also see themselves primarily as New Zealanders. The

immigrant media definition also excludes African-American media and Black media in Canada and Britain, which have important parallels to Pacific media, as well as the media of Indigenous populations, including Māori (when the following empirical chapters demonstrate that Māori media play a key role in Pacific people's media practices). For these reasons, the focus on this area of scholarship is not so much on 'immigrant media' as diasporic media.

As a concept, diaspora was originally associated with the dispersal of a population following a traumatic event, out of which comes a shared identity (Matsaganis et al. 2011). Like immigration, it is too narrow for this study. Tölölyan (2007) describes the field of diaspora studies as fragmentary, interdisciplinary and characterised by disagreement and divergent uses of its key concepts. As Georgiou [2007, p.16] notes, it is exposed to critique from many different directions. There are certainly problems with the fit between a diaspora approach to media and some classifications of Pacific media and audiences. For instance, Naficy's (2003) typology of diasporic media as either 'ethnic' (media produced in the 'host' country in the language of the 'host' country); 'transnational' (media imported from the 'homeland'); or 'diasporic' (media produced in the 'host' country but in a foreign language); does not account for the many Pacific media that operate in both 'host' and 'homeland' languages, or that mix content from different 'host' and 'homeland' sources. Nonetheless, Adriaens (2012) argues that the concept of diaspora is a useful lens for obtaining a better grasp on the role of media in multicultural societies and it is the view here that it is a field of research that can helpfully *open up* our understanding of ethnic media. While this study does not locate itself within the diasporic media strand (for the reasons stated above), it does draw on work within the field (and related work on transnational media) that challenges longstanding assumptions about ethnic media (particularly the homogeneity of ethnic groups and their media) and raises useful questions for Pacific media.

There is a substantial amount of work on diasporic and migrant uses of media and communication technologies, particularly in relation to questions of identity and belonging (for example Aksoy & Robins 2000; Georgiou 2006; Gillespie 1995; Karim 2003; Naficy 1993, Ogan 2001; Tsagarousianou 2001a, 2001b, 2004), some of which is discussed in the context of self-representation above. The key to these works is the idea that identity and community are not necessarily linked to a territory, let alone the territory originally occupied by a group (Karim 2003, p.6), which helps to challenge the geographic confines of other ethnic media research. As noted in discussion of the functional aspects of ethnic media,

diasporic media research (Ackah & Newman 2003; Cohen 2003; Cunningham & Sinclair 2001; Davila 2001; De Santis 2003; Georgiou 2003; Gillespie 1995; Hargreaves 2001; Hargreaves & Mahdjoub 1997; Karim 2003; Kosnick 2007; Milikowski 2001; Naficy 1993; Silverstone & Georgiou 2005; Tsagarousianou 2001a, 2001b, 2002, 2004) has also done much to challenge the nation-centric assumption that media operate solely within national borders and unitary, national public spheres. Georgiou (2007) calls on researchers to similarly rethink assumptions about the export of nationalism in the diaspora and the inevitable dependence of diasporic identities upon a 'homeland', both of which are apparent in Pacific media discourses.

Research into media and diaspora has also provided evidence that confirms media as important spaces and resources in the reproduction and transformation of identities (Tsagarousianou 2004, p.61). Early works (such as Gillespie 1995; Hargreaves 2001) have provided insights that underscore the fluidity and multi-layered nature of identity constructions, as well as the tensions within identities that can arise out of concerns about accuracy and authenticity (Ross 2000). Further empirical studies (Ahmed & Veronis 2016; Hargreaves & Mahdjoub, 1997; Rios & Gaines 1997, 1998; Walker 1999) have revealed significant differences in media consumption within ethnic groups that helpfully challenge essentialist notions about audiences and highlight the need for researchers to account for the heterogeneity of audiences' media practices. Tsagarousianou (2001a), for example, demonstrates that we need to recognise the different demands of transnational audiences for local content. Ethnic media content is often imported from a 'homeland' or other diasporic location (such as Mexico and Brazil, which are production hubs for transnational Latino media), with the implicit assumption that it is as relevant to ethnic audiences in different locations worldwide as it is to audiences in its site of production. Lin and Song (2006), for example, found that almost half of the news stories they sampled in Los Angeles' Asian and Latino press related to the home country and only 13 per cent of stories comprised the geo-ethnic content they argued is essential for community building. Yet, as Tsagarousianou (2001a) and others (Davila 2001; De Santis 2003) have demonstrated, diasporic audiences expect to be treated in a way that acknowledges their different physical and social locations.

Another strand of research, based on ethnographic methods and a focus on everyday uses of media, has critiqued too narrow an emphasis on identity and community building by foregrounding the ordinariness of diasporic audiences' media consumption (see Aksoy &

Robins 2003; Madianou 2005). Adriaens' (2012) research on Turkish youth in Belgium, for instance, found their television consumption was principally a banal, entertainment-oriented activity that mainly articulated their teenage identities, rather than diasporic or ethnic identities. What is more, she found they had a pick-and-mix approach to media, using transnational and Flemish channels as well as youth-oriented and global TV channels, such as MTV and Nickelodeon, that were dominated by Anglo-Saxon, Americanised popular culture. She argues that their media consumption, which could not be adequately understood within a simple binary of *home* country and *host* society, needed to be framed within a more complex framework in which ethnicity, "while sometimes a factor, was not always the dominant force" (ibid., p.462). As Aksoy and Robins have demonstrated (2003), we must take care when examining questions of identity not to let a focus on identity and difference blind us to what else is going on in ethnic minority groups' use of media.

Ogunyemi (2015, p.3) notes there are gaps in the literature on the production practices of diasporic media, their news-processing and their consumption by diasporic communities. However, Georgiou (2007, p.23) says that grounded research on media and diaspora has nonetheless helped to destabilise the traditional framing of media as a three-step process of production-text-consumption by demonstrating that: media production is diverse (and includes corporate, public, community and niche media); content is produced in a number of ways (locally and globally, in different languages, and by professionals and amateurs); and audience members consume different media so that the ways they relate to each text or medium is far from linear and predictable. In these ways, diasporic media research helps to open up the approach to Pacific media – and make a case for further *empirical* research (ibid, p.26). However, Budarick (2014, p.148) cautions that we must not examine media in diasporic terms alone, as this limits us to the view that migrant audiences all (and only) behave "as the conventional and conforming members of 'diasporic communities'". In various ways, too tight a focus on particular peoples, whether as diasporic or Indigenous, or particular media, such as community media, narrows our understanding of ethnic media and, thereby, limits the theoretical reach of our research. What is needed are concepts and theories that can account for myriad contexts and forms of ethnic media. Accordingly, this thesis attempts to study Pacific media by looking at producers' and audiences' diverse practices across all forms of media, and by drawing on the insights of diverse strands of research that open up rather than narrow the field of inquiry.

Summary

As the preceding discussion shows, the scholarship on ethnic media is fragmentary and complex. At times, there seems to be little common ground between the different strands of the literature. However, the wide range of perspectives within this field is helpful, at least for this study. Pacific media are an awkward fit with any one strand but elements of each strand, taken together, throw up important questions and issues that help to frame this research, test old assumptions (about the homogenous and essentialist nature of ethnic groups and their media) and, hopefully, better understand the place of Pacific media within Pacific peoples' lives.

Key issues the literature problematises are issues of definition, identity, and the ordinariness (as opposed to the 'ethnicness') of people's media practices. As demonstrated above, various definitions of ethnic media as diasporic, Indigenous, community or language media are an uneasy fit for the socio-economic context and practices of Pacific media in New Zealand. Moreover, in teasing out these definitional problems, it becomes apparent how much the effort to define narrows our gaze and inhibits inquiry. Given the exploratory nature of this study, it is perhaps more helpful to step back from the urge to categorise, to leave the terrain as open as possible to diversity, complexity and the unanticipated.

Questions of identity are similarly problematic. As Adriaens notes (2012, p.152), they are central but: "extremely difficult to resolve both theoretically and in the experienced realities of everyday life". A lack of consensus in the scholarship about the role of identity within ethnic media, and how we should imagine identities, cultures and communities is not necessarily a drawback for this study. As explained in Chapter Five, this thesis seeks to understand the world from within Pacific realities and to involve Pacific peoples in categorising and making sense of their media practices. The fuzziness of the literature on identity and ethnic media provides, if nothing else, strong argument for the need to attend as much as possible to Pacific people's voices and what research participants have to say about identity. Likewise, research highlighting the banality of media practices further reinforces the need to attend to people's own understanding of their practices. As later empirical chapters reveal, Pacific peoples value the media in ways that often have more to do with ordinary concerns for quality journalism and publicness than with their ethnic difference. This strand of the scholarship is vital for stressing the need to continually test our assumptions about the role of ethnicity in media practice.

Thus, no *one* theoretical approach is most useful for this study. Rather, this work draws on lessons derived from problems posed in the literature above (some of which are theoretical), the first of which is the need to attend closely to actual media practices. The concept of identity as fluid and contested is also key, which requires us to view Pacific media and audiences as diverse, and not homogenous. Critical threads of the literature similarly require us to attend to power structures as well as media practices. These are, after all, minority media with, often, racialised identities. Understanding who wields power, including who speaks for whom and how, is therefore fundamental to answering this study's research questions about identity, community and the place of Pacific media in everyday lives. Encompassing all of these considerations is the lesson that research must be carefully grounded in its specific historical and cultural context. While elements of the literature can help to frame an understanding of Pacific media, carefully grounded empirical research will do the most to further that understanding.

Chapter Four: Developing a theoretical framework

As previous chapters have shown, there is little written about Pacific media and not enough that is relevant in terms of theory (because of its tendency to distort), which suggests from the outset a need for local theory for a local media, especially in this moment of transition in both the Pacific and journalism spaces. This chapter attempts to chart a theoretical framework for studying Pacific media, which, while not perfect, makes sense of the terrain and sensitises existing models to the Pacific media category. The latter is a construct made up of producers, policy makers, audiences and researchers, the configuration of which is not the same for each kind of media and may not always explain audiences' use of their media. This chapter also partly answers the first research question about how Pacific media might be understood theoretically by arguing that we must draw theory out of listening. That is, by attending closely to what Pacific people themselves say and do in relation to media. It sets up the empirical chapters that follow, where Pacific media are theorised in terms of locative practices and identity negotiation, and it draws on and contributes to theories about audiences, practice and social and cultural identity, as well as post-colonialist and critical theories, which help to position this study in relation to dominance.

Understanding 'media' as news media

As this study aims to answer questions that are fundamentally about the role of the media, this chapter looks closely at the power of the media in people's lives to construct reality. This study does not examine creative media, such as Pacific music and film, or social networking media; instead, it focuses on news and current affairs – Pacific journalism. The distinction is arguably an artificial one. Tabloid journalism, news parody and alternative media have long blurred the distinction between news and popular culture forms (Bybee 2008), and the case for studying journalism in isolation from other media weakens as news businesses and technologies converge more closely (Matheson 2008). What's more, journalism is consumed as part of a broad media diet – from film to games to music to TV. This study attempts to keep Pacific journalism within that broader context of people's multiple media practices and everyday lives, but its primary focus is on news products. News media play an authoritative role in mediating society and, as the primary 'sense-making practice of modernity' (Hartley 1996 in Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch 2009, p.3), are a useful focus when looking at issues of identity (Madianou 2012).

According to Carey (2009), news can be seen as an influential means by which people portray and confirm their view of the world. News media, like other cultural industries, render society intelligible to itself, provide a common framework of ideas, and help to create a shared sense of community (Parekh 2008). However, because they do so using the legitimating journalistic discourses of truth and objectivity, they have particular potency. Journalists not only *claim* to know what is "really" happening in society, but they are also *believed* to communicate it factually, truthfully and objectively (Zelizer 2004). Their authority has become so firmly established that news and journalism have the status of common sense, giving news media practitioners particular power as 'cultural workers' (Ericson et al. 1987 in Matheson 2005, p.6).

In their introduction to *The Handbook of Journalism Studies,* Wahl-Jorgensen and Hanitzsch (2009) argue that news and journalism now play a central role in society. News shapes the way we see the world, ourselves and each other; it advances the key narratives of modernity; it enables political action; and it is the primary means for articulating and playing out consensus and conflict in society: "so news stories capture the ongoing drama of the battles between the dominant ideology and its challengers" (ibid., p.4). As such, this study focuses on the symbolic power of Pacific media to represent identity and community, and what that means for social inclusion and community building. It also focuses on the social and cultural practices that generate and legitimate these representations, and critically examines the power relations that underlie these practices and the ways in which they reproduce or challenge social and cultural inequalities.

Thus, this thesis examines ethnic media in terms of news media and journalism, and it does so from the position that news, though powerful, is a construction. It has more to do with meaning making than imparting information (Carey 2009). In this study, journalism is not viewed as a social institution (something solid and structural) or in terms of its professional norms, but as a *cultural practice*. It is something in between, structured by other forces and self-structuring, that is essentially based on a public negotiation of meaning (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch 2009, p.13). This open-ended approach draws from field and practice theory (see below), and recent studies of journalism as practice (Rodgers 2013). Viewed as a cultural practice, it is possible to think of journalism in terms of how it encodes discourses of 'Pacific' identity and makes available some meanings of identity but not alternative meanings, and how it is that representations remain relevant, even when contested (Georgiou 2004). This

perspective also makes it possible to focus on Pacific people's talk and practices and not just ethnic media texts and production (Couldry 2012, p.44) to examine what Pacific peoples themselves think and say about Pacific media and the involvement of these media forms in their everyday lives (Cottle 2000). How Pacific journalism matters differently to the people involved in its production, presentation and reception (Zelizer 2004) is the key here, rather than how it *ought* to matter as prescribed by various theories of journalism.

Finding an appropriate theoretical foundation

As discussed in Chapter Three, the theoretical literature sits awkwardly in the Pacific media context; some ideas have value, but because they tend to categorise people in problematic ways or because they are too reductive, they are not as helpful as they might be in the New Zealand/Pacific context. As such, this thesis draws on a constructivist-interpretive paradigm and a postcolonial framework to problematise Pacific media and the literature about ethnic media. It takes an integrative approach to media theory, drawing on several complementary theories to position its critical analysis of Pacific media practices.

I have found it useful to turn to postcolonial theory to open up the Pacific media field, as that literature not only recognises problems in the dominant accounts offered by the social sciences but also seeks to question their governing assumptions. The aim here is to step back from master narratives to better listen to diverse and contradictory Pacific voices and experiences. That is not to say that postcolonial theory holds all the answers. It has notably failed to address issues of capitalism as well as heterogeneity, and tends to essentialise 'the West' and ignore differences within geo-political groups and ideologies (Lazarus 2011). Moreover, its lack of consensus and incorporation of antagonistic theories such as Marxism and post structuralism means it has no uniform approach and is no more a tightly bounded 'field' than journalism studies (Ghandi 1998; Loomba 2015). However, as a field of interdisciplinary inquiry committed to the task of interrogating the academy, it provides a useful lens for untangling some of the theoretical problems in this study.

Like cultural studies and feminist theory, postcolonial theory comments on the exclusions and the authority of canonical knowledge systems (Ghandi 1998, p.41). At its core, it argues that the analytical categories that the social sciences presume to be universal may not transcend the European history from which they originate. They are not necessarily adequate 'elsewhere' (Seth 2009, p.336). For example, theory based on Marxist political economy is

problematic because of its intellectual closures – its short list of social actors (bourgeoisies, proletariats, state elites) and difficulties dealing with issues of race (Connell 2007). Similarly, Habermasian public sphere theory fails to deal with issues of race, class and power relations (Dahlgren 1991; Fraser 1992). Both Connell (2007) and Smith (2012) have criticised the persistent monoculturalism of 'metropolitan' or Western institutions of knowledge and the barrier they represent to other possibilities for knowing and understanding the world. Smith (2012) argues that, because social science research has been used to subjugate and dehumanise Indigenous peoples, Indigenous researchers should adopt counter-hegemonic research agendas, methodologies and worldviews to reclaim themselves and to reassert the epistemological value and agency of the non-European world.

Seth (2009, p.336) does not go so far and instead argues that the social sciences are not European and therefore 'wrong' – rather, they provide only partial understanding. As such, postcolonial theory should seek to explore the ''simultaneous indispensability and inadequacy of social science thought" (Chakrabarty 2000 in Seth 2009, p.336). Similarly, Connell says theory is important (2007, p.225) because it is how we speak beyond the single case, but we must be able to use it without being subsumed by it – that is, we must maintain enough critical distance to challenge monological formations and to judge when to leave a certain theoretical position. She rejects universal theorising and makes an argument instead for theorising mixed up with specific situations (Connell 2007).

> The goal … is not to subsume, but to clarify; not to classify from outside, but to illuminate a situation in its concreteness…. Our interest as researchers is to maximize the wealth of materials that are drawn into the analysis and explanation. It is also our interest to multiply, rather than slim down, the theoretical ideas that we have to work with (p.207).

One way to make use of theoretical frameworks without allowing them to determine the data is to operate inductively, that is, to first seek patterns in data and then use theoretical insights to make sense of them. Accordingly, this thesis integrates a number of different but complementary theoretical perspectives to describe and understand Pacific media, but draws on them only partially and always grounded in the specific landscape of New Zealand's Pacific media practices.

In addition, because this study focuses on a group that is both disempowered in society and economically marginalised, this research also draws on the commitment of critical theory to combine cultural, political and economic analysis (Murdock 2008) to examine power

relationships and structures in relation to Pacific media. As Chapter Three argues, researchers need to critically examine the power imbalances that shape the experience of many ethnic media, including the media systems and pervasive social discourses that enable and constrain practice (McCallum & Waller 2013a). By combining an analysis of what my research participants say and do in relation to Pacific media, with the critical analysis of power relationships, I aim to contribute insights that might explain – and change – current cultural practices, policies and institutions.

Theories of news and journalism

Wahl-Jorgensen and Hanitzsch's (2009) account of the journalism studies field shows early research examined news media in terms of their audiences, effects and news production, generating theories about news values, gatekeeping and agenda-setting. Subsequently, more sociologically based research, helped to build the view of journalism's role in constructing and maintaining dominant ideologies by critically engaging with news conventions and routines, professional and occupational ideologies, interpretive communities and concepts related to news texts, such as news framing. Much of the research focuses on journalists, their practices and the content they produce. Audiences have been relatively neglected, as has local journalism and journalism outside Western jurisdictions, and as such the field retains a Western bias and a narrow focus on elite, national and metropolitan media organisations. Wahl-Jorgensen and Hanitzsch (2009) emphasise the need to study the experiences of journalists in under-researched media and regions to challenge prevailing power relations in the world that are also reproduced in the scholarship: "Instead of taking Western models and theories for granted, these models and theories ought to be challenged from a truly global perspective that does not privilege any particular local point or view" (ibid., p.13).

Of the many theories about the roles news media and journalists should fulfil, few usefully fit Pacific media. In the New Zealand democratic context, libertarianism posits that in an unfettered market, the media will represent diverse voices, but research highlighted in Chapter Two shows this is far from the reality (see 'Pacific people's representation in mainstream media'). Social responsibility theory sees the media as watchdogs against abuses of state power, but its basic tenet of objectivity has been shown to favour dominant groups (Bennett 2001; Bennett et al. 2008). What is more, Chapter Two demonstrates that Pacific media are at times highly dependent on the state and other patrons. Participatory theory holds that media should promote the active political involvement of citizens and some researchers have found

ethnic media to be empowering forces (Forde et al. 2009; Molnar & Meadows 2001) and agents of political action (Johnson et al. 2004). However, others have described them as largely politically conservative (Browne 2005; Downing & Husband 2005; Riggins 1992); wary of taking a political stance (Park 1922 in Johnson 2000); and overlooked by mainstream institutions of government (Waller et. al. 2015). Public sphere theory, which combines the same concern for participation with a demand for reasoned critical debate within and through the media; and postmodern theory, which insists on a journalism open to the widest range of styles and perspectives (Benson 2008), are more helpful but not without their problems[32]. This thesis draws upon these last two theories as appropriate, while remaining cautious about forcing Pacific media too firmly into their frameworks. The aim here is to theorise Pacific media in a more inductive way, beginning with practice.

In that vein, this study adopts Couldry's (2004) 'media as practice' approach to understanding what people do and say in relation to Pacific media. His approach (which is as much methodological as it is theoretical) aims to examine a wide range of media-related practices (Couldry & Hobart 2010), firstly to better navigate the complexity of the media-saturated environment, in which the discrete nature of audience and producer practices cannot be assumed. Secondly, the approach de-centres research from the study of media texts (which risk overlooking what people do with texts or practices that are related to but not centred on media texts [Bird 2010]) and production structures, which cannot tell us anything about how media products are used in social life (Couldry 2004). Couldry says there is a whole mass of media-oriented practices in contemporary societies and how they are divided up and coordinate with each other remains an open question so, "we must look closely at the categorisations of practice that people make themselves" (ibid, p.122). This more open and inclusive approach sits neatly with Connell's (2007) demand below for researchers to "link theory to the ground in which their boots are planted", as well as with this study's Pacific methodology, which aims to understand the world from within Pacific realities and worldviews (see Chapter Five). Couldry's approach is useful, too, as it opens up the possibility that 'audiencing' might be understood as part of a practice that is not itself about media (2004, p.125), as appears to be the case with Pacific families' ritualised viewing of *Tagata Pasifika* (see Chapter Eight). Although this study uses a practice approach, it does not privilege human agency over the constraints of structure. Rather it views people as

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[32] See below and Chapter Three, which cite various works that question the extent to which ethnic media fulfil a public sphere role.

simultaneously creative and constrained and recognises that people's practices can be limited by social and economic circumstances as well ideological forces (Bird 2010).

This study also refers, in a more limited way, to Bourdieu's field theory, which views fields as inter-related social spaces within which practical actions become regulated over time and social actors compete to accumulate different forms of capital (Bourdieu 1998, 1998a). The concept is useful as one of several lenses for understanding Pacific producers' talk, but it is not used here to shape the research design or analysis[33]. The intention in referencing field theory is to draw on its insights into how social actors perform in terms of their position within a field of relationships that is structured by competing forces. Rodgers (2013, p.61) describes fields as operating like a 'game', where what counts as authoritative is defined by each field's structuring conditions. Like Rodgers (ibid.), I want to avoid weighing down this study with field theory's deterministic approach. Its value is more in providing insight into journalism as a practice that is configured by complex divisions (Neveu 2007, p.337), such as that drawn between *Pacific-leaning* and *journalism-leaning* media in Chapter Six. Along with Jenkins' (2008) point about difference and similarity being constructed together, field theory provides a tool for understanding the spaces in which the performances of Pacific identity gain some of their meaning. This includes the balance of power within and between each space, and the way that taken-for-granted social practices tend to serve the interests of those in power (Hesmondhalgh 2006).

Bourdieu's (1986) idea that the social world is structured around forms of capital, such as economic, cultural and social capital, is also helpful for untangling Pacific media producers' practices, as it appears that Pacific media producers draw variously on social and cultural capital to legitimate their role (see Chapter Six), and for understanding Pacific audiences. Other research supports the notion that people who are more frequently exposed to news information via different media – and who pay closer attention to it – have higher levels of social capital than other people (Beaudoin 2011, p.158). Their social capital or social networks help translate an 'I' mentality into a 'we' mentality, and can encourage solidarity

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[33] Bourdieu had little to say about media or journalism, apart from his short work *On Television and Journalism* (1998; 1998a) in which he argued that audience ratings had marketised cultural production, but the contribution of field theory to media and journalism studies has been developed in more detail in Benson (1999; 2006), Benson and Neveu (2005) and Couldry (2007). Other media scholars have more recently drawn on field theory as a basis for comparison between national media systems (Hallin & Mancini 2004) and for exploring how media power impacts on policy-making in Indigenous affairs (McCallum & Waller 2013b)

between people who are similar, through *bonding social capital,* or connect people who are unlike each other through *bridging social capital* (see Putnam 2000, p.2002). Beaudoin (2011) suggests that the media, especially the news media, supply content that is important for social capital development. This content can include photos and stories about community events and information about community activities and social organisations, as well as representations of the 'accepted' community and norms of civic engagement and sociality. Putnam's axis of bridging/bonding social capital is useful for teasing out the practice of community in relation to Pacific media. As Chapters Seven and Eight discuss in more detail, it appears that Pacific media producers tend to enact narrow bonding representations and discourses that clash with young Pacific audience participants' need for bridging content that cuts across generational differences and is more inclusive.

Oriented mainly towards practice theory, I also draw on an integration of public sphere and postmodern approaches to further explore how Pacific media might operate. I draw only partially on these theories for several reasons. First, Habermas' early concept of the public sphere, in which citizens deliberate their common affairs, neglected relations of power that lead to the exclusion in actual publics of women, working class and racialised groups, and failed in its earliest forms to account for the existence of other public spheres (Dahlgren 1991; Fraser 1992). Instead, I borrow from Fraser (1992), Dahlgren (1991) and Habermas' (1996) reformulation of the concept as a network of public spheres. These are a series of differentiated but interlocking public spaces in which counter-discourses and social identities are enacted, and within and between which we move simultaneously (Meadows 2005). Public sphere theorists insist that media should advance participatory democracy, but I am cautious about demanding that practice aligns too tightly with political ideals, because that risks missing some of what practitioners aim to achieve or what the wider system allows. As such I draw on the concept's more useful basic assumptions: that media play an influential role in creating and sustaining common cultures (Dahlgren 1991), and arbitrating between the discursive frameworks of rival groups (Curran 2000). Coupled with postmodern theory's demand for diverse media discourses (Benson 2008), we can conceive of Pacific media, then, as potentially constituting an alternative mediated space in which Pacific peoples speak in their own voices, construct and express their own identities, debate group interests and make sense of their daily lives (Fraser 1992; Dahlgren 1991; Curran 2000). On that basis, we can examine whether and how Pacific media provide space for debates that otherwise cannot or do not occur in the mainstream and different discursive styles or forms to express Pacific

voices, as well as multiple representations of Pacific identity and experiences and Pacific interpretations on social issues.

In these ways, I draw on a combination of frameworks to, on the one hand, maintain consistency with the openness of the postcolonial approach and, on the other, provide just enough footing to analyse how and whether Pacific media shape and are shaped by Pacific communities and broader social spaces/institutions. I am interested in how these communities express Pacific voices (Livingstone & Lunt 1994) and sustain a common culture or cultures (Couldry & Dreher 2007), bearing in mind that even when people consume and evaluate Pacific media differently, they still share the common references presented in and by media (Georgiou 2004). In practice, that means looking at the institutional configurations of Pacific media, their relevant discourses – what is said and not said, how it is said and in what circumstances (Dahlgren 1991). It also considers their wider socio-historical and economic contexts, such as Pacific media's relationship to the corporate and state sectors (which dwarf Pacific media in terms of resources and audience reach [Dahlgren 1991]) and the digital divide that disproportionately excludes some groups from digital media. It also necessitates examining people's everyday use and understanding of Pacific media and, because Pacific media are but one part of people's daily media diets, the range of media they use as part of their everyday.

Culture, ethnicity and identity

To deal with questions about Pacific media and their audiences, and, indeed, the Pacific social phenomenon in New Zealand, we must also explore the meaning of ethnicity and identity. Johnson (2010, p.113) says numerous ethnic media studies have made links to identity, but most have not incorporated specific processes or concepts from the identity literature into an ethnic media model or theory. According to the constructivist view of identity that is conventional in contemporary social science, identities such as ethnicity are not primordial or fixed by Nature, but are socially constructed. In his seminal definition, Hall (1980) argues that neither self- nor social identities have a fixed essence; rather, they are constructed historically, culturally and politically by multiple power structures and their discursive practices. These constructions are culturally fluid and contested and, as such, change meaning according to time, place and usage (Hall 1990, 1996a, 1996b). Accordingly, ethnic identities are complex. We are not held to one identity, but slip in and out of different identities according to the different social roles that we play; we do not hold identities for-all-time (Bedford & Didham

2001), and the identities we bear are often ill-defined (Jenkins 2008). All of which suggests complex cultural processes are at play when looking at people's practices in relation to Pacific news media.

At the same time, to say that identities are constructed, negotiable or changeable is not to say that they have no import – or that people are completely free to create any identity they choose. As history proves, collective identities such as ethnicity matter a great deal (though, interestingly, not to all people [Jenkins 2008]). That is because, in practice, people act and need to act as if identities are real and fixed (Barker 2008) and, once defined as real, identities become real in their consequences. Through repetition and the legitimation of social norms and regulation, the performance of identity compels belief in its necessity and naturalness (Branaman 1997; Butler 1999; Goffman 1997; Sacks 1992). What's more, identities gain substance in social institutions and, while they change over time, at any one moment in time they can have some stability, and as such must be examined in the context of their historical dynamics (Walby et al. 2012, p.231). The point to remember here is simply that identities are neither 'natural' nor 'essential' but they often imply a uniformity of views and experiences that do not exist (Parekh 2008; Ang 2003; Macpherson 1999), as this study of what it means to be 'Pacific' demonstrates.

As is discussed in Chapters Six and Seven, Pacific identity is performative (Butler 1999), but this kind of performance is constrained by structural and discursive limits (Moores 2005, p.159), including the hegemonic ideas and narratives from dominant as well as Pacific spaces. Identities are not necessarily constructed by those who are subject to them (see Chapter Seven on how Pacific identity is defined by state institutions), nor are they constructed in a vacuum. Existing narratives and ideas provide resources for their construction (Cohen 1985; Goff & Dunn 2004, p.241; Thompson 1995), which raises important questions about who has access to discursive spaces such as the media. The category of 'Pacific' generally has meaning only in relation to the (supposedly unitary) dominant category of Pākehā or the Indigenous category of Māori. Identity, particularly ethnic identity, is a performance that is staged in relation to something or someone else (Ong 2009) – it results from interaction (Barth 1998; Taylor 1994; Goff & Dunn 2004) and a dialectic between difference and similarity (Jenkins 1997). As Hall observes (1989 in Gandhi 1998, p.125), ethnicity is typically named as marginal or peripheral to the mainstream and acts to confirm hegemonic notions of dominance, so that Englishness, Pākehā-ness or American-ness is rarely represented as ethnicity. What's more, 'Pacific', like 'Asian' or 'black', is not just a politically and culturally

constructed category, but also a *racially* constructed category (Hall 1990, 1996b, p. 443; Omi & Winant 1994, 2001). It draws on 'race'-based representations that operate ideologically to maintain existing power relations. As such, most Pacific peoples cannot perform 'whiteness' (Willie 2003); Pacific identity, like Latino or black identity, is tied to a visible identity (Alcoff 2005), which might help to explain the endurance of Pacific identities in the New Zealand context.

What makes the study of ethnicity even more difficult is the fact that culture, which underpins it, is a murky and essentially contested concept that is difficult to define. It has different meanings in different contexts, alternately referring to sets of ideas (values, beliefs), practices (social, communicative, ritualistic), artefacts (traditional dance, Samoan language newspaper) and whole ways of life (Williams [1965] 2001). The aim here is to preserve the thickness of the term so that culture means everyday lived meanings (cultural life) as well as discrete ways of life (different cultures), and to avoid essentialising Pacific groups by using culture to mean only the last set of meanings. Furthermore, culture is understood here as something that requires, as Madianou says (2011, p.447), description, analysis and explanation, and not as a coherent, homogenous thing that is a source of explanation in itself.

Foucault (1980, 1984), on whose work social constructionism builds, contends that identities such as ethnicity are constructed within discursive formations (within language *and* practice) that define what they are and how they operate – always in relation to power, through practice, and under specific historical conditions. Thus, for Foucault (1984), a study of ethnicity or 'Pacific' identity must look at its historical context, discursive production (who speaks, from what viewpoint, and how) and effects of power. In this vein, this thesis recognises that broader structural issues and issues of power are important and it draws on critical as well as constructivist theorists to illustrate how the sense people make is often related to power. According to Foucault (1977, 1980), what we think we know in a particular period, in this case, 'Pacificness', has a bearing on what we do, and the combination of discourse and power produces a certain conception of Pacificness that has real effects in specific historical and institutional contexts (Hall 2001a). So, for instance, a belief in Pacific identity's roots in an ancestral homeland rules in scripts and representations of grass skirts, sand and palm trees and rules out those of the urban Pacific Rim. Identity discourses create a set of parameters within which certain practices and actions are possible and others are not;

while practice (and performance) determines whether identity congeals around certain ideas or evolves (Goff and Dunn, 2004: 244). Foucault's (1980: 98) conception of power as a net-like organisation also encourages us to view people as always in the position of simultaneously undergoing or exercising power within this identity/practice nexus. Through this lens, the position of Pacific elites as both subjects of dominant institutions' categorisations and actors who might categorise English-speaking Pacific peoples as somehow 'less than Pacific' makes sense (see Chapter Six). They act and are acted upon within the limits of the discursive formation of their particular period and culture.

Ethnicity, then, is seen here as a socially constructed, historically contingent and changeable identity position. As Karner (2007) says, it reflects and relies on social processes and discourses that construct and 'naturalise'[34] group differences to create an imagined community within a particular historical context. Contemporary theories about ethnicity rest heavily on the work of Barth (1998), who argues that ethnic identities result from interaction, and can be understood only by focusing on the processes that produce and maintain ethnic boundaries and not on "the cultural stuff" (p. 6) enclosed within them. Once we see ethnicity as defined in relation to something or someone else, rather than on possessing a certain cultural inventory, the question about media then becomes whether they have a role in creating or maintaining ethnic boundaries and what that role might be (Madianou 2005; Georgiou 2004). How or why ethnicity is more or less imperative, or more or less stable, in different places at different times is better addressed by Jenkins (2008). His demarcation of the external categorisation and internal group identification of ethnicity (the imposition of a classification on a group by outsiders versus the self-identity reached by members of the group themselves) helps to distinguish an external process that can explain the capacity of a dominant group to impose its, usually pejorative and stigmatising, categories on others (Jenkins 2008). This is significant when it comes to looking at the identity categories within which New Zealand's state-funded Pacific media operate. In later chapters, this thesis sets out to track how far these categories are narrowed.

In addition, as Hall insists (1993 in Gillespie 1995, p.11), differences other than ethnicity, such as class and gender – and the power structures that attend them — are equally important.

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[34] The term is often assumed to describe biological criteria, such as descent or 'race', but studies have shown that far from relying on biological dimensions, ethnic boundaries are socially constructed on a range of criteria (Baumann 1996, pp.17-18).

Ethnicity, Brah (1996) says, cannot be understood as an autonomous category; it must be analysed with reference to other axes of differentiation and power, as well as its social, historical and economic context. The theory of the intersecting constructions of race, class and gender goes beyond simple recognition of a multiplicity of categories of difference to look at their interplay in the material and symbolic production and reproduction of social identities and inequalities (Bilge 2010). It is a useful analytic tool for understanding the position of some of the least empowered, such as Pacific youth, in relation to Pacific media because it takes into account inequalities within social systems and the ways that groups at the intersection of two or more identity categories, such as ethnicity and age, can be left out.

The concepts of diaspora and hybridity (Gilroy 1993; Gillespie 1995), borderlands (Anzaldua 1999), and third space (Bhabha 1994, 1998) also help to broaden our perspective in this regard inasmuch as they problematise discourses of essentialism, fixed origin and 'authenticity', and curb the tendency to homogenise ethnic groups or view them solely within the context of a nation-state (Anthias 1998). I use the concepts here loosely as devices to foreground ambivalence, transformation and identity construction as a continually shifting and contested sense-making process, because, on their own, they are neither trouble-free nor a close fit for the Pacific experience in New Zealand[35], where they fail to account satisfactorily for the highly contested nature of being, for instance, 'Pacific' or 'Samoan'.

Instead, the focus here is to look, as Hale says (1999 in Bell 2004, p.135), beyond the allegedly 'hybrid' or 'essentialist' character of cultural identities to ask simply who deploys them, from what specific location and with what effects. By accepting the social constructionist argument that social categories do not reflect an essential underlying identity but are constituted in and through forms of representation (Barker 2008) – often as a form of 'strategic essentialism' (Hall 1996a) – this thesis examines representations of 'Pacific' identity in Pacific media to reveal something about the purpose of Pacific media and people's relationships with them. It is grounded in an examination of discourses and practices of identity: who makes these representations, in what circumstances, and for what purpose; who

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[35] Diaspora, for instance, is not easily translated into a general theoretical tool (Anthias 1998), not least because of problems of definition. At what point is a group no longer diasporic (after how many generations of settlement and at what level of attachment to 'homeland')? The concept also tends to reinforce absolutist notions of 'origin' and 'true belonging', homogenise groups by stressing internal ethnic sameness and external ethnic distinctiveness (Anthias 1998; Ang 2003), and overlook economic and political disparities (Gandhi 1998, p.135). Similarly, theories of 'third space' and borderlands assume not only a binary essentialism (the mixing of two supposedly distinct cultures) but also the unchanging homogeneity of identities outside that space.

uses them, how they use them, and what sense they make of them; and whether these representations or identities remain relevant even when contested (Georgiou 2004).

Of course, these questions problematise the very notion of a 'Pacific media' and raise questions about what is meant by 'Pacific' as a category of study. If identities are fluid, multiple and contested, how do we mark out and define a collection of media as 'Pacific'? However, these things are real for people – we live according to categories of self that we imagine as solid even when they are not. The persistence of Pacific identities across institutional spaces and time suggests some understandings are resistant to change and broadly applicable across different contexts (Strauss & Quinn 1997 in Goff & Dunn 2004, p.5). Rather than thinking of identities in binary terms as either predetermined and fixed *or* fluid and dynamic, this suggests that we reflect carefully on the grey area between and pay attention to the material circumstances in which identities are produced and reproduced (Goff & Dunn 2004). The endurance of Pacific media demonstrates a material identity distinct enough to warrant examination, though with an openness to its multiple meanings. Within Pacific media, for instance, Radio 531pi, the longest-running dedicated Pacific radio station, splits its programming between different categories of 'Pacificness'. The station distinguishes between the older Pacific audiences catered for in its nightly language-specific "ethnic programming" (National Pacific Radio Trust, 2010) and a younger, primarily New Zealand-born Pacific audience – "the next generation of the first Pacific immigrants" (Radio 531pi n.d) – targeted by its daytime programmes. Niu FM, "Proud to be Pacific, proud to be Kiwi" (Niu FM, n.d; National Pacific Media Trust 2010), clearly addresses New-Zealand-born Pacific peoples as opposed to immigrants. Similarly, *Spasifik* magazine deliberately distinguishes between Pacific youth born in New Zealand and youth born in the islands, and connects Pacific peoples with Māori - their "Polynesian brothers and sisters" (*Spasifik* 2010, Issue 36). Hence, being 'Pacific' has meaning, but it means different things in different contexts.

Theorising audiences and their media practices

These complex issues of representation, identity and community that might explain what makes Pacific media 'Pacific' cannot be understood by studying production processes and content alone. Williams (1982) argues that cultural meanings are generated, and must be examined, in the context of lived experience, that is, in the texts and practices of ordinary people in their everyday lives. As such, this thesis views media practice as more than a

practice of production. To understand Pacific media, we must also look at Pacific audiences – who they are, how they define and comprehend 'Pacific', and why and how they integrate Pacific media into their lives (if, indeed, they do).

That demands an examination of how scholars have conceived of and studied audiences more generally. Theoretical approaches to audiences have shifted significantly from early traditions of effects research, which assumed an all-powerful media 'injected' their message into homogenous, passive audiences with direct, often negative, effects (Livingstone 1998). In reaction to this model, which looked at what media do to audiences, alternative approaches have developed a view of audiences as more active and complex in their selection and interpretation of media, and the ways in which they use media for different purposes. This alternate tradition focuses instead on what audiences do with media, and includes the Uses and Gratifications (U&G) approach, which has been criticised for overlooking identity and social and cultural experience (Nightingale & Ross, 2003), reception research (for example, Radway 1984; Liebes & Katz 1993) and consumption research (for example, Lull 1980; Morley 1986). Research into the meaning-making practices of audiences started with Morley's (1999a) use of Hall's (1980) seminal theory of encoding and decoding (which suggested that meanings embedded in media texts are not necessarily taken up by audiences). It was important for showing that audiences are active producers of meaning from within their own cultural context, which sits well with theories about plurality and difference. Subsequent research in the active audience tradition, and informed by cultural studies, has employed ethnographic and multi-method approaches to examine media in a more contextualised way and as part of people's everyday life (for example, Gillespie 1995; Hermes 1995). The prevailing approach in reception studies now is to understand media content on audiences' terms and within their everyday socio-cultural context (Brooker & Jermyn 2003; McQuail 1997), and this approach has been applied in research on ethnic minority audiences (for example, Aksoy & Robins 2000; Ogan 2001; Madianou 2005).

The active audience or reception approach also emphasises the messiness – the contradictions, heterogeneity and intersecting practices – of everyday media consumption (Ang 1996). The mere fact of having a television switched on, for instance, does not indicate audiencehood; people interact with television in complex and different ways and their degree of attention, type of watching, and empathy with a programme varies (Morley 1990 in Toynbee 2006,

p.123). In fact, the audience is not a discrete, homogeneous body that sits still to be studied, and cordoning people off by their use of a particular medium or genre, such as Pacific media, is problematic (Bird 2003). Media texts – and their uses – do not exist in isolation. People slot in and out of a range of media, use multiple forms simultaneously, and interpret meaning based on their familiarity with different media, requiring us to locate users within a multi-media universe (McRobbie 1991).

As such, it becomes difficult to pin down a coherent and useful concept of audience. Is it a social group or a collection of isolated individuals (McQuail 1997)? Can it be defined, in the age of time-shifting and transnational media, in any temporal or spatial sense? Nightingale (2011) says the term 'audience' is inadequate to explain the sorts of things that people do with media in a Web 2.0 and social media landscape. Are interactive bloggers best understood as media producers, audiences or 'produsers' (Bruns 2007 in Nightingale 2011, p.2)? Certainly, the idea of an audience as a group of people who merely consume is outdated in journalism; audiences create, interact with and consume media (Guzman 2016), which requires us to avoid generalisations or rigid distinctions between media fields and other types of fields that do not fully explain people's media-related practices.

Audiences have been given social and cultural significance in varying ways. Gandy (2000) theorises audiences within their wider political and economic contexts, particularly in terms of how they are structured by media producers and regulators, to describe them alternately as publics, markets and commodities. As a *public*, an audience is constructed as an aggregate of citizens with rights and interests, and the (usually public service) media that serve them are assigned specific social responsibilities to maintain an active public sphere. NZ on Air's funding of Pacific broadcast programmes and channels can be understood as a function of this ideal. Butsch (2011) says the concept has its problems as it fails to account for the media's transcendence of national boundaries and the private/public divide. What people do with media (or what they hope to do) determines whether audiences are publics. In this sense, the audience as 'public'/public sphere model provides a useful frame for analysing Pacific focus group participants' desire for a mediated space for Pacific news and debate (see Chapter Nine) in terms of their *public interests* as opposed to their interests as consumers. Indeed, Livingstone and Lunt (2011, p.184) argue that audience researchers should draw on democratic theories to contest the consumer focus of state regulators and advocate for

citizens' interests. Such advocacy could increase the diversity of voices in the news, and facilitate fair and well-informed debate on the news and the delivery of media that provide an important means of empowering citizens. These are all measures to which mainstream media fall short for Pacific audiences and against which Pacific media, too, appear to be struggling. Indeed, when racial and ethnic minority audiences are framed as publics in this way, they can more readily be seen as being under-served by media (Husband & Chouhan 1985 in Gandy 2000, p.46).

In the second and third formulations, which are grounded in the economic domain, audiences are seen as consumers – either a *market* of actual and potential consumers who are governed by similar tastes and preferences or as a *commodity* whereby consumers are a product for sale as ratings or page clicks to advertisers. In these models, ethnic identity has been seen as a predictor of media choice and a reliable basis for defining a market for media content, but ethnic identity is only one of many complex influences that shape peoples' decision to use media. As the preceding discussion demonstrates, empirical studies have demonstrated that the media use of ethnic groups is not uniform but complex and not obviously tied to identity (Gillespie 1995; Aksoy & Robins 2003; Madianou 2005, 2010; Sreberny 2005; Georgiou, 2004).

These market/commodity formulations are useful, instead, for understanding the under-supply of media to ethnic groups. The logic of capital works against producing content of interest to smaller or minority audiences, especially where those audiences are also poor and advertisers rather than consumers must pay for the content production (Gandy 2000, p.48). The model also helps to explain the structural position of audiences (and some of the corporate constraints of media production), but is less useful in teasing out questions of ethnicity, identity and difference. We cannot presume, Ang (1996) says, that, in any particular instance of media consumption, identity will be a basic determining factor. People are variously positioned in relation to a number of identity discourses, many of which do not concern ethnicity, and ethnicity is not always relevant to what one experiences or how one feels or chooses to act in everyday life. As Hermes demonstrates (1995), men, and not just women, read women's magazines, and women who read feminist magazines do not necessarily identify as feminists. Being Samoan is no guarantee that one will read the Samoan press or listen to Samoan radio. Madianou (2005, 2011) argues instead for a bottom-up or audience-centred approach that guards against essentialising ethnic audiences and assuming that all its

members share an overarching cultural or ethnic identity. As Chapters Eight and Nine demonstrate, the diverse media practices of Pacific audience participants, and their use of Māori media, problematise the essentialist discourse of market explanations. By paying closer attention to ethnic audiences' orientation to news media, this study suggests that ethnic media are more complex and, in some respects, more ordinary than is supposed.

Alternative explanations of 'audience' put stronger emphasis on community aspects, viewing audiences as social, virtual or interpretive communities (Carpentier 2011). These explanations better account for people who coalesce around a media product without ever 'consuming' it, as is the case with *Tagata Pasifika*, which has significant symbolic and social power within the Pacific space even for those who do not watch it. These audience articulations tend to assert a common frame of interpretation (Radway 1988) and socio-demographic characteristics such as geographic location, geo-ethnic identity or ethnicity (see Chapter Three for a summary). However, as Machin and Carrithers (1996) caution, the model of interpretive community tends to assume a uniform set of attitudes and beliefs across all members – that people will always act in a set fashion according to uni-dimensional values. Madianou's (2011) review of the literature on ethnic media audiences demonstrates instead a multiplicity of belongings, in-group diversity and processes of negotiation and ambivalence that reveal tensions among intersecting affiliations, and she wonders (p.445) whether the concept of relationships and sociality needs to be given more attention.

Rather than allow these challenges to write the media and audience out of reality (Schroder 1999), I foreground them here, as Dahlgren suggests (1991), to problematise and emphasise the polysemic character of media discourses, the pluralistic subject and the multiplicity of audience configurations and interpretations. Hence, these various ways of imagining the audience – as public and as community – become tools for combining critical and postmodern insights within a framework that has two starting points: Pacific producers' implied audience, and focus group participants' notions of themselves as an imagined audience or 'imagined community' (Anderson 1990; Alasuutari 1999; Morley 1999b). This brings us back to a focus on practice, which is, Bird says (2010, p.99), a more helpful way to explore activities around media than the narrower focus on how people respond to texts. It involves attention to media texts as well as discourse about these texts and 'culture' and 'identity', wide-ranging media-related practices, the context of media production and consumption, and direct engagement

with "the people we might still (for want of a better word) describe as 'audiences'" (ibid.). Paying attention to what Pacific peoples say and do is important both as a research methodology (see Chapter Five) and as a pragmatic starting point for conceptualising broad patterns of perception and practice (Schroder 1999) in relation to Pacific identities, cultures and media.

Summary

The theoretical framework presented here does not attempt to be comprehensive or clear-cut, for that risks overlooking the complexities of Pacific media and discounting Pacific people's actual voices and practices. Instead, the aim is to provide a guide that is sensitive to people's actual practices and that can attend as much as possible to what my research participants have to say. Having said that, it pulls together several key theoretical elements on postcolonialism, identity, practice and the audience. Firstly, it accepts the view that Pacific news media are an important object of study. They have symbolic power to represent identity and community, which has implications for social inclusion and community building, as well as a key role in generating and legitimating Pacific representations, which may reveal something about power relations within the Pacific space. The framework also draws on postcolonial theory to problematise Pacific media as an object of study, open up this research to possibilities (which Western-biased theories might otherwise discount), and foreground the need for a critical approach to relations of power and structural inequalities. It is based on a constructivist-interpretive paradigm. Thus, ethnicity is seen as socially constructed and contested, and social categories are seen not as a reflection of an essential identity but as constituted in and through forms of representation. This helps me to tease out my research questions about Pacific media's role in constructing identities (and the communities that coalesce around them) by asking who makes these representations, in what circumstances and for what purpose, as well as who uses them and how. The constructivist-interpretive paradigm also helps to guide the complementary theories that underpin this study's analysis of Pacific media practices, that is theories about media practice and active audiences, which recognise people's activity as messy and complex and best understood within their socio-cultural contexts, on their own terms, and with a focus on everyday practice.

Chapter Five: Research design and methodology

This thesis attempts to apply theories about media practice, active audiences and fields by exploring the nature and purpose of Pacific media as they are understood by Pacific media producers and audiences. That requires a methodological approach that is open to listening *and* to differences between producers and their intended audiences, who may do different things and make different sense of Pacific media. It also aims to explore the 'ethnic' in ethnic media, that is, what it is that makes Pacific media 'Pacific', especially when they are not Pacific in their language or geography. These are primarily questions about different peoples' construction of reality, and as such, they are questions that were best tackled qualitatively.

Rationale for qualitative methods

Qualitative methods were chosen for this study, first because they better served the study's constructivist-interpretive paradigm, which maintains that 'reality' is subjective, knowledge is relative, contested (and shaped by power) and inseparable from people's context and social realities, and that research is value-bound (Sanga 2004). Qualitative methods can account for the insider perspectives, multiple realities and complex social processes that this view entails (Gillespie 1995). These methods also provide insight into many of the 'how' and 'why' questions that come with a view of the world as socially constructed, including those that might answer the study's research questions on identity and community: What role do Pacific media play in the construction of Pacific identities and community? In other words, how and why people do people invest meaning in Pacific media or a Pacific identity; how and why do these media (and their representations) take the form they do (Hesmondhalgh 2006; Philo 2007)? Second, the focus of this study on questions of Pacific identity and community (RQ2 and RQ3) required a Pacific research approach that seeks to understand the world from within Pacific realities and worldviews, and qualitative methods that allowed for the kind of meaningful engagement that should underpin research with Pacific peoples (Health Research Council 2004). By being interactive, open-ended and non-standardised, qualitative methods are better suited to studying the multiple meanings generated by social interaction and in diverse (and cross-cultural) contexts (Bouma 2000). An inductive qualitative approach was also appropriate for an exploratory study on ethnic media, for which there is relatively little scholarship and an underdeveloped theory base. Finally, it was also an approach that came more naturally to me given my years of interviewing experience as a former journalist and my personal commitment to working in ways that respect difference and multiplicity.

With these basic methodological assumptions, I aimed for a combination of methods: in-depth, semi-structured interviews with media producers, focus group interviews with Pacific audiences, and qualitative text-based case studies of two key Pacific media (see *Methods* below). I then used an inductive approach to code and analyse the data (see *Analysis* below). Georgiou (2007, p.26) says open methodological and multi-method approaches have proved more productive in recording and interpreting media practices as well as the diversity of diaspora experience, which includes discrimination, community and identity construction, and politics of representation. Thus, taken together, these methods collectively addressed questions about producers' *and* audiences' media practices (and the role that Pacific media play in the everyday lives of Pacific audiences); sense-making and identity and community construction, that is how the reality of 'Pacificness' is constructed in media texts, and the modes of representation and cultural/material regimes that emerge as a result (Wetherell 2001, p.393); as well as questions about the material contexts of media practice. Unlike much of the previous research on Pacific media (see Chapter Two), the material gathered here covered different media platforms and production contexts, *and* attempted to explore the contexts of consumption to make connections between media production and audiences.

Pacific framework

Vaioleti argues (2006) that we cannot assume that all Western, Eastern and Pacific knowledge have the same origins and construction or, by implication, that the same methods can be used for collecting and analysing data and constructing new knowledge:

> Research methodologies that were designed to identify issues in a dominant culture …
> are not necessarily suitable in searching for solutions for Pacific peoples, whose
> knowledge and ways of being have unique epistemologies, as well as lived realities
> here in Aotearoa (p.22).

Indeed, Spoonley (1999, p.53) says holding up predominantly white, male research constructs as equally applicable to a non-white community's value base amounts to an 'act of violence', as science is not universal in its concepts or methods but culturally based. He argues for research *with* communities (rather than *on*) that meets the needs of the community, enables empowerment and collaboration, respects difference and preserves cultural integrity. "It is not acceptable to impose other ways of knowing and research which may harm them in some way" (ibid. p.61). Indeed, the desire for Pacific interpretations of our history and development, using Pacific research methodologies, is emerging as a significant movement in Pacific Studies and Pacific research (Baba et al. 2004; McFall-McCaffery 2010). Smith

(2012, p.196) says the activity of research is transformed when Indigenous peoples become the researchers: "Questions are framed differently, priorities are ranked differently, problems are defined differently, and people participate on different terms". Formal Pacific methodologies are relatively new and embrace various methods and models, but all approaches attempt to consider the diversity of Pacific worldviews and knowledge systems and represent Pacific peoples' perspectives in culturally appropriate ways (McFall-McCaffery 2010; Sanga 2004).

Fundamentally, the primary role of Pacific research is to generate knowledge and understanding about and for Pacific peoples. My aim here is to understand media from Pacific perspectives and to involve Pacific peoples in categorising and making sense of their own media and media practices (RQ4). To that end, I embraced inclusiveness and humility throughout the research process. I scoped my research questions initially by interviewing Pacific journalists to explore their thoughts on Pacific media, before delving into the literature on ethnic media. I drew my source material from Pacific peoples using methods that respected participants' views and provided for Pacific cultural values and knowledge. The ethical and conceptual approach used here was informed by Pacific values of communal relationships, reciprocity, holism and respect for other members of the community (Health Research Council 2014).

Amongst these values, a relationship-focused approach was important. Anae (2010a, 2010b) says research in Pacific communities must value Pacific voices and, above all, care about people and our relationships with them – reciprocity, mutual participation, responsiveness, commitment and responsibility must be to the fore. Throughout this project, I have endeavoured to form relationships with my research participants that are based on respect, partnership, and regard for the cooperative production of knowledge. This required practising in a culturally competent manner, including being aware of my own cultural beliefs, values and practices and how these impact on others[36] and engaging meaningfully with participants, as much as possible face-to-face (Smith 1999, p.15; Vaioleti 2006, p.30). For these reasons, I chose research methods that were predominantly interview-based.

Anae (2010a) says research in Pacific communities must also value Pacific knowledge. My own background as a Pacific woman and journalist (see below) provided me with some of the

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[36] The Pacific Advisory Group discussed below helped enormously in this regard.

interpretive resources to hear my participants' perspectives, and my methodology was deliberately interactive and open-ended to ensure openness to participants' diverse views and different interpretations of social experience. Vaioleti (2006, p.29) says it is also vital for researchers to show commitment to using the knowledge that is given to them for the benefit of the fanau[37]: "Pacific research must advance Pacific peoples directly". As such, based on the belief that the relationship between researchers and researched communities should be reciprocal (we should give back as much as we take), and that research with marginalised groups should empower rather than exploit, I have aimed to report on my findings in Pacific fora and to produce useful outcomes for Pacific peoples through my findings.

I have adopted reflexive practices, such as noting and reflecting on steps in the research process and interview interaction, partly to put into practice Pacific ethical values and partly to navigate cross-cultural research more considerately. I consulted Pacific leaders and advisors, including those through whom focus groups were recruited, for ethno-specific and context-specific advice on culturally competent practice. I established a Pacific Advisory Group[38], comprising community and media representatives, to oversee and provide advice on the research project as a whole, as well as Pacific communities' participation and my interpretation of cross-cultural meanings and nuances in particular (see Forde et al. [2009] for a similar approach). Part of the function of the advisory group was to advise on research design and 'best practice' for working with Pacific communities. This included advice on how best to establish and maintain respectful relationships with key members of the participating communities, and a critical check on my own values and assumptions, which otherwise risked being taken for granted. The group was also intended to provide peer review, and did review early written work. However, the realities of Christchurch's post-quake environment (along with the fact that, as senior leaders in their communities, the members had many other pressing demands on their time), meant only one was able to review the final thesis. To ensure best practice, I also subjected my work to peer review by other Pacific researchers outside the advisory group, as well researchers with experience studying Indigenous and ethnic media.

Ethics

In line with Pacific research guidelines elsewhere (Health Research Council 2004, 2014), this study aimed to follow ethical procedures that were culturally sensitive, and that did not harm

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[37] Family.
[38] See Appendix 4.

the community or individual participants. My aim as a Pacific researcher, also, was to work in a way that would benefit all parties (Anae 2010b), and, maybe, even lead to transformative change for Pacific peoples and communities (Anae n.d.). For researchers, there are clear benefits to be gained from our work regarding professional advancement and job satisfaction. The benefits are not as clear for the Pacific peoples we study. Pacific peoples are among the most vulnerable groups in New Zealand and research with them should be sensitive to the underlying structural, economic and political factors that shape their status *and* aim to make a positive difference (Health Research Committee, 2014; Smith, 2012; Vaioleti 2006, p.23). To that end, this study aimed to provide much-needed audience research for Pacific media producers as well as recommendations for funders on the current funding framework for state-supported Pacific media.

Ethical issues addressed in consultation with the Pacific Advisory Group and others included finding appropriate ways to negotiate my insider/outsider status, researching audience groups in ways that would not create a burden or 'research fatigue', and to practise reciprocity. On this last point, I returned transcripts to those who wanted to see them and offered to share the results of my research. I have presented my findings in Pacific research fora throughout the research process (as well as presenting at academic conferences in New Zealand and Australia, and publishing in international journals). Within the research interaction, I also endeavoured to show reciprocity and appreciation for people's time and participation by providing food for the focus groups and making a small contribution toward people's travel expenses.

Informed consent was sought from all participants, who were given information about the study before their interviews and talked through their right to withdraw from the study before any recording took place. Media producers who were not decision-makers at their media outlet (such as editors or executive producers) were required to have their media organisation's consent as well. One producer was unable to secure consent from the organisation he was leaving and was removed from the sample. All participants were given the option to withdraw from the study without penalty, but none did so.

To minimise harm to informants, all focus group participants were assured confidentiality. All but one of the media producers who participated in interviews gave consent to be named. However, as some were critical of funding bodies or other media, in most instances, I chose

not to name them, instead naming their media outlet where it was necessary to contextualise their comments. Given the small world of Pacific media, that does not protect them from being identified, but is a further step toward minimising harm than participants requested. These and other ethical issues were considered as part of my application to the University of Canterbury's Human Ethics Committee, which granted ethics approval in June 2010 (see Appendix 8 for details).

Researcher's position

The late Teresia Teaiwa (2001, p.352) writes that Pacific Studies is not just an academic field, "it is an especially intimate field that people enter, often with highly personalised stakes". As a former journalist and a woman of Pacific as well as Pākehā heritage, I have a strong personal interest in the topic of Pacific media. I also bring a strong commitment to research that empowers my community as well as an uncertain voice that reflects my positioning as afakasi or half-caste – where I am both and neither insider nor outsider. As others in that in-between space have described (Southwick 2001, p.5; Mila-Schaaf 2010, p.16), how acceptable we are perceived to be in either Pacific or Pākehā spaces is situational and contextually dependent. When figuring out who we are, we are forced to reckon with not having a legitimate place from which to speak. As a 3rd-generation member of the diasporic Pacific community, I was an insider (as I was with media producers who recognised my 15+ years experience as a journalist). As someone who can claim only 'part' Pacific ethnicity, who doesn't speak a Pacific language, and who was positioned differently to many of the research participants by educational, professional and socio-economic experiences, I was an outsider. That location between insider and outsider positions meant there could be no taken-for-granted subject position. I took extra care to reflect on my research process, especially my interaction with participants, and to draw on advice from the Pacific Advisory Group, such as on the appropriate use of koha (donations) and how I made sense of interviewees' talk.

At times, my partial identity was an advantage. As Ochieng (2010, p.1730) has described elsewhere, participants treated me at times as 'one of them', which gave me data that might otherwise be hidden from 'outsiders' (for example, audiences' critique of Pacific journalism in Chapter Nine). On the other hand, as partial outsider, I was also able to question some of their experiences and thereby elicit richer information. My position as insider/outsider also influenced other aspects of this study. For one, it prompted me to establish the Pacific Advisory Group, partly to help me navigate the complexity of my researcher/researched

relationships. It also sharpened my focus on the ways that Pacific media are responding to demographic changes in Pacific communities, particularly the growth of $2^{nd}+$ generations who are, like me, New Zealand-born and unable to speak a Pacific language.

On a more personal level, I encountered an ongoing struggle with where to situate myself as an insider/outsider. I lacked many of the cultural competencies valued in Pacific spaces (such as language) and, although a journalist, my work was in the mainstream and not Pacific media. For these reasons, I cannot speak for Pacific communities and it is not my intention to do so in this study. My uncertainty about how and where to position myself in the Pacific space, however, did not dampen my strong commitment, sense of belonging and emotional ties to the Pacific community. Anae says (2010a, p.229) our ethnic identity is not only situated historically, socially, politically and culturally but also "more importantly *emotionally* through the stories told to use by our matriarchs". With that emotional connection came a burden of responsibility that I have felt keenly. At times, I have faced a tension between wanting to present honest findings and, when those findings might be critical, not wanting to denigrate my own community. Again, in those instances, I sought peer review to ensure that, without giving up authorship and responsibility for my work, my findings would be both sound and appropriately stated.

Definitions, delimitations and limitations

"Pacific" as focus of study

Although New Zealand's Pacific peoples – and Pacific media – are described in more detail in Chapter One, it is worth noting here what ties these groups together as a valid category of study. This is not only because of the fluidity of cultural categories and the differences that divide Pacific peoples, but also its centrality to the first research question (RQ1): How should we understand Pacific media theoretically, particularly given key tensions in the practices of these media? Pacific groups share a collective identity (despite their differences) in several key settings. In media spaces, they are treated as a multi-ethnic but unitary group. NZ on Air, the state's main media funding agency, addresses Pacific audiences' needs in a single Pacific Content Strategy (NZ on Air, 2012c) and funds content predominantly through one-size-fits-all pan-Pacific programming and a pan-Pacific radio channel. Such approaches have been criticised for glossing over and ignoring the cultural complexities between and within the diverse groupings and identities of Pacific peoples in New Zealand (Anae, 2010a, p.1), but they have helped to embed 'Pacific' as an established category in dominant and mainstream

society. The category is embraced within Pacific spaces, too, where Pacific media producers have coalesced around a pan-Pacific identity through the New Zealand-based Pacific Islands Media Association (PIMA). Furthermore, there is a wealth of literature on Pacific peoples and issues (McFall-McCaffery, 2010), often with a pan-Pacific focus, and Pacific Studies, though relatively new as a discipline, is becoming increasingly well established. For all of these reasons, this study takes a pan-Pacific approach to studying Pacific media in New Zealand.

But how to label this entity? Dhoest et al. (2012) note that terminology is a key issue in empirical research on ethnic minorities. Most terms carry problematic connotations (and tend to 'other' the groups we study), speak to a specific place and time, and hide much internal variation. As such, they are usually disputed. How Pacific peoples in New Zealand have been referred to as a group – as Pacific, Pacific Islanders/PI or Pasifika/Pacifica/Pasefika – is widely debated (see Mila-Schaaf 2010) and there is no agreement on which terminology to use. Some terms reflect different language origins (and ethnic groups), while others have been adopted to refer only to NZ-born and not migrant Pacific peoples (e.g. 'Pasifika' in Mila-Schaaf [2010]). In the interest of finding an operational term, this study employed the term 'Pacific'. It is a dominant categorisation, but it is also commonly used in Pacific peoples' self-description, including the descriptions of Pacific media producers and audiences. As such, it is used throughout this thesis[39], but always with the understanding that the term is contested and does not refer to a homogeneous group.

As explained in the previous chapters, the focus of this work is also on Pacific journalism – news and current affairs information (Zelizer & Allan 2010, p.62) – and not social networking media (except when journalism is reproduced there) or creative media, such as entertainment television, art or music. To establish parameters for this study, I also defined Pacific media as media produced by and for key Pacific communities (Samoan, Cook Islands Māori, Tongan, Niuean, Fijian, Tokelauan, and Tuvaluan) *in New Zealand*. That means Samoan websites with .nz domain names were included, while those with .ws domain names or a .com domain name and a Samoan business address, were not. Producers from Radio New Zealand International (RNZI) and Scoop's Pacific site were interviewed for this study and helped to frame some of my thinking, but their media outlets were excluded from the analysis. This was partly because RNZI is primarily a news service for audiences in the Pacific region and not for those based in New Zealand. Some of its content is re-broadcast on Radio New Zealand's news bulletins,

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[39] Other terms, such as PI, appear at times when quoting research participants or other material.

as well as *Tagata o te Moana* and *Late Edition,* but it is aimed in the first instance at radio stations and individual listeners across the Pacific region. Pacific Scoop has more hybrid content, but also leans toward the wider region[40]. However, the key reason for their exclusion in this study was because other Pacific producers and audience focus groups did not view them as Pacific media, and I have chosen to reflect my participants' understanding of the Pacific mediascape.

The media of New Zealand's largest Pacific groups were studied, but the media of newer and smaller groups, such as those from the Solomon Islands or the Philippines, were not. Significantly, given the recent growth of Fijian Indian media in New Zealand, this study included Indigenous Fijian but not Indo-Fijian media. Officials and other Pacific communities in New Zealand have not always accepted Indo-Fijian communities as bona fide Pacific Islanders (Teaiwa & Mallon 2000), while Chand (2004) suggests Indo-Fijians do not see themselves as Fijian. Singling out some Pacific media over others in this way is inherently problematic and where one draws the line will always be contentious. Nevertheless, by aiming to study these Pacific media within the context of people's wider media use, and by declaring the contingency of the research approach, I hope to mitigate potential argument with my approach. Indeed, there are multiple valid ways to approach the study of media; Matheson (2005) suggests the key is to recognise that whatever approach is chosen, it only gives one set of answers.

Research design

This study combined three methods – interviews, thematic textual analysis and focus group interviews – with the following purposes in mind as outlined by Greene et al. (1989 in Cresswell 1994, p.175):

- so that overlapping and different facets of Pacific media might emerge;
- so that the first method could be used sequentially to help inform the second method (for example, media producers' interviews informed the textual analysis, which explored how and if producers practised what they said);
- so contradictions and fresh perspectives emerged (such as the contradictions found between producers and audiences, and between what producers said they did and what was actually in some of their texts);

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[40] That's even more marked following its re-launch as *Asia-Pacific Report*.

- to add scope and breadth to the study (for example the textual analysis usefully demonstrated the narrow representations described by audiences).

The approach aimed to use different methods to add complexity while retaining consistency with the study's theoretical and methodological approach.

I did not treat producers here as a unitary category, nor see them as necessarily distinct from consumers. This is because producers are almost always consumers of the media they create, as well as of other media (Dickey 1997), and the imagined audience's presence in the production process blurs their arbitrary separation from producers (Dornfeld 1998). The interviews with producers were intended to explore the political, economic and organisational contexts of Pacific media – and the power structures that locate them – as well as the meaning-making and discourse of media producers. Along with the analysis of focus group discussion, these interviews aimed to explore media as vehicles of meaning (Jensen 2002), and therefore their role in the construction of representations and meaning for Pacific identities and communities.

Rather than surveying producers, I chose to interview them to allow Pacific voices space to be heard. The in-depth, semi-structured scope of the interviews aimed to give participants the freedom to say what was important to them. I used a brief interview guide to give each interview a shared focus of inquiry, but kept the guide deliberately loose and open-ended. Rather than restricting producers' responses to fixed questions that would be limited by my own assumptions and imagination, this approach allowed for rich responses and unexpected topics, and left room for participants to reflect on their experiences. Unlike surveys, interviews provide opportunities to clarify responses, probe opinions and to ask follow-up questions (McLennan 1992 in Waldegrave 1999, p.234). Some producers volunteered further information by email, providing contextual information they thought was important or comments that expanded on their thinking.

The interview sample was left open to allow a more grounded, inductive approach to research (Corbin & Strauss 2008). Rather than setting out to test an established hypothesis, I aimed to explore Pacific media via an inductive, iterative process. Starting with the broad question, 'what is Pacific media', I aimed to find patterns across different producers, media and audiences, and to build explanatory concepts that could explain those patterns. Data was analysed and categorised as it was collected to generate provisional explanations, new

questions and samples for further exploration. Such an approach sits well with a Pacific approach in a cross-cultural setting, and was useful for throwing open the data. As argued in Chapter Four, dominant theories do not fit here, so it was appropriate to employ an approach that could be expansive and open enough to be sensitive to what participants said was important. Such an approach also allowed me to narrow the sample when it became obvious that some media, such as RNZI and Pacific Scoop, were not considered by others (and, in some respects, even by RNZI producers[41]) to be Pacific.

As well as conducting in-depth interviews, I conducted focus group interviews with mixed groups of Pacific people to generate multiple and varied accounts of how people define their media use and their 'Pacificness', particularly in relation to the media choices they make, and how they make sense of and respond to Pacific media in their everyday lives. Group interviews were chosen as the method of investigation because they are a recommended way of consulting with Pacific groups (Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs 2006) and enable researchers to better attend to communal relationships and interaction, which are fundamental to a Pacific research methodology (Health Research Council 2014) and to research questions about community building (RQ3). Focus groups also allow us to observe how audiences make sense of media in their interactions with each other (Hansen & Machin 2013, p.232) and, unlike surveys, allow for deeper consideration of issues as differing viewpoints are weighed and considered during the process of evolving collective response (Waldegrave 1999, p.234). In their large-scale qualitative audience research on Australian Indigenous and ethnic community media audiences, Forde et al. (2009) recommended focus groups as a model for encouraging disadvantaged communities' participation in discussions about 'their' media.

The method has some limitations. Some participants can dominate discussion and there is a risk that group pressure can marginalise dissenting views (Hansen & Machin 2013, p.233). Studies have shown that people's orientation toward individualistic (mostly Western) or collectivistic, such as Pacific, cultures can affect the directness of their communication (P. Smith 2008). However, Pacific peoples in New Zealand straddle both Western and Pacific cultures (in particular, New Zealand-born young people are socialised to New Zealand norms) and adopt the mores and norms of each at different times depending on the issue (Ministry of

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[41] The RNZI producer interviewed for this study said RNZI was "an unusual case" for inclusion, as it was primarily an international broadcaster: "I was thinking that if you were looking at New Zealand Pacific media then maybe we didn't quite fit".

Pacific Island Affairs 2006, p.27). Thus, it cannot be assumed that the focus groups had an entirely common set of collectivist beliefs. Indeed, to assume that there might be only one legitimate response based on community consensus disregards complex socio-cultural dynamics and diversity among Pacific peoples (Health Research Council 2014, p.22).

The focus group prompts included questions such as: how and when do you use Pacific media; what influences your decision to use Pacific or mainstream media; what do you like best about these media; what is it that makes these media Pacific? As was the case with the media producers' interviews, such questions foster a certain type of knowledge, i.e. that people construct versions of their world. Interviews elicited multiple versions of what constituted 'Pacific' and one person's account could vary throughout an interview according to the question or the context of discussion. In this way, focus groups provide access to the kinds of social interactional dynamics that produce different representations or discourses, and they "democratise" the research process by making participants equal interpretive experts (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis 2005)[42]. Focus group discussion is not 'everyday' interaction – let alone media use – but it does capitalise on the richness and complexity of group dynamics (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis 2005). Conversation and discussion are important processes in the construction of meaning in everyday life, and, focus groups, although only a simulation of these processes are social spaces within which we can efficiently explore both these meanings and how they are socially constructed through talk (Lunt & Livingstone 1996). Obviously, as the researcher I imposed my interpretation on participants' accounts when I analysed the focus group transcripts, but I aimed to mitigate my biases and misrepresentations through co-operative inquiry (Potter 1996). This was advanced by clarifying with people as much as possible in the focus group setting, and by testing my insights with others (as described above).

Interpretive research such as this is not without its problems (see Carragee 1990). Jensen and Rosengren (2005) criticise reception analysis for being small-scale, not easily replicable and seldom generalisable beyond the small groups of individuals studied. Livingstone (1998) says the failure to address the general in audience research – whether most people understand most of the stories on television in more or less the same way most of the time – leaves questions

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[42] There is a danger, especially in Pacific communities where young people are expected to defer to their elders, that not all participants will feel able to contribute on an equal footing. For this reason, Pacific focus groups were broadly segregated by age.

of quantification perennially unanswered. Schroder (1999) says reception studies thus often have high validity (valuable analytical insights) but weak reliability and generalisability (representativeness), because samples are small and there is insufficient evidence of the reliability of the researchers' interpretation. Clearly, reliability is concerned with consistency and the talanoa research methods used here, for instance, are unlikely to yield similar results over time (Vaioleti 2006, p.32). That said, according to Opie (1999, p.221), all research is at best a *representation* structured by decisions about focus, significance and issues of exclusion and inclusion. Indeed, in an approach that sees identity and understanding unfolding in specific contexts, the concepts of 'findings' and 'data' are no longer such useful concepts; identification of patterns is not a neutral exercise and depends on prior assumptions and the analyst's own interpretation or constructed reading (Wetherell 2001). Rather than focusing on reliability, we might, as Lincoln and Guba (1985 in Vaioleti 2006, p.32) suggest, more helpfully focus on trustworthiness. Schroder (1999) says that validity, which is the strength of interpretive research, should be our starting point – if our findings live up to this criterion, we at least know something. Indeed, as researchers, if we know something small with confidence we are in a good position to theorise, as we know *why* we know things. Hence, data collection and analysis should be thoroughly qualitative and then combined with procedures that might build reliability and generalisability, such as employing an audit trail of steps in the analysis, supporting analytical points with extensively illustrated quotations, and external auditing to raise questions of possible bias or misinterpretation where appropriate. Potter (1996) further suggests using a comparative approach to contextualise one's findings, and triangulation, that is a variety of methods, data sources and people and settings, so that one's interpretation is robust and sensitive to variation.

In keeping with these arguments, my research design is comparative (it looks at different media and different audiences), multi-method, and looks at facets of production and audience reception. The logical integration of data from different sources and different methods of analysis into a single, consistent interpretation in this way aims to provide greater validity (Barnes 1984 in Davidson & Tolich 1999, p.34). Through my work with the Pacific Advisory Group, I have also aimed for credibility (research findings that are believable or plausible) and applicability (findings that can be readily used because they provide insight and understanding and work with diverse populations and situations [Corbin & Strauss 2008]). For instance, my approach connects production through to audience with the aim of providing new insights (before now, production and consumption have often been considered

separately). If our research "fits" and is "useful" because it explains or describes things, then debates about truth, validity and reliability recede into the background as rigour must have been built into the research process or the findings would not hold up to scrutiny and would be invalidated in practice (Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

Limitations

Pacific media are a complex object and there are various ways of looking at and analysing them. For instance, this study has focused on Pacific media produced in New Zealand, which is but one way of pulling the field together. With more time and money, another way would have been to look at media across the Pacific region or to compare Pacific media produced in Australia or the USA with New Zealand media. Both approaches might have done more to tease out the different ways in which Pacific media are practising and building transnational connections (which is an area for further research), but do not necessarily indicate flaws in the approach taken here. Rather, this thesis is best seen as a pilot study intended to lay the groundwork for more complete research in the future. Because there was little prior research on Pacific media in New Zealand, this thesis attempted an exploratory design to map and examine the field, and shed light on some key tensions to help us better understand and theorise Pacific media (RQ1). Inevitably, though, gaps in the knowledge base remain and it is useful here to outline the limitations of this study and thereby indicate possible areas for further research.

In terms of study design, I used a combination of methods to better connect media production and audience practices. The constraints on my time and labour meant I did not drill down as deeply as might have been the case if one method had been used, such as an ethnography on media production at *Tagata Pasifika* or a more detailed content analysis across a broader range of media. However, there was value in combining methods to understand Pacific media from different angles. Examining content helped to shed light on the ways in which producers' work was constrained, while interviews with audiences revealed not only different understandings from those of producers but also their use of Māori media (a practice that begs further study).

Audience sampling was purposively skewed toward younger participants, partly because the Pacific population overall is younger, but also because younger audiences best tested some of the questions at the heart of this research. Work with older participants would likely reveal

more about the use of language media but, given this study's focus on the fit of Pacific media with significant demographic transformation within Pacific communities, and therefore their role in community-building (RQ3), it was the inclusion of Pacific youth that mattered. It should be noted that the audience sample also skewed (unintentionally) toward relatively more Samoan participants than in the overall Pacific population. Samoans make up almost half of the Pacific population in New Zealand but comprised about three-quarters of the audience focus groups (though 17 percent of those who identified as Samoan also identified a mixed ethnicity). As there are more media offerings available for Samoans in New Zealand, this skew was potentially helpful. Regarding language, however, Samoans rank at the higher end of language fluency rates among the seven main Pacific groups in New Zealand. This does not weaken this study's findings; rather, it suggests that, given the significantly lower language rates within some other Pacific ethnic groups, that research with specific groups would likely underscore the same trends shown here – and likely reveal even lower audience consumption of Pacific language media.

This study has tended to focus more closely on English language rather than Pacific language media, partly because they are the biggest Pacific media in New Zealand with the biggest audience share; partly because Pacific media are increasingly adopting English language; and partly because it was these media that best tested some of the assumptions of the ethnic media literature and thereby rewarded closer examination[43]. A more detailed study of Pacific language media, which tend to be geo-local, might provide more detail on some of the insights uncovered in this study, such as the relationship between producers and Pacific communities and audiences and the extent to which audiences are more than 'abstract' to ethnic media producers.

Because it was conducted part-time – and interrupted by the 2011 Canterbury earthquakes – the study ran over six years, within which time there was a reasonable degree of churn within Pacific media. Interviews with producers were completed before the launch of *Fresh*, for instance, and the textual analysis (Chapter Seven) was completed only a few months into the popular programme's first year of production. Given that the programme was brought up in several audience discussions, particularly by younger participants, it would have been helpful to have had production data (more detailed content analysis and producer interviews) with

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[43] Also, in terms of textual analysis, Pacific language translations were methodologically problematic and costly.

which to make comparisons. *TheCoconet.tv* started after all data collection, including focus group interviews, was completed. As a state-funded medium and new digital offering, it makes (along with *Fresh*) an obvious subject for future research to test how online Pacific media are faring within the New Zealand mediascape, and whether and how their audiences may differ to those of other Pacific media. Certainly, this work indicates that both productions merit closer study. To plug some of these gaps – and strengthen my analysis – I sought additional data from the media company Nielsen, NZ on Air and *TheCoconet.tv's* producers, which helped me to make some preliminary observations and comparisons about audience numbers and digital content.

Other limitations with the material collected include the fact that the focus group participants' reports of media use relied on self-reporting and could not be independently verified. This was an issue to a lesser degree with the producers' interviews, as factual statements about production could be checked against other sources, such as annual reports, funding documents and so on. However, in many respects, people's words were taken at face value. Given this study's aim to understand media from Pacific perspectives and to involve Pacific peoples in categorising and making sense of their media practices, this is not considered problematic, especially as it did not prevent critical analysis of participants' sense-making. The self-reporting of a week's worth of media use was more challenging and only took me so far (audience focus group participants filled in a brief survey that aimed to capture what media they had used in the previous week). In this respect, there are lessons for future research. People's memories of actual behaviour can be vague and they are not always good witnesses to their own media use. A few participants, for instance, did not specify their media in enough detail (they listed simply "television" or "radio" without saying which programme or channel they had used). Similarly, a week's prior usage, though helpful in terms of providing some data without making focus group participation too onerous was a narrow measure. What about the past month or past year? On reflection, a longer timeframe would have been more useful, as would more data on exactly which media products people used and perhaps some example of the kinds of stories they were consuming. Future researchers might consider using a more detailed survey questionnaire or longer-running media journals alongside focus group interviews to better answer these questions. Notably, this study does not capture actual acts of media consumption. Originally, the focus groups were intended to include families in a staged media-watching situation, but a lack of resources meant this plan was abandoned before

fieldwork began. Future ethnographic research could usefully drill down more deeply into Pacific people's situated media uses.

These gaps in detailed audience data were exacerbated by a general lack of available data on Pacific audiences. The Nielsen data provided for the NZ on Air-funded programmes *Fresh*, *Tagata Pasifika* and *Pacific Beat Street* was aggregated for Pacific and Māori, because data for Pacific peoples did not meet Nielsen's minimum sample size. As such, it can only be indicative of actual Pacific audiences' behaviour. NZ on Air declined to share its more granular audience data because it was the commercial information of the programme/website owners (pers. comm. April 8, 2016). While this study has provided some insights into Pacific peoples' audience practices – for instance, a desire for quality journalism and hard news more than cultural content, the use of Māori media, and younger peoples' search for resources on which to build affective belonging – these can be seen only as partial (Moores 1993; Ross & Nightingale 2003). Future research might seek finer-grained data that would tease out different Pacific audience practices.

Inevitably, given the qualitative nature of this study, my findings could be subject to other interpretations. This is not a weakness per se, but a reminder that as interpretive scholars we must explain the credibility of our findings. The next steps would be to build a stronger overall evidence base by examining more content; looking more closely at economic drivers (such as state funding decisions and an ethnography of ethnic media businesses); and adding further case studies of both media and audience practice to explore further the patterns found here: that ethnic media producers' identity discourses are often constrained (RQ2); that there is a tension between ethnic media audiences' desire for quality journalism and producers/funders' focus on cultural content (RQ4); that younger ethnic audiences appear to be looking for media resources through which to build affective belonging (RQ2, RQ3); and that ethnic audiences look to other out-group minority ethnic media (in this case, Māori media) as well as their own ethnic in-group's offerings for alternatives to mainstream media.

Methods

One-on-one interviews

I interviewed Pacific media producers and journalists[44] to explore producers' media practices and sense-making, that is, how the creators of Pacific media content understood their role and the purpose of Pacific media, particularly in terms of identity (RQ2) and community (RQ3). The interviews aimed to take me further to questions around how Pacific media are assembled, by whom, in what circumstances (and under what constraints), as well as in relation to questions about who deploys 'Pacific' identities in the Pacific mediasphere, from what specific location, in what circumstances and for what purpose. Attempting to survey producers from all Pacific media was beyond the scope of this project. What is more, a comprehensive census is problematic in the highly volatile Pacific mediascape where new products appear and disappear at a fast rate.

Instead, I purposively sampled Pacific news media for typical cases and maximum diversity, to choose those media that best represented diverse mediums (print, radio, television and Internet); diverse ownership and organisational structure (commercial, community and public broadcasting); diverse language (English, bilingual and Pacific language-only); and diverse target audiences (pan-Pacific and particular Pacific audiences; national, local and regional audiences). I included public service media, alongside community and commercial media, for several reasons. First, public service media count among the longest-serving Pacific media in New Zealand; second, they are cited by Pacific producers and audiences alike as the most recognisable and best known Pacific media; and third, the line separating them from community and commercial media is a fuzzy one[45]. Conversely, government publications, such as the Ministry of Pacific Peoples' *Leo Pasifika* magazine were excluded as they are public relations vehicles for state policy and aim to serve institutional masters rather than Pacific audiences.

The aim was not so much for a representative sample as a sample that would provide a window (Bouma 2000, p.172) into different media: TV, radio (commercial and community), print and Internet-based. All of those approached consented to interviews, but two interviews

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[44] I also compiled NZ on Air funding data for the public service Pacific media to help explain their structural context and some of the differences between media.

[45] Community Access radio programmes, for instance, are State-funded, while the public broadcaster *Niu FM* has adopted commercial models of organisation and content, and *Tagata Pasifika* has close affiliations with the commercial magazine *Spasifik*.

with Wellington- and Christchurch-based community radio producers had to be rescheduled following the September 2010 earthquake in Christchurch (where I am based). They were later abandoned following the more severe February 2011 earthquake, which caused significant damage to my home and university and forced me to discontinue research for at least six months. This meant fewer community radio producers were interviewed than planned. However, the mobility of Pacific journalists and producers mitigated this somewhat. Several of those interviewed in TV and commercial radio had also been community radio or newspaper journalists and all but one of the Pacific journalists working in mainstream had worked in various Pacific media, including community radio and newspapers. The participants spoke to these varied media settings in their interviews.

In all, I interviewed 23 Pacific producers and journalists (see Appendix 5 for a full list). Five were interviewed a second time in follow-up phone interviews or email conversations (from July 2010 and through 2011) to double-check some of their responses and explore some matters in more depth. All interviews were one-on-one except for one interview with three *Samoa Nius* journalists who were interviewed together at the newspaper's offices. I also interviewed three Pākehā journalists who specialise in Pacific coverage and media. These interviews were valuable for providing further context to this study and determining the boundaries of the object of study. However, for reasons given above, they were not included in the analysis of producers' talk and content. Most interviews lasted between an hour and an hour and a half. All interviews (excepting follow-up interviews and interviews with the Wellington-based RNZI and Samoa Capital Radio) were conducted face-to-face to build the kind of relationships and rapport that is necessary for Pacific research. The RNZI and Samoa Capital Radio interviews were intended to be face-to-face but were postponed following the first Christchurch earthquake and it was not possible to reschedule another trip to Wellington within the fieldwork period. All interviews were recorded and transcribed in full (a handful were transcribed by other transcribers, but I transcribed the majority myself), amounting to more than 240,000 words of data. A handful of producers provided more comment after reviewing their transcript, and I followed up with five to clarify their interview responses.

Textual analysis

I also examined a limited sample of media texts, partly to keep actual media in the frame (Alasuutari 1999) but mostly to address questions around representation and performance, and the ways in which Pacific identity (RQ2) and community (RQ3) were constructed in media

texts. I wanted to explore which social realities/discourses/representations were privileged and which were silenced, which cultural and/or symbolic resources were used in media accounts and which were omitted, and how identities were performed (what constituted 'them' or 'us'?). By comparing media texts against the interviews with producers of those media, I also aimed to compare Pacific media producers' discourse (what they said they did with media) with their practice (what they actually did) to tease out unselfconscious constructions of 'Pacificness' (RQ2) as well as the consequences of using some constructions rather than others (RQ3). I was not looking here to identify how all Pacific media work nor all aspects of Pacific media. Rather, the aim was to tease out whether and how 'Pacificness' was practised differently in different contexts (RQ1) – across two different media, between different producers and between different performances (one in the interview context, the other in production).

As such, I examined two high-profile examples of Pacific media and their producers: state-funded television programme *Tagata Pasifika*, which is one of the longest-running Pacific media in New Zealand, and the newer independent magazine *Spasifik. Tagata Pasifika* is a weekly 25min news and current affairs television show produced by a small Pacific team that was based within Television New Zealand (TVNZ), but who now produce the programme as independent contractors. The programme is funded by NZ on Air to serve New Zealand's Pacific population and is screened on TVNZ's TV One. *Spasifik* is a privately owned, commercial production – a bi-monthly news and current affairs magazine 'dedicated to both the Māori and Pacific peoples'. Both media are produced for national pan-Pacific audiences and in English rather than Pacific languages, which makes them an instructive study (RQ2) because, without recourse to language[46] or geographic or ethnic locales, they have to work harder at constructing their Pacific identity.

I drew on the earlier in-depth, semi-structured interviews with *Spasifik* and *Tagata Pasifika* producers and a comparative analysis of media texts from the two leading media outlets during the 2011 Rugby World Cup: the September/October 2011 edition of *Spasifik* (Issue No. 46, Special Rugby 2011 Collector's Edition); and *Tagata Pasifika* episodes 25 (September 8, 2011) to 32 (October 27, 2011), immediately following the October 23

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[46] As with other conglomerate groups (Matsaganis et al. 2011, p.263), Pacific peoples do not share a common language. Thus, Pacific language media are limited to the small ethnic-specific audiences who understand them. To maintain viability, media such as *Spasifik* target the larger conglomerate Pacific group, but can do so only in English.

tournament final. This period was chosen as it provided an opportunity to examine New Zealand versus Pacific identities (RQ2) within two news contexts: the Rugby World Cup (RWC), September 9 to October 23, 2011, which pitted the Samoan, Tongan and Fijian national rugby teams against New Zealand's national team; and the 42nd Pacific Islands Forum Leaders' Meeting, held in New Zealand September 6 to 9 to coincide with the opening of the cup. I focused primarily on Pacific producers' discursive construction of identity – the cultural codes and resources they drew on, how they applied them, and what they constructed – but with the understanding that this discursive work is socially situated. Thus, the examination of how producers understood identity and used cultural norms and discourses in their talk and media texts to represent identity takes into account that producers' identity construction is mediated by their interactional, organisational and institutional contexts (Holstein & Gubrium 2008, pp.379-380). My analysis of producers' identity work was exploratory and inductive.

In the media texts, I examined and compared who was represented, what topics and themes were featured and how. I looked closely at what roles people were identified with; where and how they were situated (for instance, whether their ethnic identity was signified and how, and whether their ethnic identity as 'Tongans' was preferred over their national identity as 'New Zealanders'); and the language used to flag people (Billig 1995), such as 'that team' for the New Zealand All Blacks and 'our teams' for the Pacific rugby teams. Having identified patterns within and between each media, I looked at whether and how these discursive patterns were reproduced in the producers' talk to examine the everyday reasoning that producers used to construct and objectify 'Pacificness'. By considering the texts in relation to the producers' talk, I aimed to keep track of important context to better question which versions of reality were normalised (Fürsich 2009; Philo 2007).

Focus groups

As explained above, I aimed to round out this study by also exploring the media practices and sense-making of audiences. The aim was to build, as Steensen and Ahva (2015, p.14) have argued elsewhere, an audience-inclusive aspect to my theorising of ethnic journalism. It was also to answer key questions about the everyday role of Pacific media in people's lives (RQ4), and their role in community building (RQ3). The aim was to reassess earlier theories about ethnic media in light of the practices of journalists and audiences alike (here, media audiences are not assumed to be filling the audience roles that producers set out), and to complicate our

understanding of the intersection of cultures, media, social groups and institutions. As such, in this piece of research, I attempted to explore how audience participants used Pacific and other media, what sense they made of them, why they used or did not use them, how they integrated Pacific media into their everyday lives and other media uses, and what sense they made of what they saw represented in Pacific media.

Seven focus groups, ranging in size from three to 11 participants, were held in three major urban centres in New Zealand (Christchurch, Wellington (Porirua) and Auckland) with a total sample of 46 participants (see Appendix 6 for details). The aim was to have a mix of ethnicities and backgrounds in each group to ensure a variety of views on Pacific media would be heard. Focus group participants were found partly through a 'snowball' method and partly by tapping into existing Pacific groups. The sample comprised 20 women and 26 men, and a mix of ages, including 15 participants aged below 25 years but no one aged over 60. Almost three-quarters of participants (74 percent) stated they had a good understanding of or were fluent in a Pacific language; 16 per cent said they had limited to no understanding of a Pacific language. Focus groups also represented a mix of 1st-, 2nd- and 3rd-generation New Zealanders and a mix of Pacific ethnicities, though Samoans were over-represented in the sample. About three-quarters of participants identified as Samoan, which, though the largest Pacific group in New Zealand, comprises only 50 percent of Pacific peoples in New Zealand.

It was not the aim to provide a statistically representative picture of Pacific audiences, but rather a theoretical sample (Glaser & Strauss 1968) to generate talk that might help theory building around ethnic news media. As noted by Dhoest et al. (2012), it is not possible to select ''typical'' ethnic minority audience members, so the point was to look for diverse and multiple identifications and groups were selected to highlight differences in perception and view. Two groups, for example, comprised mostly under-25-year-old tradesmen while another comprised mostly female health workers in their 30s to 50s. It should be noted that although the sample was diverse, between and within Pacific groups, it was nonetheless small. However, by closely exploring the practices of a previously neglected group of audiences in parallel with production and media texts, this preliminary study hopes to at least generate insights and questions that can focus future research and theory building.

The interviews themselves were semi-structured where each group was prompted to talk about their media use and what influenced their decision to use Pacific or mainstream media.

Interviews aimed to privilege "horizontal interaction" to allow participants' perspectives and interactions to dominate the interview space (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis 2005). They also aimed to respect the Pacific research method of talanoa (conversation, talk, exchange of ideas – quite literally it means talking about nothing in particular [Vaioleti 2006, p.23]). As Vaioleti argues (p.25), the Pacific way is spoken rather than written and strongly relationship-based, thus the oral, social and responsive approach of talanoa validates the experiences and ways of Pacific peoples in Aotearoa. A talanoa-based forum departs from Western-based discussion in that it attempts to ensure all voices, rather than all views, are heard (Robinson & Robinson 2005). It is also a flexible process in the modern context (as distinct from customary talanoa) and importantly acknowledges the va (relationships) through meaningful and reciprocal engagement (see *Ethics* discussion above).

Before starting each focus group interview, I also gave each participant a brief one-page questionnaire to gather demographic details and take a snapshot of their media use in the past week. Focus group interviews were recorded and transcribed in full, amounting to almost 63,000 words of data. A transcription service was employed to transcribe the interviews, but failed to translate many Pacific words and much of the conversation (presumably because of the many accented voices). As such, I re-transcribed all of the focus group interviews in full. When analysing the data, participants' talk was read as a form of social action (Buckingham & Sefton-Green 2005). What was important was how participants made sense of Pacific media within the social space of the focus group – the repertoire of narratives and meanings they called on and how they socially constructed those through talk (Lunt & Livingstone 1996).

Analysis

As stated above, the analytic approach taken in this study was inductive, which is an approach described elsewhere as valid for constructing meaning from lived experiences (Ponterotto 2005; Schwandt 1994), and influenced by grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin 1990). As suggested by Opie (1999), I attempted to engage with analysis early by transcribing and reading as I went to identify particular phenomena that might inform later interviews and focus groups. I also took notes in the field as an entrée to the analysis and as a testing ground for various ideas (some of which were later abandoned). That helped me to identify the concepts and themes central to my research while I was still collecting data and thereby modify questions to obtain better detail on what each of the concepts and themes meant and

how they related to one another (Rubin & Rubin 2005). Opie says (1999, p.227) that qualitative analysis also demands familiarity with the texts, which I achieved by doing all of the data collection (interviews, textual analysis and focus group interviews) myself, most of the transcribing and all of the data categorisation. Moreover, I started a full-time lecturing position during my focus-group research, so most of my analytical work on audiences was done in the margins around full-time teaching. The resulting stop-start nature of that work required me to revisit my data over and over again to get back into the research and I re-read my transcripts and notes multiple times, continually renewing contact with my data from different angles. Moreover, I developed several papers early in the project, which helped me to conceptualise the data and extend my analysis.

In keeping with Lunt & Livingstone (1996), I attempted to develop thematic analyses of the transcripts and media texts that combined interpretive sensitivity with systematic categorisation as a means of inserting a reliability check on interpretation. Because I categorised all of the data myself, there remains a possibility of researcher bias. However, I went to back to key participants to clarify issues and facts and also submitted my findings to the Pacific Advisory Group and others for peer review to avoid arbitrariness in my analysis, to check for errors of interpretation and to ensure the findings 'rang true' (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Schroder 1999). I aimed for rigour in my thematic categorisation in several ways, such as keeping a trail of steps in my analysis, including memos, running files of ideas as they emerged and records showing the categories I used. I did not assume a final point where all data could be 'accurately' categorised, but rather aimed, as Opie says (1999, p.228) to move data on. Denscombe (2010) notes that it is not possible for qualitative researchers to present all their collected data, instead they must focus on the key parts of the material. Categorising the data by theme provided a structured way in which to guide that selection. The aim here was a close reading of the data to identify key patterns and develop their implications.

I looked as much at *how* people said things as much as what they said, that is, I looked at what was going on in the interview text and in the interaction situation in terms of how participants co-constructed and negotiated their roles (Alasuutari 1999). Because several participants used English as a second language literal analysis of their talk was problematic. What is important, Ang (1996) suggests, is how statements are made sense of in the discussions, which translated to how 'Pacificness' was articulated in the concrete social setting of a group discussion. Thus,

I endeavoured to also look at how participants constructed their social worlds and the repertoire of narratives they used to do that.

For the media producers' interviews, I transcribed all the interviews in full as I went, systematically read and summarised the data for each, and identified key issues, concepts and themes. Once I completed all of the interviews, I re-read my transcripts and notes and further analysed them for themes running through the entire set of interviews and re-categorised or applied categories from later interviews to the earlier transcripts. Thus, there was an ongoing process of reading and categorising data, considering the information and revisiting the data to pull together common or different issues, themes and experiences (Waldegrave 1999). I went back through all transcripts several times to check my categorisation, build consistency and identify those themes that were most salient to my research questions. I analysed my data using Microsoft Word, which although not designed as a qualitative data analysis package, worked adequately as a 'code and retrieve' tool. The table in Appendix 6 illustrates the categories generated from one of the earlier interviews, which combine categories that reflect the literature (for example, "authenticity" and "orthodox Pacific identity"); and categories that are closer to the language and discourse used by my sources ("seeing/hearing ourselves", "working for betterment of community").

With each interview categorised under such headings (along with examples of interview text to illustrate the categorisation), I then built comparative tables and spreadsheets to tease out the patterns and differences between producers on the key themes, such as language, which included comparisons such as the following:

- Justifying Pacific language _ structural context _ migrants are fluent only in Pacific language
- Justifying Pacific language _ cultural tradition _ language preservation
- Justifying Pacific language _ cultural tradition _ authenticity
- Challenging Pacific language _ cultural tradition vs. contemporary relevance of English
- Justifying Pacific language _ representation (seeing/hearing 'ourselves')
- Challenging Pacific language _ representation (seeing/hearing 'ourselves')

For the textual analysis of *Tagata Pasifika* and *Spasifik*, I again used Microsoft Word to analyse the data. I watched each *Tagata Pasifika* episode and read the *Spasifik* edition several times. On the first reading/watching, I wrote a summary of the content, noting the greetings and set-up of items in the television opening sequences, the language used (English or other, use of subtitles), the length and subject of each news item and who was represented. I then watched/read each episode/edition again to check the categorisation of items and to follow more closely the language used. For example, language used to introduce and describe people, such as *Spasifik's* labelling of sources as "born in Hawaii Tongan descent", "born in American Samoa", "New Caledonia/Wallis and Futuna descent", and "Ngati Porou/NZ Epn/dash of Tahitian".

I examined the way reporters and presenters related themselves to their subjects. For example, *Tagata Pasifika* journalists tended not to talk about "our" communities or "our" people, but named groups indirectly and at a remove from themselves ("the Tongan community") and with what appeared to be deliberately neutral language. To be sure of my interpretation, I clarified with the executive producer who confirmed that this neutral language was deliberate and had become a feature of the programme. Similarly, I looked at how sources located themselves in their direct speech. For instance, in a *Spasifik* story, NZRL high-performance manager and Warriors high-performance assistant coach Ruben Wiki, who is Māori, could have positioned himself as Pacific-related (e.g., the Polynesian 'brother'), but instead located himself as a more distant 'other' with, "Well we know with Polynesian talent, *they're* just all naturals. *They* play on the hard, hard surfaces of the Rarotongan grounds and just pick up things naturally due to who *they* are" (my italics).

The patterns examined closely in the *Tagata Pasifika* and *Spasifik* texts were those that spoke directly to my research questions around language and identity. They included NZ vs 'homeland' stories; NZ-born versus island-born; the representation of youth; the representation of others, for example Pākehā, Pacific vs. Māori sources/subjects; and the patterns in story topics (for example, *Tagata Pasifika* episodes were dominated by sport (not just rugby) and performing arts, and had very little on politics, despite the proximity of the general election. Most categories were straightforward to categorise, but a handful required justification. For example, whether to count *Tagata Pasifika's* report on the Rugby World Cup Tonga v All Blacks game in Episode 26 as a Pacific story because the primary focus was on the Tongan team, not the All Blacks. The same was true for the programme's final expert

panel discussion, which focused almost exclusively on Pacific teams and individual Pacific players. Findings were further compared against the broader theoretical and scholarly framework and the interview material from media producers to consider how the media texts spoke to their audiences and shaped and reflected discourses of Pacific identity.

For the focus group interviews, I transcribed all interviews in full but this time used the qualitative software program NVIVO to identify key themes, concepts and issues in the data (Meadows 2009). I also kept a notable quote file to provide useful examples from which to translate themes or distil key points (Rubin & Rubin 2005). While the NVIVO software was useful for identifying and categorising text fragments, I found it cumbersome when it came to analysing the text further. As such, after reading and categorising, and re-reading and re-categorising each interview, I pulled the categorised text into Excel spreadsheets. I found that this allowed me to readily position texts in relation to each other and the thematic categories I had developed, and therefore more easily compare concepts and themes across the focus group interviews. I collated spreadsheets in different ways, depending on the issue or theme, to break down the data for different analytic purposes. For example, one spreadsheet compared categories in terms of participants' positive or negative view of Pacific media. Another spreadsheet categorised participants' rationale for their use (or not) of Pacific media according to themes of culture/language revitalisation, strategic cultural resource, community connection, counter narrative and structural constraints. This was not comparative as such, but aimed to sort people's talk into broad categories so that talk from different focus groups could be read together to look for patterns and commonalities. The sorted data from the various spreadsheets was then analysed again and collated into broad themes around Pacific media's counter-narratives and cultural frameworks, journalistic and public sphere roles, and their role as a strategic resource for identity, belonging and community-building, along with Pacific audiences' alienation from mainstream media and affinity for Māori media. These themes were then considered with reference to the literature on ethnicity and media, in particular, and media, audiences and journalism, in general, to refine the analysis through a theoretical lens.

Summary

Like the theoretical framework for this study, which aims to remain sensitive to Pacific people's actual voices and practices, the qualitative methods described here represent and attempt to draw out and foreground, as much as possible, what my research participants say and do in relation to media. They provide data on complex social processes, such as the

negotiation of identity, and they do so in ways that are sensitive to a Pacific methodology of meaningful engagement and respectful listening. Given the complexity of the Pacific media field and the problems with ethnic media scholarship (outlined in Chapters One and Two), these methods are useful, too, in allowing me to remain open to diversity, complexity and unknown possibilities (such as Pacific audiences' orientation toward Māori media).

The interviews with media producers are key to teasing out research questions on the role of Pacific media constructing Pacific identities and communities (RQ2 and RQ3). They helped to reveal producers' own sense-making and discourse about 'Pacificness' and their communities and audiences, as well as the structural contexts that both enable and limit what they do. The interviews also provided a basis for comparison with producers' media texts – which, subsequent chapters demonstrate, reveals not just which identities are legitimated by some Pacific media, but also the ways in which producers are constrained in their identity-making. Furthermore, by interviewing a wide range of producers, I was able to better tease out some of the tensions outlined in Chapter Two, such as producers' and media outlets' language practices and orientation to 'homelands', which helps to build an understanding from which to re-theorise Pacific media (RQ1). The focus group interviews with Pacific audiences are key to answering questions about community building (RQ3) and the construction of identity (RQ2), and are at the heart of exploring the role that Pacific media play in peoples' everyday lives (RQ4). Together, this combination of methods and methodologies help to break new ground on Pacific media, which until now, have not been studied in such depth or from a range of audience perspectives. They also help to address the paucity of audience research in the wider ethnic media scholarship. Moreover, by revealing inconsistencies and tensions (between different producers and between producers and the audiences they aim to serve), they help us to re-think our assumptions, including assumptions about the extent to which ethnicity dictates people's actual media practices.

Chapter Six: Mapping tensions in language, 'homeland' and 'Pacificness'

This chapter is about how Pacific news media producers position themselves – and are positioned[47] – and suggests we might fine-tune the ways we theorise ethnic media (RQ1) and their role in constructing identity and community (RQ2 and RQ3) by looking at the *locative* nature of their practices. By exploring how Pacific producers account for themselves in different contexts, this chapter identifies important discursive influences in producers' talk about and practice of language, 'homeland' and 'Pacificness', as well as a polarity between Pacific-leaning and journalism-leaning media. That is, Pacific media producers appear to be pulled in different ways by a domain of Pacific norms and practices and a domain of journalism norms and practices that ask different things of them.

Indeed, to understand Pacific media, this chapter argues that we need to view the Pacific media space as a space of tension. Pacific media straddle both Pacific and journalism fields, which often require and prioritise different things. All sorts of production challenges, and a wide range of responses to those challenges emerge as a result. Against these differences, however, this chapter suggests that these media are united by a need to position themselves as 'Pacific' – in relation to their Pacific communities, each other, and mainstream media and dominant institutions. While the Pacific media studied here performed that locative need in different ways, and with recourse to different resources, they all performed it. In other words, the practice of locating oneself and one's media in terms of identity, community and tūrangawaewae (place to stand) appears to be characteristic of the Pacific media in this study.

The empirical analysis that follows starts with producers' discursive negotiations, to provide the context needed to understand the following discussion; to understand the identity and community-building practices identified in the following chapters, we must first trace their roots to the contexts in which they are produced and performed. This study has argued for listening to what Pacific peoples' say and do in relation to Pacific media, so what producers of Pacific media have to say is a plausible starting point for exploring Pacific media products and the role they play in people's lives (RQ4). Furthermore, by exploring differences in

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[47] The material contexts in which producers operate are fundamentally intertwined with their discursive and material practices (Foucault 1984; Brah 1996) and, as such, the relationships studied here are understood as embedded within the socio-historical milieu of New Zealand society and interpreted contextually (Foster & Bochner 2008).

Pacific media producers' practices and discourse (mainly in relation to language, diasporic imagining and categorisations of 'Pacificness', and grounded in 'bottom-up' explanations) this chapter demonstrates the diversity of Pacific media and the need to develop theories that can account for multiplicity and conflict *within* an ethnic mediascape (RQ1). It attempts an explanation for some of the apparent tensions within Pacific media based on ideas of locative practice and identity negotiation, and builds on the critique of the literature (Chapter Three) by showing how ethnic media cannot be easily homogenised.

Locating differences in language

As described in Chapter Three, a key subset of the research on ethnic minority media is concerned with language and language maintenance. The most recent scholarship on ethnic media in New Zealand, Jo Smith's work on Māori Television (2016) looks closely at language and language learning as part of its key frameworks for understanding Māori Television. Combined with the fact that Pacific media producers often drew on language discourses to demonstrate the distinctiveness of their media, and that language holds significant power in the Pacific space, language practices are a useful starting point for exploring the locative practices of Pacific media.

Accounts of the link between language and identity often assume an ineluctable connection between language and (ethnic) identity (May 2005, p.327; Meadows, 2009). Pacific languages can be an important and constitutive factor of people's individual and, at times, collective identities, and they perform an important boundary-marking function, especially in relation to the surrounding dominant language and culture (May 2005, pp.330-332). Indeed, the conspicuousness of linguistic demarcation may help to explain why "language often has a heightened sense of saliency in relation to identity when its role as only one of a number of cultural markers might suggest otherwise" (ibid., p.331). Certainly, language holds considerable power for some members of Pacific groups and remains a significant symbolic resource in Pacific spaces – the ability to speak a Pacific language, for example, affords considerable advantage and profit (Mila-Schaaf 2010, p.248). Orthodox Pacific constructions of an ethnic 'us' versus a non-Pacific 'them' often hinge on whether one can speak a 'homeland' language (Mila-Schaaf 2010; Southwick 2001; Tiatia 1998). Indeed, an audience focus group drew on this language-as-identity-marker discourse when participants questioned

a Pacific journalist's authenticity in the face of her Pākehā-sounding pronunciation of Pacific words.

> Participant 1: It's funny because you've got people on radio that are Samoan, like Niva Retimanu, but even she says her name like 'Neeeva Retamanu' and I just think is she really, you know? Because she can't even pronounce her name properly. She's probably really really nice, but I just can't get over the fact of her sounding so white saying her Samoan name, and I think, well, that says something to me. It's probably just simply that she's lived most of her life in the South Island and she can't help but say her name like that eh?
> Participant 2: Classic. Does she roll her Rs as well?
> Interviewer: Is it something about the organisation that she works in as well?
> Participant 1: Yeah, but she gets lauded as 'that's our Samoan, she's doing really well in radio'... But I wonder how much of her culture does she really know. _Audience focus group

This is no different from other migrant communities where language competency is an important part of group inclusion/exclusion rules, particularly for first and second generations (Papademetre 1994 cited in Southwick 2001, p.44). For groups who are invested in remaining distinct, along with the media that serve them, Matsaganis et al. (2011, pp.88-89) suggest that publishing in a home country language becomes a statement of exclusivity and 'authenticity' in that it sets a bar for inclusion as a "real" member of the group. Language is used to draw a clear line between who does and does not "really" belong.

Clearly, that becomes problematic in the face of generational language loss, such as that described in Chapter Two, and can become a closed discourse of belonging and identity that denies the real-life contexts of many New Zealand-born and -raised Pacific peoples, who are the least likely to be fluent Pacific speakers. In that case, continuing to publish or broadcast in a homeland Pacific language begins to mark a disjuncture between what media producers think people should know and audiences' own realities (Matsaganis et al. 2011, p.87), and may position these media precariously for the future. In Australia, Canada and the United States, where the majority of First Nations' peoples live in urban centres where they do not — or cannot — speak their original languages (Meadows 2009), language is no longer an essential marker in determining identity for many. Post-immigration generations elsewhere, after picking up English, have generally connected more to mainstream media than to ethnic media, leading to high mortality rates for their ethnic-language media (Lin & Song 2006, p.382).

Crucially, what producers say and do around language use within Pacific media reveals the importance of discursive influences and structuring conditions (Gray 2005 cited in Hesmondhalgh & Saha 2013, pp189-190). The endurance of discourses that privilege and essentialise Pacific languages[48] is partly a result of the everyday reality of living as a marginal identity in dominant Pākehā society. Pacific peoples define themselves *and are categorised* in reference to a 'significant other', generally the dominant English-speaking group. Their sense of self, particularly at the collective level, is informed by that explicit contrast: where Pākehā speak English, 'we' speak a Pacific language. In the face of generational shifts – in language ability, connections to 'homeland', and toward multiple ethnicities (Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs 2011) – this discourse has not waned, but arguably gained extra significance. Cohen (1985, p.70) has found that when the structural basis of a community boundary is undermined because of social change, people resort increasingly to symbolic behaviour to reconstitute the boundary. It may be that as Pacific ties to home islands and exclusive ethnic identities have weakened, *language* has become an even more powerful symbolic resource for determining authentic 'Pacificness'. Pacific discourses about language authenticity are also a strategic[49] means of asserting and reinforcing traditional power structures in the New Zealand context, as they afford power to those who are privileged by language, typically 1st generation Pacific migrants. Leadership roles on advisory boards and committees, for instance, are usually reserved for island-born elders and leaders (Anae 2001, p.115) because the New Zealand-born are not 'legitimate' holders of fa'a Pacific[50] (Mila-Schaaf 2010; Tiatia 1998).

This means that ethnic media must be understood within these contested and changing environments. The aim here is to examine language practices in Pacific media without privileging language as an explanation for these media. Instead, the emphasis here is on identifying language not as a distinct, fixed cultural structure but as a symbolic resource and social practice that is the product of social interaction between groups and specific social and historical contexts (Jenkins 1997). As such, the focus is on how and where language is practised differently to understand why, rather than a focus on superficial classifications of Pacific versus English language, which risks overlooking the cross-cutting practices of some

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[48] See, for example, the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs' (2011, p.10) assertion that "Pacific languages critically underpin and affirm cultural identity".

[49] Spivak's (1993) concept of strategic essentialism holds that while strong differences might exist between members of a group it is sometimes advantageous for them to 'essentialise' and promote their group identity to achieve certain goals. Berbrier (2008, p.578) says those with a stake in legitimating a version of identity often make claims of authenticity and spend a lot of time and energy patrolling group boundaries accordingly.

[50] A catch-all phrase based on fa'a Samoa, which means the Samoan way.

media – as well as the Pacific character of English used by media like Niu FM. The radio station's English use was described by several informants as 'Pacific-English' or "a type of Pacific language", a recognisably Pacific lingo that combined English, Pacific phrases and text-speak that participants said was heavily influenced by social media and used predominantly by New Zealand-born and raised Pacific youth[51]. In asserting that "that's how we talk as Samoans", a Niu FM producer maintained that English language could be used to define Pacific identity. Indeed, linguistic research (Bell & Gibson 2008; Gibson & Bell 2010) has demonstrated the emergence of an ethnolect or distinctive way of speaking English through which Pacific youth in New Zealand, whose dominant language is English, are able to project their ethnic identity (Gibson, n.d.). Gibson & Bell (2010) say this variety of New Zealand English is related to an emerging sub-culture associated with being young, Polynesian, possibly living in South-Auckland, and interested in hip-hop culture. It was a sub-culture that was instantly recognisable to Bell and Gibson's (2007) research participants:

> There's something in their accent … I know the difference between a - like a English person, oh like a Palagi person just talking to me in English and a Pacific Island person that's talking to me in English, I can tell the difference (respondent cited in slide 11).[52]

Indeed, what is marked about Pacific media is that, far from being primarily about Pacific languages (and in line with trends noted in ethnic media internationally ((Lin & Song 2006; Matsaganis et al. 2011), they are often produced in English – a fact that directly challenges language-based ethnic media models. Of the 16 Pacific media outlets where interviews were conducted for this study, six were produced wholly in English and four were a mix of English and Pacific languages. Only six were produced *solely* in a Pacific language. That finding partly reflects the research sample in that eight of the media products are pan-Pacific media, which are necessarily in English. No one Pacific language bridges New Zealand's diverse Pacific groups and English comes the closest to a shared language across Pacific communities. It also reflects Pacific media's response to wider language loss within Pacific communities (see Chapter Two). The staff at two high-profile Samoan radio stations interviewed for this study talked about including *more* English in their programming, while

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[51] Gibson and Bell (2010) noted two linguistic variants of Pacific English – one spoken by middle-aged and older Pacific people who were immigrants from the islands and who learned English as a second language, and a second variant spoken by second generation, New Zealand-born, usually Pacific youth.
[52] A task for further research would be to tease out in more detail just how and when *English* is used to define Pacific identity within Pacific media, and how it is done differently to other identity constructions.

two of the six Pacific-language-only media said they were planning to introduce English inserts or web pages.

Not only are there signs of a shift towards English in Pacific media, but also evidence of tensions within and between Pacific-language and English-language media over the use of language, which is strongly contested.

> I don't believe you should be called Pacific media if you're not using … a Pacific language. _Producer, Samoan-language media

> You will have Tongans and Samoans who can't speak the language, and the language isn't in fact the primary determinant of whether you're Pacific or not … It doesn't have to be a Pacific Island language. Most of our people are either bilingual or working at being bilingual. _Producer, English- and Pacific-language media

> I can't read Samoan. I can speak properly, but it takes me hours to read one sentence, so I'm more likely to go with reading in English. _Producer, English-language media

> There's more than 2000 Samoans migrating to New Zealand every year, right? The Samoans that come here only know Samoan … so we need to cater for those guys. _Producer, Samoan language media

These tensions are not always explicit, even to producers themselves. Samoa Multimedia producers, for instance, insisted that Pacific media should be in Pacific languages and its subsidiaries, Radio Samoa and the *Samoa Times*, were, at the time, in Samoan. Even so, they saw no contradiction in advertising in a bilingual format – Samoan and English – or in starting (as they did shortly after being interviewed for this study) an English-language Facebook news page, radio programme, and television website.

Tensions were most pronounced when producers discussed claims of cultural authenticity, for example, that only Pacific languages and not English were authentically 'Pacific'.

> Some people say, "Well, I'm a New Zealand-born Samoan". Yeah, but then how do you define a New Zealand-born Samoan? And then when they meet up with their own culture, like at a big Samoan event, that's when they realise: "I'm at a loss here. I can't even speak a word of Samoan. I'd better go and get back to my roots. _Producer, Samoan-language media

> When they stand up and say, "If you can't speak this, you're not that", I think it's quite a naïve perspective and it tends to be in a lot of ways I find it a little insecure, because it's more of a controlling statement. "I speak Tongan therefore I am a Tongan and you aren't". It's all about me, me, me, me, whereas I find that quite insecure.… Like I said, in New Zealand it's different. As a Pacific person in New Zealand it is different. _Producer, English-language media

> Our next generation are stuck. They're caught, and when you have the system or you have academics telling them, "the reason you're failing is because you can't speak your language" – god, they have enough bloody burden to bear getting on with life and getting a meaningful, rewarding career without being burdened with having to learn their language as well…. I will argue black and blue; you don't have to learn your language. _Producer, English-language media

Along with the prevalence of English language within Pacific media, these diverse positions demand a rethink of the role of language in ethnic media. Rather than taking language as a straightforward given, it may be more helpful to examine language as a performance and symbolic practice – a way that producers *perform* their identity and community (Madianou 2005, p.523).

Television New Zealand's long-standing *Tagata Pasifika* programme, which was cited by most media producers and journalists as the leading example of New Zealand's Pacific news media, is in English and therefore inadequately accounted for by language-based theories. However, at times, its producers called on Pacific languages to demonstrate the programme's Pacific credentials, in-group belonging and difference from majority media. For instance, one talked about how audience members questioned a presenter's authenticity based on her physical appearance, describing how her use of language established her credentials:

> I have a particular problem sometimes because the look of what a Pacific Islander is is changing. It does, it changes you know. For example, you see X there and she's so glamorous and, apart from her name – the Samoans all know that – some will go, "she's not a real Samoan". Then if you get her to speak Samoan and they go, "oh she's one of us, she's one of us!". _Pacific media producer

In this instance, the producer said, language retention was key to demonstrating the programme's identity and connection with Pacific groups. In another instance, a *Tagata Pasifika* producer described the programme's deliberate performance of Samoan language in its coverage of the widely-reported story of Fulole Muliaga, an Auckland woman who died in 2007 after the electricity supply to her oxygen machine was cut. Producers debated in which language to interview her bilingual husband, Lopaaeva Muliaga – in Samoan or English. The fact that producers debated which language to use stands as a critique of culturally determinist explanations that fail to account for the ways in which language is often contested. It also demonstrates the nuanced ways in which producers choose to enact a Pacific identity. Mr Muliaga had already been interviewed in mainstream media in English, but producers, after some debate, decided to interview him in Samoan. The *Tagata Pasifika* producer said the interview in Samoan, "gave a whole new perspective on his situation and his story that hadn't

been in the media before", and used this as an example to demonstrate how *Tagata Pasifika* was the authoritative and authentic voice of Pacific peoples (and dominant media were not).

Samoa Capital Radio, a state-funded station broadcast predominantly in Samoan, resorts to language as a means of differentiating itself from other competing Pacific media. Its vision is to be the leader in Samoan broadcasting in New Zealand and its mission statement is "to entertain, educate, inform, forewarn and culturally and spiritually grow Samoans living in New Zealand *through the use of their language*" (my italics). One of its producers repeatedly criticised as "non-Pacific" the national Pacific radio station Niu FM, probably Samoa Capital Radio's closest competition in terms of radio audience and funding, because it broadcast in English.

> So you ask yourself, "Who is your audience? Are you catering for the Palagi audience, universal audience? What about mum and dad that can't even speak the language?" So they're not helping in maintaining and sustaining the language…. I don't believe you should be called Pacific media if you're not using the language.
> _Pacific media producer

While clearly reflecting a desire to preserve the Samoan language, such criticism also demonstrated the need to establish difference in an environment where funding was contested and measures of group representation and accountability were undefined (see also Chapter Eight). In moments such as these, the wider structural context of media production lends producers' language practices some of their meaning. In this case, language usefully distinguishes Samoa Capital Radio from English-language Pacific media, like Niu FM, which compete for similar state funding and advertising dollars. Samoa Capital Radio gets $180,000 annually from the government's broadcast funding agency NZ on Air and almost as much in indirect state funding via local and central government advertising and contracted programming aimed at Pacific communities. (NZ on Air n.d. Funding; Tealu Moresi, pers. comm. 18 September 2010). In the absence of audience ratings or a similar mechanism, language stands in as a default for producers trying to prove their 'Pacificness' to funders and connection with Pacific communities to advertisers.

Indeed, by examining more closely *why* Pacific media use the languages they do (and, given the very low rates fluency of some Pacific communities, why they use Pacific languages at all) we start to unpack complex negotiations of identity and cultural boundary setting. For instance, in Samoa, the *Samoa Observer* is produced in Samoan *and* English, but when it was launched in New Zealand, an audience backlash forced its publishers to reproduce the paper

in Samoan only. Language, in this case, appeared to reflect a need to stage one's 'Samoan-ness' in the New Zealand context. Where so much of daily life is Pākehā-dominated and mostly in English, language stands in as a defensive definition of 'being Samoan'. A producer described the same process (which Naficy (1993) calls the fetishisation of homeland culture and Smith (2012) calls staging cultural identity) in relation to the Cook Islands and Tongan communities in Aotearoa.

> Cook Islanders here are more precious about the culture and language in New Zealand, because they've come here and they've kept it like preserved in jam jars since they've been here, since the 50s…. so to me there's more of a – how would you call it – more of an extreme attitude towards purity of the language and culture here, whereas if you go to the islands there's none of that. Everything is so dynamic, it moves on and everything…. and I know that Kalafi[53] – that's one of the things that he found here: Tongans, hard-core Tongans wanted to read everything in Tongan. _Pacific media producer

Hence, language use within ethnic media is not simply about language preservation or revitalisation, or translating information for migrants; it is also a symbolic resource (Cohen 1985) that groups use to mobilise and construct their identity and their social and symbolic, (and, sometimes, economic) capital. How it is used differently, and for which identities, depends on the wider social, cultural and economic contexts within which Pacific media are situated, and the interrelationship of producers' internal and others' external categories of identity (Jenkins 1997). Accordingly, in the examples above, we can see that language use was shaped by a dialectic of internal and external identification: in-group pressures that forced a presenter to prove her ethnic belonging and authenticity; out-group competition that impelled producers to assert language as their point of difference and proof of authoritative representation; and economic imperatives that encourage media to prove their 'Pacificness' (or in the case of Niu FM, to conform to a particular idea of 'Pacificness') to state and other agencies that have established 'Pacific' classifications as a criterion for funding. When researching and theorising ethnic media, therefore, we need to think of language as part of situated performances that themselves require explanation (Madianou 2011, p.447), rather than privilege it as a taken-for-granted function of ethnic media.

Imagining diaspora

Though the doing of diaspora is not as contested as language, it is driven by similar performance imperatives and is similarly marked by tensions. There were significant

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[53] Tongan publisher, Kalafi Moala.

differences in the ways that Pacific media imagined diasporic connections that require different ways of thinking about the media of multigenerational migrant groups. Again, this study does not take concepts of 'homeland' and 'diasporic community' for granted as doing so falls back on deterministic, essentialist accounts. Rather, it views them as a performance to better unpack *how* producers use these concepts differently when they imagine and construct Pacific identities and audiences.

As discussed in Chapter Two, Pacific peoples are increasingly born in New Zealand and many Pacific youths have more in common with New Zealand's young urban Māori than their island-born parents and grandparents or island-based cousins. Research into Tongan migrant populations (Lee 2004), for instance, found only a small minority of second-generation Tongans retained strong ties to their 'homeland'. Pacific peoples in general now have varying degrees of connection to their 'home' islands and cultures (Bedford 1997 cited in Gray 2001, p.5). Perhaps not surprisingly, then, Pacific producers demonstrated diverse interpretations of what the Pacific 'diasporic community' was, and their desire for 'homeland' news (which corresponds with studies that have argued against the homogeneity of immigrant communities and their monolithic or exclusive consumption of homeland-focused ethnic media (Madianou 2011, p.449)). *Tagata Pasifika*, *Samoa Times,* Radio Samoa, *Samoa Nius, TNews* and *Kaniva Tonga* producers said audiences wanted news from 'home' – "we know that our audience loves stuff from the islands"; "people want to know what's happening back home: the politics, the scandals" – yet a community radio producer, who catered for an older, mostly migrant audience, said too much news from 'home' annoyed her listeners:

> The feedback I get is that they're angry. Why discuss the issues in Tonga and not discuss the issues that we have here like street kids, and so I don't. I do a bit from Tonga, but mostly about the Tongan community in Auckland. _Pacific media producer

Similarly, *Spasifik* and *Pacific Beat Street* producers and even producers from Samoa Capital Radio (which also caters to a mostly older, migrant audience) said it was news about New Zealand Pacific communities that was important: "if you come here you want to learn what's happening here in your environment" [54]. This contested discourse of 'here' and 'there', and what should take precedence in Pacific media texts, further demonstrates the heterogeneity of Pacific media and the extent to which an emphasis on diasporas' nostalgic backward-looking

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[54] Contrast with Nafiz's (2012) study of Samoa Capital Radio news content, which showed regional and international news made up 64 percent of news bulletins in the fortnight studied.

links with 'original homelands' (Karim 2003; Naficy 2003) may be overstated, at least in the Pacific context.

There was, in fact, great diversity in producers' articulation of 'homeland' and little or no agreement on how to *do* 'homeland' news. Many producers spoke of the difficulties finding the balance between news from the Pacific Islands and news about New Zealand-based Pacific communities. Almost all of the media interviewed for this study did include some news from the islands, demonstrating just how strong an ideological discourse 'homeland' is within Pacific spaces. For example, *Spasifik* featured travel promotions and profiled island businesses and/or New Zealand Pacific peoples *in* the islands; *Pacific Beat Street* took presenters to Pacific islands to feature traditional culture; while Samoa Capital Radio broadcast a live news bulletin from Samoa every morning. In most cases, however, 'homeland' content made up the *minority* of content[55], indicating that Pacific communities, like other so-called 'diasporic communities' (Sharma 2007), are not primarily defined in terms of their distant homeland. Niu FM's news mix on the morning of interviews at the station, for instance, comprised seven New Zealand-based stories (only three of which might be loosely deemed 'Pacific'), two stories about the Pacific region, and two about Australian or other world news culled from mainstream commercial news agencies. The 9am news bulletin (24 August 2010) ran stories on, in order: alcohol reform in New Zealand; a shoot-out in Feilding, New Zealand; the Tongan Government's sale of holdings in a commercial hotel; the Samoan Chamber of Commerce president's rebuff of a position in the Samoan government; a diversity forum in Christchurch, New Zealand; an Australian rugby league result (Titans vs Roosters); New Zealand racing driver Greg Murphy; New Zealand rugby league team, the Warriors; New Zealand rugby player Sonny Bill Williams; Sevens rugby; and New Zealand rugby player Aaron Cruden. Interestingly, only two of these stories – the 'homeland' stories – could be easily distinguished as 'Pacific'. The other stories are general in nature and featured on mainstream news channels as well. It is possible, in this light, to see 'homeland' news as playing a role in anchoring the 'Pacificness' of Pacific news media by providing a more obvious identity to the news than the 'Pacific perspectives' or news frames that producers describe in Chapter Seven, and which are arguably harder to discern.

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[55] The notable exception was *TNews*, which had a 75 percent focus on news from Tonga and 25 percent on news from New Zealand and elsewhere (Australia, USA).

'Homeland' may also be a resource with which producers meaningfully construct not just identity, but also community. Ethnic media research suggests that providing links with 'home' is an important function of ethnic media (Browne 2005; Husband 1994; Riggins 1992). This study suggests that may have less to do with imparting news and information as such and more to do with constructing *connections* between people, families, villages and networks. For instance, many Pacific media functioned more as community-messaging centres, handling birthday wishes for friends and relatives or good wishes for weddings and 21sts. A *Pacific EyeWitness* producer described acting as an information-clearing house for overseas readers during the 2009 Samoan tsunami[56], where news was traded behind the scenes and not on the website.

> With the tsunami, there were family in Europe and a lot of soldiers in Iraq and in the Middle East who couldn't obviously come home and had extended family and friends in Samoa and American Samoa and wanted to know. So we used all our contacts to get information back and forth to them and much of that information wasn't put on the site. _Pacific media producer

Such practices are at odds with the ideals of independence, neutralism and detached news making that have shaped mass media (Zelizer & Allan 2010, p.97), and speak to the ways in which ethnic media are more entwined with their communities (see Chapter Eight for more on this). Radio Samoa broadcast a live 1½-hour connection with Radio 2AP in Samoa each week (and paid for the toll calls for people to ring in their wishes), while *Koli Tala'aho* broadcast a weekly live news hook up with Australia. As weekly broadcasts, these programmes had less to do with relaying news, as audiences already knew much of the content; rather, they were primarily about *enacting* Samoan or Tongan identity and community. Lee's (2004) research into transnational Tongan communities suggests the same – that Internet sites such as *Planet Tonga* and the now defunct *Kava Bowl* were more about performing identity and a new global "emotional" community than constructing active ties such as remittances, kinship obligations, or nation-building.

In other words, Pacific producers deploy discourses and practices of 'homeland' or 'diaspora' in similar ways to language – as a symbolic resource used in the construction of identities and communities – and, as with language, did so for different purposes in different contexts.

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[56] An 8.1 M_w submarine earthquake in the Samoa region in September 2009 generated a tsunami that killed more than 150 people.

Many producers talked about the role of 'homeland' news in maintaining communities; for them, it was a tool for meshing disparate groups. For instance, a journalist described Pacific news media, especially online, as a modern platform (along with text, email, and online social media) for long-held practices of maintaining family, church and village networks.

> The media to Pacific people is just another way of relaying the old messages that were once run by our young men … The real prize is the increased support provided by the sharing of information for increasingly widespread pockets of Pacific people (pers. comm. 16 September, 2011). _Pacific journalist

Others talked more about 'homeland's' role ensuring the commercial survival of Pacific media. For instance, one described 'homeland' news as a tool for reinforcing the sense of Pacific audience identity necessary for Pacific media's existence. Pacific homelands have considerable symbolic influence as 'authentic' referents against which 'Pacificness' is measured (the values and behaviours privileged as most truly Pacific tend to favour those in the homelands (Mila-Schaaf 2010, p.208 & p.219)), thus 'homeland' is a powerful symbol of each news product's authenticity as a Pacific news medium. Another producer, however, saw the Pacific diaspora in terms of the commercial opportunity to expand audience share and revenue.

> That's where we need to go. And we need to go with other PI places around the world. We need to provide them with those things because, one, we can make money out of it and, two; it's for our survival. _Pacific media producer

Interestingly, not one of the producers interviewed for this study elaborated on what constituted meaningful connections between far-flung Pacific peoples or what made a dispersed people a 'community'. For many, the assumption was that 'authentic' Pacific peoples were connected across space, usually with 'home', and were therefore interested in news from 'home'. However, as demonstrated elsewhere in this thesis, this is not necessarily the case; Pacific people, especially New Zealand-born youth, are not axiomatically oriented to a 'homeland', and they connect with different groups (including Māori) in very different ways. Indeed, Pacific people's diasporic connections were imagined in quite distinct ways by research participants. Where some defined the transnational Pacific community as being spread between 'here' and 'home' – a binary that others have argued is not helpful when considering diasporic media consumption (Adriaens 2012; Aksoy & Robins 2003; Madianou 2005, 2011) – others, particularly younger audience participants (see Chapter Eight) described it as a much broader global community and had a sense of being part of a transnational group that extended as far as Australia, Hawaii and the USA. Again, these tensions in the definition

and doing of diasporic community suggest a need for theories that can more clearly account for and emphasise complexity and the term's contested nature.

Pulled two ways: norms of Pacificness and journalism

Just as Pacific producers deployed language and 'homeland' in different ways, they drew on different resources to construct their own identities. On the one hand, they drew on cultural norms to emphasise the 'Pacific' legitimacy and distinctiveness of their work and, on the other, norms of professionalism and objectivity to emphasise their journalistic legitimacy. Significantly, when they compared themselves with each other, that is *within* the Pacific media landscape, this distinction was brought into much sharper relief. What emerged was a tension between the different fields in which Pacific media are located – a field of Pacific norms and practices (which is shaped more by Pacific norms of 'authenticity') and a field of journalism norms and practices that demand different things of media producers. This appears to support the argument advanced elsewhere (Husband 2005; Matsagnis & Katz 2014), that ethnic media professionals' identities are influenced by complex, cross-cutting interactions with mainstream media and social institutions, and the ethnic communities they serve.

This tension provides a lens for understanding the larger forces that shape Pacific media practice, and for stepping back from rigid categories to better account for the complexity of Pacific media. As already demonstrated, the Pacific media sphere is messy. That might be explained by the fact that the group 'Pacific media' comprises several groups, each of which has an arguably simpler picture within it, for example, Access radio working as diasporic media or urban 2/3-generation media working as youth media. However, the differences between Pacific media are not so straightforward as to be easily categorised in subsets. The Pacific Media Network and Niu FM, for instance, serve young, urban audiences with commercial, music-driven programming as well as older, Pacific-language groups with community volunteer programming. *TheCoconet.tv* serves a young audience with a mix of contemporary urban storytelling and traditional 'know-your-roots' and diasporic news content. Similarly, *NZ Kaniva Pacific*[57] is an ostensibly diasporic site, addressing an urban Auckland-based audience, that serves up a large array of content: mainstream news (the resignation of New Zealand's prime minister, the election of Auckland's mayor); community news (updates on the condition of a Tongan fruit picker hospitalised in the South Island; the

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[57] Content accessed January 17, 2017, at http://nzkanivapacific.co.nz/.

election of a Tongan candidate to a local government community board); and diasporic news from 'home' and the Pacific rim (a ministerial shake-up in the Tongan government, and the hospitalisation of a Tongan father and daughter in Australia) – all in Tongan and English.

Instead of trying to categorise subsets of media, which is difficult in this terrain, a producer suggests understanding Pacific media simply in terms of their focus on Pacific communities.

> In terms of priorities, this audience – like any other – will be biased towards things that are happening in their lives, here first and foremost, then the Pacific, then the links between those two things, then Australia where most of our communities are, then Salt Lake City for Tongans but not Tuvaluans, because there are not many Tuvaluans who have gone that far…. So the news content, for instance, there's an earthquake in Christchurch and the whole world knows about it but instead of counting how many shops went down we're interested in how many Pacific Island families were hurt. That's what I mean about the bias. The bias is purely journalistic, if you like, bearing in mind your audience. _Pacific broadcast producer

By exploring the tension between journalistic and Pacific frames, and how producers use one or the other, the following discussion helps to reveal different biases within Pacific media production and their connection to larger forces.

For instance, producers of English-language Pacific media defined themselves in relation to dominant mainstream media via a discourse of Pacific 'perspective', which revealed a tricky and at times strategic negotiation of Pacific identity. It relied on a notion about innate Pacific worldviews, described variously as a "Pacific style of telling stories", a "Pacific focus", a "Pacific voice", a "true" voice, "Pacific flavour", "Pacific understanding", "Pacific approach", "Pacific spirit", a "Pacific perspective", a "sense of Pacificness", an innate "knowing" and a "Pacific viewpoint". Pacific peoples look at things differently; as one producer said: "it's pretty much innate to think of community, to think of family from those perspectives; to think of environment and all those factors; to think in a spiritual way as well". It is that perspective that makes Pacific media unique, he said; without it, "you become like mainstream, there's no point of difference". The concept is essentialising but nebulous, even for producers[58]. When pressed to explain what a 'Pacific perspective' entailed, producers turned to anecdote. One described being asked to write reports for Samoan media when he was working in mainstream media.

> I said, "Oh yeah, I'd be happy to" and then I mentioned that I was Samoan through my mum, because obviously, my name is Scottish through my dad. He said, "I knew

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[58] Mackley-Crump (2015, p.170) describes something similar in his study of Pacific festivals, where participants were unable to offer a meaningful answer about what identity was or meant.

it! I knew it in your stories, the way you write about our people. That's why I asked you. _Pacific media producer

Another described the difference between working with a Pākehā and a Pacific camera operator, saying the Pacific operator got "so much closer to the heart of the story" because he:

has so much more sensibility and understanding that the camera even moves in a different way … even small examples of understanding, that if there is a gesture in the room he knows where the reply is going to come, he knows that there's going to be a reply from a certain place in the room, so the camera will move automatically to catch that gesture, whereas [with a non-Pacific camera operator] the camera doesn't move or by the time it's moved it's gone, they've missed the moment. _Pacific media producer

Notably, where *all* of the English-language media producers asserted the concept of a 'Pacific perspective' in some form or another, *only one* Pacific language-oriented media producer[59] resorted to the same discourse – all others called on language to differentiate their media product. And the use of the 'Pacific perspective' discourse by the one Pacific language-oriented producer further reveals important boundary-marking work. That producer, who was involved in the longstanding Tongan language news programme *TNews* and the newer pan-Pacific, English-language programme *Pacific Viewpoint,* resorted to the 'Pacific perspective' discourse not to talk about *TNews* but to contrast the English-language *Pacific Viewpoint* with TVNZ's English-language Pacific programme, *Tagata Pasifika.*

We produce our programmes from the perspective of the Pacific people. I always try and put our shows in the eyes of the Pacific people. I think if somebody asks me, "What is the difference between *Pacific Viewpoint* and *Tagata Pasifika*?", I think that *Tagata Pasifika* is a Pacific programme, but it is produced from a Palagi perspective, maybe, and the ideology of TVOne as a whole is coming through the programming of *Tagata Pasifika*, even though it is run by Pacific people ... That's why we call it *Pacific Viewpoint* – it's so different from the Palagi viewpoints. _Pacific media producer

It was at boundary moments such as this that the 'Pacific perspective' discourse took on meaning – when producers made sense of their media's 'Pacificness' in relation to others. What's more, in interviews with Pacific producers, it appeared to have meaning mainly in an English-language context, that is, when producers could not call on more clearly defined markers such as language. News media that were in English and pan-Pacific had fewer Pacific

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[59] Note, these categories are messy and are viewed here as orientations rather than fixed categories. Niu FM producers worked mostly with English-language programmes, thus were considered as English-language media producers because that was their primary orientation, though the station's night-time programming is in a variety of Pacific languages. Likewise, the *TNews* producer quoted here identified themselves as a Pacific language producer and *TNews* as their primary media product, thus they were oriented to a minority-language media space, despite also producing a companion programme in English (*Pacific Viewpoint).*

cultural and symbolic resources to draw on, so drew on what is, in effect, an essentialising Pacific discourse to define their uniqueness or 'Pacificness' (see more on this in Chapter Seven).

Interestingly, producers resorted to this discourse despite railing against essentialist identities at other times. A producer who resorted more often than most to the discourse of 'Pacific perspective', was also the most outspoken in challenging orthodox Pacific identities based on language and 'homeland' orientation. Others have noted elsewhere (Madianou 2011, 2005; Baumann 1996) the paradoxical juxtaposition of a dominant discourse that reifies culture and identity and a demotic discourse that challenges and works against such reifications. They have suggested that people adopt the essentialist discourse when they are confronted with 'closure' by dominant agents (Madianou 2011, 2005), that is, when they are confronted with representations that categorise them as the 'other'. In the case above, resort to the Pacific perspective discourse was possibly a reflection of that media product's positioning as a pan-Pacific English-language product in a dominant mainstream media space. Pacific media producers that reside in that space must spell out their distinctiveness from mainstream media to establish their brand and market share (and, if state-funded, to justify their special character funding). However, cultural identity is much harder to define and differentiate for media targeted at a conglomerate identity rather than an ethnic-specific community such as Tongan or Samoan.

This narrowing of the range of identity resources with which producers can differentiate themselves is exacerbated by the fact that mainstream media heavily influenced most Pacific media examined in this study[60]. They were not alternative or radical in their operation; in fact, they had largely adopted mainstream media business models and in many cases, their content came from mainstream news sites, such as *Stuff* and *Scoop*. In those cases, where producers were unable to point to significant differences in content or practice, they were perhaps more likely to fall back on taken-for-granted cultural conventions (Moores 2005, p.161) and a limited range of representations to develop their identity.

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[60] This is not unusual – Browne (2005, p.195) found the same thing in his international study of ethnic minority broadcast media – but the phenomenon is little explored and under-theorised in the literature.

Notably, the representations at their disposal are circumscribed by the structural and ideological context (described elsewhere as a racial political economy [Abel 2011]) within which Pacific media reside. Matsaganis and Katz (2014) found ethnic media professionals' identities were influenced by their interactions with mainstream media and social institutions – and the people who hold positions of power within them. In this study, the broadcast media producers who were most dependent on state resources described being constrained by dominant institutional culture or conservatism; corporate gatekeepers; state regulatory frameworks and policy (such as the requirements on Niu FM to promote Pacific languages discussed earlier); and the attitudes and cultural capital of Pākehā programme commissioners, editors, and colleagues[61].

> They filter Pacific voices by not placing importance on a particular issue or perhaps by allowing or seeking a controversial slant where there needn't have been, or by putting their own take on an issue without it being accurate, culturally accurate. _ Pacific journalist

> It gets a little harder and harder as we go further along as far as how much control we have of our voice because at the end of the day it gets filtered through broadcasters. _Pacific media producer

> [X] has done a lot to help change perceptions about Pacific people…. But it is a lonely battle and it's always sporadic; there's one here, two there. You know, the browning of the media; it is happening, but we don't need it just in the front, people presenting, we need it with producers and the ones that make the hardcore decisions…. we don't have enough Pacific mainstream chief reporters and editors. _Pacific journalist

> *Tagata Pasifika* really serves the machine and the machine says, "You will do this and you will be here" and a lot of that has got to do with – there's a lot of politics involved, there used to be the charter[62] – there's so much involved, politics, politicians, everything like that, and that's what *Tagata Pasifika* is. It is a vehicle for a lot of things other than its audience. _Pacific media producer

These Pacific media, then, negotiate identity more often within a context of Pākehā understandings of 'Pacificness', which, as Chapter Seven demonstrates, can pressure producers to emphasise more specialist identities over inclusive ones (Matsaganis & Katz 2014, p.932).

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[61] Cottle (2000b) found similar commercial, corporate and cultural constraints thwarted ethnic minority television production within the BBC.

[62] The TVNZ charter, implemented in 2003, required the state broadcaster to show programmes that reflected New Zealand's culture and identity, while still maintaining its commercial profitability. By 2006, it was considered a failed experiment, and it was formally abolished in 2011 (Dunleavy, 2014).

It was also apparent in the talk of producers of English-language Pacific media that their identity was also shaped by mainstream norms of journalistic practice. Indeed, they drew on journalistic norms to critique those whom they said put language and culture ahead of professional values and practice – "some people think that language and credibility in the community automatically makes them a journalist". Doing the news, according to these norms, is about more than telling stories; among other things, it is about being the Fourth Estate watchdog and holding power to account. One producer said his media outlet constantly worked to build its relationship with the community, especially the church, but was clear that it was there to do journalism, including hard stories. "We're clear that we're a newspaper and we can't be on your side…We try to let them know what we do and that if you do something wrong it will be in the paper". In addition, Pacific journalists drew on professional norms of practice, accuracy and style to contrast themselves with those in other Pacific media.

> Given the amount of time people have had to sort things out in Pacific media, I am strongly of the view these days that it needs to come under a mainstream framework, rather than a stand alone, because the resources are lacking, the skills are lacking, and there's no way I would encourage anyone to go into a Pacific newsroom. _Pacific journalist

> I'm very professional. I'm a stickler on punctuality and that wasn't happening in those Pacific networks…. Don't stay in your comfort zone, don't just stay working in Pacific media. Get out of your bad habits and go somewhere where it's structured, which is mainstream. _Pacific journalist

A *New Zealand Pacific* producer described his newspaper as neatly designed, "very professional", and up with other mainstream community newspapers in Auckland in terms of its "uncluttered" style.

> We want to be seen as going forward and really competing with the best … and not just be stuck in the old style Pacific. If you see the other Samoan papers, then there's about 50 colours in the front page and a lot of writing and stuff. _Pacific media producer

Another producer contrasted his journalism background with Pacific media, which he viewed as being of a different standard.

> Because I come from the mainstream environment it's really a matter of taking bits out of that, which I thought weren't represented among Pacific media. I don't mean that in a condescending way, but just in terms of the standard. I remember a friend of mine had a photo framed that was run in one of the Samoan papers. She loves it because every name in the caption was spelt wrong. _Pacific media producer

In these ways, these English-language-media producers drew distinctions based on journalistic status.

In fact, English-language Pacific media producers were the most likely to orient to professional journalism norms and status, and that may reflect the fact they compete with majority media, including Māori media, and their connections to the dominant sphere are therefore relatively closer. The concept of social capital is useful here, as producers can be seen to be competing for not only audiences but also even more for cultural authority and social capital with mainstream media and institutions. Some Pacific media productions, like *Tagata Pasifika*, operate inside mainstream media organisations or, like Niu FM, are regulated via their funding and governing structures by dominant mainstream media practices. *Spasifik* competes with other mainstream higher-cost magazines and its editor said it was not enough to be seen as a good Pacific publication: "I want it to be seen as good as mainstream, where someone who buys the *Listener* or reads *North and South* will read *Spasifik*, get some sort of value out of it". *New Zealand Pacific* competes with other mainstream community giveaways; Niu FM competes directly with mainstream commercial radio stations Mai FM and Flava; and *Pacific Beat Street's* producers competed for programming opportunities on mainstream television. Thus, English-language media were positioned differently to Pacific-language media by having to attend more to the commercial, regulatory, professional and cultural dynamics that inform and shape mainstream media practice, and they were, therefore, oriented much more to a New Zealand journalism field and its professional identities.

It is possible, too, that their professional status claims also reflect a burden of representation felt within that field, where Māori and Pacific media have often been reported within a frame of 'brown failure'. Māori Television's attempts to get on air were negatively reported repeatedly (Paul 2005), while Niu FM and Radio 531pi's internal wrangling (which involved mediation and public allegations of contract breaches and profligate spending) was staged in public and widely reported (Misa 2003). This external criticism and framing put higher-profile English-language Pacific media and state-funded Pacific media under additional pressure to prove their professionalism and corporate responsibility.

While producers of English-language, pan-Pacific media leant toward discourses framed by journalistic norms; the converse was true in Pacific-language-oriented media producers' talk. They framed their comparisons of Pacific media not in terms of journalism, but in terms of Pacific authenticity. In some respects, this is unremarkable. Skjerdal (2011, p.728) notes that many ethnic media managers are not professional journalists in the common (Western) sense of the term. That discourse is unlikely to be a central part of their framework as they have not

been educated as journalists, they are rarely members of a professional media organisation, and their main occupation is often something other than the media venture. However, while that may rule out the use of journalistic norms in framing their identities, it does not explain the norms that were ruled in. Pacific-language-oriented media producers' talk was so grounded in Pacific norms and a Pacific field that producers appeared to have little need to distinguish themselves from mainstream media. Instead, their boundary-marking was with other Pacific media, indicating that their sense of identity was framed within a Pacific space – a space that is patterned by power relations and hierarchies based on forms of capital, such as language, age, cultural knowledge, gender, genealogy, family and service (Mila-Schaaf 2010). Within that field, the ability to perform cultural capital such as speaking a Pacific language affords prestige (symbolic capital) and profit (Mila-Schaaf 2010, p.248), and these producers' focus on language, described above, might be understood partly in terms of competition for capital and power. An English-language media producer suggested it was also likely a function of where people were nurtured: "Those using traditional language are obviously more connected to traditional values, traditional community power centres. Language is fostered and supported by these centres."

In their talk, Pacific-language-oriented media producers tended to 'other' English-language Pacific media and journalists as 'mainstream' and, implicitly, not Pacific enough. For instance, one described New Zealand's Pacific Islands Media Association (PIMA) as "fake":

> They are not Pacific media, because they are mainstream media, but they are Pacific people…. For us, that is working in the Pacific media and started from Pacific media is the perspective of -- when you come from mainstream, I guess, and I have nothing against the mainstream because I love what they do and it's great -- but I think you are coming with them behind you, and it's them that you'll represent in the PIMA.
> _Pacific media producer

This producer was, like many Pacific producers, not trained in journalism and distinguished themselves from PIMA and those "glamorous Pasifika media" who were professionally trained. Another producer criticised Niu FM for not showing enough respect toward interviewees (in Pacific terms, respect for and deference toward one's elders and leaders is an orthodox Pacific value), by describing Niu FM as imitating the Palagi mainstream, which they said inappropriately grilled interviewees, especially politicians.

> We work on the thing that if I respect you, you respect me. If I don't respect you I don't expect you to respect me, and that's how we work here. And I must say that it's not the same with other Pacific radio in Auckland. They have a different – some of them they actually trying to imitate the Palagi mainstream and it's sad when I see that because I think no, no, you should be unique, you should be Pacific – don't try and

imitate something, which you are not…. I think they actually should uphold all the things which is unique for Pacific, you know, their values, the language, the formal language they must adhere to – not the slang and the language that you don't actually expect from educated or well trained brought up sort of Samoans. _Pacific media producer

In these ways, Pacific-language-oriented producers positioned themselves not in mainstream media or journalistic terms, but in terms of Pacific cultural authority.

No doubt, arguments about what constitutes proper 'Pacificness' take place in every Pacific newsroom[63], but its manifestation in Pacific-language-oriented media producers' talk about other Pacific media, rather than in English-language media producers' accounts of the language media, is interesting, and may reflect a stronger degree of community embeddedness (see Chapter Eight). Reader and Hatcher (2012, p.16) argue that community journalists typically place less value on the norms of the profession at large than on the norms of the individual communities they serve. Smaller Pacific language media, which in New Zealand tend to be localised community media, are arguably more intimately connected to their communities than larger English-speaking, pan-Pacific media such as *Tagata Pasifika*, which are nationally focused and further removed from localised and/or tight-knit ethnic-specific communities. Again, the producer above who described PIMA as "fake", distinguished themselves from PIMA and (trained) Pacific journalists by describing themselves as more connected to community: the "down to earth" media that "really know the reality of people". Indeed, these media often have close relationships to other pillars of the Pacific community, such as the church. At Samoa Capital Radio, for instance, Nafiz (2012) found Samoan pastors produced half the programmes. Similarly, *SamoaNius* was founded by a church minister; the Samoa MultiMedia Group, which includes Radio Samoa, the *Samoa Times* and Moana TV, was founded and owned by Lui Ponefasio, a pastor at the LifeChurch Manurewa; and many Pacific newspapers have been run by Pacific churches (Utanga 2007).

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[63] A similar tension over the place and authenticity of culture within journalism has played out at Māori Television, where journalists were accused of being too 'mainstream' and not properly Māori because of their criticism of a key Māori cultural institution (Smith 2016). It was argued that mainstream media already viewed Māori issues in a negative light and Māori media needed to approach issues differently. Māori Television CEO Paora Maxwell's rebuttal relied on the professional norms of objectivity and watchdog journalism: "asking the hard questions is not a Māori custom, nor is it a Pākehā one, it is simply what is required" (Sherman 2015).

As a result, these media are likely to be more conscious of Pacific community norms on a day-to-day basis and, possibly, more heavily policed. In their study on Norwegian community media, Hatcher and Haavik (2013, p.12) found that news media in larger, wealthier urban communities that were more pluralistic served a stronger watchdog role, and journalists based their credibility more on professional norms of critical journalism. But in smaller, more remote communities (where community membership was structurally less diverse), journalists said they would never report on negative issues. On the few occasions they had in the past, reaction from the community had been immediate and harsh. Matsaganis and Katz (2014, p.937) argue that ethnic media producers are affected by pressures from the mainstream (as appears to be the case for English-language Pacific media above) and from the ethnic communities they serve. That is especially so when they cover specific and clearly defined, smaller populations, as do Pacific-language media, where there is more limited access to human and financial resources (staff, advertising revenue and so on) and, usually, greater interdependence between the media and their communities at the institutional level (ibid.). Their closer proximity to Pacific institutions of power, such as the church, may intensify the strain of professional norms that require watchdog journalism – and the better fit of Pacific norms.

In the same way, the 'Pacific perspective' discourse deployed by English-language producers possibly helps to mark their belonging to the Pacific field in a way that least contradicts their journalistic affiliations and that is difficult for Pacific-language competitors to challenge. It may be a complex cultural response to in-group 'othering' by Pacific-language-oriented media producers who, speaking from a Pacific space and orthodox Pacific discourse, 'misrecognise' English-language producers and their media (Mila-Schaaf 2010; Southwick 2001) by describing them as mainstream, non-Pacific, and even "fake". The 'Pacific perspective' discourse allows producers who are identified in this way to push back by calling on immutable qualities of innate Pacificness that claim their Pacific identity and belonging in a way that is strategically hard to pin down and difficult to dispute. It is an example of how the boundaries are not always fixed. In a way that mimics how humour works, meaning making in this regard requires familiarity with the competing discourse(s) and messages that are encoded to enable speaking to multiple audiences without giving overt offence to any. As such, this discourse may respond more usefully to the more complex realities of Pacific audiences (see Chapter Two), unlike the Pacific field's more essentialising discourses about

Pacificness, which are not as useful for media producers communicating with the contemporary young, Pacific New Zealand audience.

The tension seen here between journalism-leaning and Pacific-leaning discourses and practice within the Pacific mediasphere extends Husband (2005) and Matsaganis and Katz's work (2014) on ethnic media producers' communities of practice. It does this by demonstrating two different communities of practice within the Pacific media sphere that diverge around journalistic and Pacific norms, depending on the influences of their wider social, political and economic environments. It is possible that the tension between the two, particularly with regard to discourses about proper Pacific media content, indicates the lack of a professional Pacific journalism institution for producers to call on to determine standards. PIMA is small and under-resourced (and covers all media, including film and entertainment, not just news media). At its AGM in 2013, it barely managed a quorum and its executive noted that the lack of attendance and apparent lack of interest from Pacific media could signal that it had had its day (*Pacific Media Watch* 2013). Thus, without a professional institution that might develop a Pacific journalism, producers fall back on either Pacific community or mainstream journalistic norms, and are pulled in different directions without any clear or stable place to stand.

Conclusion

Far from being a homogenous entity, Pacific media are diverse and often in contest with each other. As this chapter demonstrates, they are not necessarily in-language but are differentiated by different discourses and practices of language, 'Pacificness' and 'homeland', which make it hard to categorise them according to the definitions of language and diaspora often asserted in the ethnic media literature. By looking more closely at how producers position themselves in different contexts, it becomes apparent that there are several tensions running through New Zealand's Pacific news media, including a tension between two fields of journalistic and Pacific norms that appear to depend on media outlets' positioning in relation to language, mainstream institutions and their ethnic community. This divide is not rigid (a producer who saw themselves as not belonging to PIMA, joined its executive; another who insisted Samoan language was the sole concern for Pacific media engaged journalism tutors to run in-house news training for staff), but it does demand a rethink of how we conceive ethnic media. As a first step in answering how we should understand Pacific media theoretically (RQ1), this

chapter argues that we must start with theories that can foreground diversity, complexity and dispute.

It also proposes that these various practices of language, 'homeland' and 'Pacificness' might be seen as *locative practices*, that is, strategic attempts to locate oneself and one's media in relation to community (a positioning of connection and belonging) and in relation to other Pacific and mainstream media (a positioning that draws on dissimilarity and 'otherness'). This is about identity, but it is also more than that. In describing these practices as locative, I draw on the socio-spatial concepts of tūrangawaewae[64] (a place of strength and belonging, a place to stand) and va (sacred space/relationship), which are more powerful and expansive concepts for understanding identity in terms of what Brown Pulu (2002) describes as "belonging-ness", that is, community, relationships and connection. Literally, tūranga (standing place) and waewae (feet), the Māori term tūrangawaewae refers to places where we feel especially empowered and connected, and which are "our foundation, our place in the world, our home" (Royal 2007). It can refer to place but it also has meaning socially and can refer to relationships and important ancestors (ibid.). Broadly, the concept speaks to the connections that give us our sense of security and foundation, and that locate us in the wider world. It is, I suggest, a helpful lens for viewing the practices described in this chapter as more than just practices of identity, but as multi-faceted practices of identity *and* relationships and the right to represent. Similarly, the Samoan/Tongan concept of va, which invokes the notion that we are part of a complex web of interdependent and reciprocal relationships (Mila-Schaaf 2010), helps us to understand identity positions as temporal and relational and locative practices as grounded in specific contexts and specific relationships.

> In Tongan communities, relationships or the space between any two individuals, groups or between communities and nature are defined by the context in which the interaction occurs. Thus, when the context changes, the relationship changes also (Taufe'ulungaki 2004 cited in Mila-Schaaf 2010, p.107).

In these ways, the concepts of tūrangawaewae and va help to underpin an attempt to explain and theorise Pacific media producers' practices as *locative*, rather than just identity-driven. They help to keep the social and relational aspects of identity to the fore, and to understand these practices in multi-dimensional terms as both structured and structuring.

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[64] Tu'ungava'e in Tongan.

According to Husband (2005, p463), and evidenced above, the identities generated by minority ethnic media are shaped by forces that are specific to the demographic formation of their communities and their socio-political location within wider society, and are artefacts of the power relations between majority and minority interests. As such, this chapter's analysis of Pacific media producers' locative practices helps to reveal some of the power relations embedded in Pacific media outlets' structural, cultural and ideological contexts. Unlike members of the dominant group, who have arguably more stability in identity, Pacific peoples' identity is always negotiated, and in ways that must continually answer back to the different forces that position them. In this way, Pacific media can risk producing a refracted language of dominant groups, whether that of Pacific elites, state institutions or mainstream media and their professional norms.

Thus, Pacific language-media producers, who were more distanced from majority media and dominant 'White' spaces, and might even be described as positioned within Pacific ethnic enclaves, were more likely to construct identities that were rooted in dominant Pacific discourses. They used language as their primary locative practice presumably because a) language is an important cultural marker (Cormack 1998; Cormack & Hourigan 2007; Davila 2001; Downing 1992; Henningham 1992; Ip 2006; Lewis 2008; Moran 2006); b) they could (they were all Pacific language speakers); and c) language lends significant status in the orthodox value systems of their Pacific space. But that means they speak to an orthodox identity that is shaped by migrant experiences and privileges Pacific elites (when most Pacific peoples are now New Zealand-born and –raised and cannot speak a Pacific language), which begs whether these media have an expiry date. Matsaganis et al. (2011) cite numerous examples of declining ethnic media audience numbers in the face of changing demographics, including the decline in ethnic language competency among second and subsequent generations. In many cases where ethnic media have failed to reflect the intergenerational changes of the communities they serve, by continuing to produce content in a language no longer spoken by most of the community, they have gone bankrupt (Matsaganis et al. 2011, p.87).

Producers of English-language Pacific media were positioned differently, and appeared to straddle Pacific *and* journalistic spaces. Significantly, they employed locative practices from each space to distinguish themselves: they were this, but not that at a boundary with Pacific

language media (where they located themselves via a journalistic discourse of professional media practice) and that, but not this at the boundary with mainstream media (where they located themselves via a 'Pacific perspective' discourse). In doing so, they appeared to be carving out territory that is neither wholly 'Pacific' nor mainstream, but a Pacific place to stand within the wider media landscape. This process is a tricky one, not least because producers had recourse to a limited repertoire of cultural and symbolic resources that could traverse both spheres. They were also doubly constrained by the hegemonic discourses of both the Pacific and dominant media fields (which, in the case of the journalistic ideals of objectivity and Pacific ideals of service, can also be contradictory[65]). As the next chapter shows, in a racialised environment, this can lead to quite narrow representations of Pacificness.

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[65]See Matsaganis & Katz (2014, p.938) for more on the tension between objectivity and advocacy in ethnic media producers' work.

Chapter Seven: Doing identity: By, for and about *some* Pacific peoples[66]

> *Participant1: I think what they get right is the whole, is the brown face. There's brown faces there. Even the setting isn't, it's, that's quite modern for --*
> *Participant3: Still modern Pacific, though, eh --*
> *Participant1: It's modern Pacific*
> *P3: -- Because it's still colourful.*
> *Participant1: Yeah, it's colourful. There's a desk in front, and I know the desk is part of the whole make up of what media or news is supposed to look like but even that, if you're going to do something targeted at PIs, make it PI. PI is innovative. It's creative. It's original at the same time.*
> *Researcher: What makes it PI? The faces, the people?*
> *Participant1: The music. The drums, those patterns --*
> *Participant3: And the people*
> *Participant1: -- the people _ Pacific focus group*

Where the previous chapters have problematised scholarly models of ethnic media and demonstrated the diversity and complexity of New Zealand's Pacific news media, this chapter sets out to further explore Pacific media in relation to Pacific producers' own meanings and practices. In previous chapters, I argued that we need to draw theory out of listening, and what I hear in interviews with Pacific media producers is people accounting for themselves and their community. This chapter proposes a view of Pacific media as powerful symbolic referents of Pacific identity – and identity in broader terms than self-categorisation, but also in terms of community, relationships, connection and one's 'place to stand' (RQ2 and RQ3). These media are key sites where Pacific groups are meaningfully produced, reproduced and circulated and, in many respects, are not so much about the production of news as they are about the articulation of 'Pacificness'. However, by closely examining how key Pacific media construct identity – through a thematic analysis of the long-standing television programme *Tagata Pasifika* and the award-winning national magazine, *Spasifik* – it becomes clear that, because they construct identity in relation to dominant groups and Pacific social processes of authentication that limit how 'Pacificness' can be performed, the range of 'Pacific' identities

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[66] This chapter is derived in part from an article published in the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* August 2014, available online at http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/1369183X.2013.831547

that are represented in Pacific media can be narrow and limited to traditional and stereotyped representations. As a result, Pacific media can risk reinforcing the marginality of Pacificness within the dominant culture and excluding the New Zealand-born Pacific youth who are the future audience for Pacific media, and who have less interest in the machinery of traditional 'Pacificness' such as Pacific languages or 'homeland' (Southwick 2001, p.125).

Identity

As described in the previous chapter, Pacific news media are self-consciously a media of identity, describing themselves as by, for and about Pacific: "Pacific people telling Pacific stories", telling "our stories… because no one else is". This is not as straightforward as it sounds given that identity within the Pacific population is diverse, hard-to-pin-down and in flux (Anae 2001; Fairbairn & Makisi 2003, p.40; Macpherson 2001). This chapter looks more closely at how New Zealand's Pacific news producers do identity work, partly because producers themselves say identity is key to what they do, but also because the scale of their identity work appears to set Pacific news media apart. Producers in this study were clearly intentioned about what it meant to be Pacific, and constructed and performed 'Pacific' identities with more obvious deliberation than mainstream media, where there seems to be a reluctance to embrace any identity talk, perhaps because it politicises identity in a way that would force news media to give up their purportedly 'neutral' stance[67]. The traditional Western ideals of journalistic detachment, non-involvement, impartiality and neutrality (Hanitzsch et al. 2011, pp.281-282) tend to distance journalists and producers from their community and temper identity in the everyday practices of dominant mainstream media[68]. By contrast, this study finds that in their discourses and locative practices, Pacific producers constantly constructed themselves and their media as Pacific to bind themselves to actual communities. Rather than categorising these media as ethnic or minority or immigrant media, it may be more useful to conceive of them as *identity media*, where identity is a broad concept encompassing connection (tūrangawaewae), community, and complex interdependent and reciprocal relationships (va).

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[67] As several authors have demonstrated (Abel 2004, p.187; Cottle 2000; Gandy 1998; van Dijk 1991; Wilson, Gutierrez & Chao 2003), mainstream media practices are not neutral; by silencing and trivialising minority voices, they enact a form of erasure on minority groups (Gerbner 1972, p.44).
[68] However, there are a few controlled moments of identity work, such as on national days, during sports spectacles, and days of public mourning and so on.

In their talk, all producers repeatedly called on symbolic characteristics (Thompson 1995, p.212) of Pacificness, for instance, their ability to speak a Pacific language or their membership of Pacific community groups, including the church. They endeavoured to locate themselves in the islands by stating that they were born there or describing how often they visited 'home'. Their talk continually flagged (Billig 1995, p.8) their ethnic belonging and groupness, and a routine 'deixis' (ibid., p.94) of "we", "us" "our people", "our culture" constructed an ethnic commonality at the same time as it marked a boundary with a Palagi 'them'. Producers' discourses also embodied particular ways of talking about 'Pacificness' that legitimised certain values and behaviours and normalised certain social relations (and thereby defined the social norms of an in-group prototype). For instance, they invoked a discourse of 'homeland' (where home was the Pacific Islands, not New Zealand) that not only grounded their ethnic identity in ancestral lineages but also grouped Pacific communities in New Zealand and the Pacific Islands. Similarly, they routinely flagged an innate 'Pacificness', as well as their "Pacific perspective" or "Pacific values", and thereby continually foregrounded their difference from dominant values or perspectives. What stands out in producers' identity work is the *scale* of it; identity was constantly foregrounded and performed in their talk and media production (Butler 1999).

As described in the previous chapter, some relied on Pacific languages to construct and maintain Pacific identities in their media products. Others drew on other cultural symbols, such as traditional arts, often as stand-in for identity representations they struggled to verbalise[69], such as Pacific 'perspective'. Their different locative practices reflected the different social and political understandings of what it is to be Pacific in New Zealand. In some cases, such as on *Tagata Pasifika*, the linguistic deixis of Pacificness was less obvious in the media content than it was in producers' own discourse; instead, it was diluted by the professional norms of the programme's mainstream parent institution, TVNZ. That lack of a distinctive discourse was offset by the deployment of other symbolic resources such as traditional cultural performances and the almost exclusive representation of Pacific subjects, which just as effectively performed and flagged 'Pacificness'. Thus, while the mechanisms of representation and the types of identity differed, the locative intention was always the same – it was a deliberate construction and performance of 'Pacificness'. However Pacific identity was constructed, producers universally demonstrated a need to perform it. There are several

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[69] Mackley-Crump (2015) notes the same recourse to art as an identity symbol in his work on Pacific festivals.

possible drivers for that. One is about establishing a media space apart from the dominant mainstream – carving out a Pacific niche to capture audience and connect with communities. Another discussed further below, is that these were performances of producers' own identity (and legitimacy). A further possibility is that this was about redefining boundaries at a time of social change. As the structural bases of Pacific ethnic boundaries become weakened – because New Zealand-born Pacific peoples are increasingly multi-ethnic and less rooted in cultural traditions such as language – people resort increasingly to symbolic behaviour to reconstitute the 'Samoan', 'Tongan' or 'Pacific' boundary (Cohen 1985, p.70).

That said, producers were not completely free to create any identity they chose. As the previous chapter demonstrates, the performative dimension of Pacific identity is constrained by structural and discursive limits (Moores 2005, p.159). These include state regulation and economic forces, and the hegemonic ideas and narratives from dominant as well as Pacific spaces. The key to making sense of how producers' identity work is structured is first understanding that identity is relational. It is constructed through difference (Jenkins 2008; Nagel 1994, p.154) and always articulated in relation to someone or something else (Barth 1998). Hall argues (2001b) that social groups' need for unique meaning and identity means they necessarily retreat towards 'pure' categories (often binary opposites, such as 'black' and 'white') that set concrete rules of difference and exclude those whose identity is 'in-between': "Marking 'difference' leads us, symbolically, to close ranks, shore up culture and to stigmatise and expel anything which is defined as impure, abnormal (p.330)". Thus, Pacific producers' identity discourses and performances are constructed with existing symbolic resources (Thompson 1995, p. 210; Cohen 1985) that can rule out some groups, more than they include them.

bell hooks (1992) suggests that ethnic minority producers are limited by hegemonic modes of seeing and thinking and, as such, their cultural production is shaped by dominant regimes of representation. Indeed, Saha's (2012) ethnographic study of British Asian producers found that, despite their desire to represent their communities in a more progressive light, producers fell back on racial tropes to tell their stories, because the commercialised culture of production, which emphasised ratings, pressured them to conform to mainstream, white sensibilities. These producers worked within mainstream outlets, but Correa (2010) demonstrates that even a standalone ethnic media outlet's identification with its audience does not prevent its use of dominant stereotypical frames. She suggests that journalists who are

members of an ethnic minority group whose stereotypical portrayal is overly pervasive, and who work under time and space constraints, may rely on shortcuts that reproduce well-known stereotypes.

To understand Pacific producers' locative practices, it is also important to recognise that there are multiple 'us/them' dualities within which Pacific identity is imagined, constructed and performed. There is not a single in- /out-group boundary for Pacific news producers to navigate, but multiple boundaries between Pacific media and mainstream media, Pacific peoples and Pākehā, Pacific peoples and Māori; between one's identity as an ethnic member and as a professional journalist; between 1st-generation migrant and 2nd-generation New Zealand-born Pacific'; between different Pacific ethnicities; and between groups with different legal, historical and socio-economic identities. For instance, a television producer identified four competing relationships within which his programme and its Pacific identity was framed:

> There are expectations of the older community and there are expectations of the younger more numerous community and there are other expectations from the network and other expectations from the funders. So there's like a four-way split going on. _Pacific media producer

Thus, Pacific identity (along with the cultural sites where its meaning is constructed) is complex, contradictory and contested (Hall, 1988). What this means is that identity must always be contextualised. There is no single construct 'Samoan' or 'Pacific'; we can only understand what these terms mean in relation to the contexts in which they are used.

Indeed, it is the effect of performing identity across these multiple contexts, such as producers' location in a journalistic or Pacific space, that accounts for many of the contradictions in Pacific producers' discourse and practice. A closer look at Samoa Multimedia Group, for instance, which owns and runs the Samoan-language media Radio Samoa and the *Samoa Times*, reveals how producers do identity differently for those *outside* the community and for groups *within* the community. In distancing its radio station and newspaper from other media, a Samoa Multimedia producer staked the identity and community of Radio Samoa and the *Samoa Times* squarely on their use of Samoan language[70] – "they call Radio Samoa *our* radio because it's their language, it's their culture". However,

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[70] The two media were described as being exclusively in Samoan, but some advertising and music, and the group's Facebook page, were in English.

within the Samoan community, many younger Samoans are not fluent Samoan speakers and this discourse of language authenticity is not useful for defining a group boundary that might exclude them. Not surprisingly, this discourse was absent from Radio Samoa's promotion of a new weekly English-language programme aimed at young New Zealand-born Samoans, *The Crazy Coconati*[71]. It was absent, too, from Samoa Multimedia's newly launched web-based *Moana TV*, which is also in English and focused on "Pacific" rather than Samoan culture and lifestyle. So, while Samoan language practices and a discourse of authenticity were called on to differentiate from some out-groups of 'others', they were necessarily left out of constructions aimed at including other in-group audiences.

Though there are many group boundaries across which Pacific media identities are drawn, producers predominantly constructed identity in relation to the Pākehā majority and mainstream media. What that meant was that differences *within* Pacific groups were more often elided in the over-simplified construction of a Pacific "us" to the dominant other's "them"[72]. Also, by predicating identity on ethnicity (which is no more fixed than the culture and social interaction of which it is a component (Jenkins 1997, p.165)), and on a discourse of 'Pacificness' that is limited to an exclusionary hierarchy of attributes to which people must conform (Southwick 2001, p.125), producers resorted to a problematic identity shorthand to differentiate themselves from the mainstream and signpost their 'Pacificness' to members of the 'Pacific group'. There is evidence to suggest (see Brown Pulu 2007; Luafutu-Simpson 2006; Mila-Schaaf 2010; Southwick 2001) that not only is there a lack of discourse around 'Pacificness', but that efforts to challenge or critique the existing discourse are also effectively discouraged. That means producers rely on taken-for-granted sets of ideological and cultural assumptions (Hall 1980, p.110), generalisations, and stereotypes, in other words, on existing symbolic resources (Thompson 1995, p.212) and cultural conventions that tend to 'freeze difference' (Abu-Lughod 1991, p.144) and abbreviate identity as a universal, essentialist 'true self' (Hall 1990, p.223).

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[71] Interviews were held at Samoa Multimedia in October 2010. It launched Moana TV in late 2011 and *The Crazy Coconati* in early 2012.
[72] An audience focus group participant described it thus: "When you look at the diversity of ethnic communities, which one can be Pacific? The Samoan one or the Tongan one? The Papua New Guinea one or – so it's very much, we need to have some, what, come to some conclusion where we need to focus on something. Maybe that's why we're more likely to take the mainstream approach."

Pacific producers resorted to claims of authenticity and essentialism to distinguish their media from the mainstream, identifying them by culturally embedded norms of Pacific 'perspective', cultural traditions, language, 'homeland' connections, and a prototype of 'brownness' that carved out us-and-them boundaries. The following responses were typical of producers' recourse towards the taken-for-granted about Pacific peoples:

> I have worked in *Tagata Pasifika* when there was a Palagi producer and he just didn't get a whole lot of things, you know? And it's quite frustrating working under someone who isn't of your culture and who doesn't understand. … I think it affected the product by not being authentic. _Pacific Journalist

> When I listen to the likes of *Morning Report*[73], the poor politicians, these guys just have a go at them as if they're trying to win the discussion, the debate. I don't think that's our role. From our Pacific, we don't do that sort of, that's not how we behave…. We work on the thing that if I respect you, you respect me. _Pacific media producers

> A part of that Pacificness [is] the way that they relate to each other with humour… You know there's a certain Pacific look – the eyebrows. With Māori, they do it as well. But the way they laugh and the way that you might say 'aue, look at her' and they all laugh and you don't know why you're laughing but you just know that that is something people will relate to. _ Pacific Journalist

How these discourses and performances of authenticity and orthodoxy are practised and enacted within media texts, and therefore the implications for how Pacificness is produced in the creation of media content, is spelled out more clearly in the following thematic analysis of two high-profile, pan-Pacific media, *Tagata Pasifika* and *Spasifik* (see Chapter Five for the methodology).

Pacific identity construction: a case study

To understand ethnic media's production of identities and how they challenge or enable power relations, Gentles-Peart (2013) says we must examine the discourses embodied in ethnic media texts (as well as their material contexts). As such, this chapter analyses the themes in the texts of the state-funded television programme *Tagata Pasifika*, which is one of the longest-running Pacific media in New Zealand, and the relatively young 12-year-old independent magazine *Spasifik,* to reveal how Pacific identities are actively constructed and performed. The media texts analysed here are taken from the time of the New Zealand-hosted 2011 Rugby World Cup (RWC) competition, when the Samoan, Tongan and Fijian national rugby teams competed against New Zealand's national team. This provides an opportunity to

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[73] Flagship breakfast programme of the state broadcaster, Radio New Zealand National.

examine the construction of Pacific identity at a time of heightened division between Pacific and New Zealand identities. Because both media are produced for national, pan-Pacific audiences and in English rather than Pacific languages, they are also an instructive study. Johnson (2010, p.119) suggests that, as media for a pan-ethnic collective, their identity categories may be more inclusive, because pan-ethnicity emphasises similarities among cultures (such as language, skin colour, or regional origin) and de-emphasises differences such as that between Samoan and Tongan culture. On the other hand, without recourse to a specific ethnicity, language[74] or geographic locale, these media must work harder at locating their Pacific identity and risk over-simplifying identity by falling back on stereotypical prototypes.

This thematic analysis found that *Tagata Pasifika* constructed a Pacific identity that was Pacific and not New Zealand-oriented, that reflected traditional cultural orthodoxy and that mirrored some mainstream stereotypes. For instance, the programme focused almost exclusively on Pacific teams, players and fans, and not on New Zealand's national team, the All Blacks. Of more than 48 minutes of RWC programming, little more than seven minutes focused on the All Blacks. The national team was covered only a handful of times and in the two items of any length (each about three minutes), the team was incidental to the story's main focus – in the first story, the focus was on the Tongan team playing the All Blacks and, in the second, the focus was on Samoan All Black Ma'a Nonu. Notably, *Tagata Pasifika* reported all of the Pacific teams' games but not all of the All Blacks' games – the final, which the All Blacks won, was covered only in passing in the introduction to a political story. It also dedicated more than half of a programme to an expert Pacific panel discussion reviewing the tournament, which ran immediately after the Pacific teams' exit from the tournament but *before* New Zealand's run had finished, and which focused on Pacific teams, players and issues. The interviewer did not mention the All Blacks until he was most of the way through the panel discussion. In these ways, the programme assumed ownership of Pacific teams, but rarely ownership of the All Blacks, which, ironically, had many Pacific players[75] (contrast that with Māori Television, which 'owned' the whole All Blacks team and thereby positioned itself as a national television channel). As such, it narrowed its accessibility to Pacific audiences by implicitly ruling out the hyphenated identities of those born in New Zealand.

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[74] As with other conglomerate groups (Matsaganis et al. 2011, p.263), Pacific peoples do not share a common language and media in Pacific languages are limited to the small audiences who understand them. To maintain viability, media such as *Spasifik* target the conglomerate Pacific group in English.

[75] Eight of the 33 players were Pacific; five of the 33 were Māori.

Tagata Pasifika also reinforced orthodox Pacific identities and social norms by reproducing and privileging constructions with cultural tradition and 'homeland' frames – of the eight *Tagata Pasifika* episodes studied, six featured 'homeland' items and all eight featured performing arts, more than two-thirds of which were traditional performances. The programme also reproduced dominant stereotypes through continual references to Pacific rugby and league players' "Pacific flair". Hoberman says (1997, pp.125-126) black athletes are often typified in dominant discourse in physical terms – as strong, fast, and 'naturally' talented – but rarely in terms of leadership, intelligence or ability to make decisions under pressure, which produces comparisons that justify white male authority. A similar discourse could be seen on *Tagata Pasifika*, along with a skewed representation of Pacific peoples as athletes, performing artists and church-goers, but not business owners, scientists or IT professionals. *Tagata Pasifika* interviewed only three business people across the eight episodes and all three were Pākehā.

Spasifik's producers provided different understandings of Pacific identity. *Spasifik's* subjects[76], like *Tagata Pasifika*'s, were clearly "brown" but unlike *Tagata Pasifika*, the magazine focused on Pacific *and Māori.* The magazine is branded as "Pacific and Māori proud" and seven of its features were on Māori subjects, including two columns by Māori contributors. Pacific voices and representations dominated, but there were considerably more Māori representations in *Spasifik* than on *Tagata Pasifika*, where Māori featured only a handful of times (and were signified as Māori only once). Arguably, this mixed identity better reflects the growing number of Pacific peoples who identify as Māori – almost a fifth of Pacific peoples at the last census – as well as the 'Nesian' identity identified by scholars elsewhere (Borell 2005; Teaiwa & Mallon 2005), and potentially expands the magazine's accessibility and fit.

Similarly, *Spasifik* located its Pacific identities in a New Zealand framework such that they spoke more clearly to a hyphenated identity. It portrayed Pacific people as All Blacks supporters and thereby 'New Zealanders'; it clearly portrayed Pacific subjects as New Zealand-born and/or raised; and it described the tensions inherent in a dual Pacific/New

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[76] Lomu's world cup promotional trip to the Pacific; five key Pacific/Māori players to watch; best and worst Pacific nations' world cup performances; Pacific/Māori players' statistics; Māori Television's tournament coverage; and Derek Royal's column on being a (Māori) All Black supporter in Australia.

Zealand identity through one story chronicling the "straddling [of] two worlds", and another that quoted former All Black Jonah Lomu on his divided New Zealand/Tongan loyalties and that described his reception in Tonga in ways that problematised his 'Tonganness'. In an interview, the founding editor said he aimed to challenge Pacific orthodoxy and the regulation of cultural authenticity, while the magazine's Facebook page says, "There is a rapidly growing middle class 'brown' population who appreciate the fact *Spasifik* showcases our people excelling beyond the boundaries we are stereotyped for" (*Spasifik* n.d).

Despite producing a broader range of 'Pacific' identities, *Spasifik* also reinforced stereotypes and was, in some ways, more narrowly orthodox in its construction of social norms than *Tagata Pasifka*. For instance, the magazine continually described Pacific and Māori rugby players in typecast terms (as adding "unpredictability", "colour", "renowned physicality and flair") and often presented Pacific peoples in racialised terms as unmistakably 'brown'. It also resorted to a 'homeland' discourse, profiling the "return" to "their islands" of well-known Pacific peoples, some of whom were New Zealand-born. And it listed people's ethnicity or 'home' village at first mention of their name[77], for example, "Tigilau Ness (Mutalau, Niue)", "Frank Bunce (Niuean, Samoan)", which is an overt demonstration of traditional Pacific cultural ideals where knowing and having connections with one's 'homeland' community and family is an important form of capital (Mila-Schaaf 2010).

Producers' talk underscored the performative and constructed dimensions of these textual representations by revealing their explicit intent to enact Pacific identities – and certain identities at that. A *Tagata Pasifika* producer described the programme as "a news- and current affairs-driven programme *of identity*" and scarcely referred to its news production, while *Spasifik*'s producers described it as "a magazine *and identity*, connecting people across New Zealand and the Pacific" [my italics]. Producers rarely talked about news production and where they did, it was to differentiate from the mainstream. The news was about telling Pacific stories missed by mainstream media or telling them in Pacific ways: "Who's telling the story? Who's telling the brown stories? Are white people telling our [stories]? Would you be comfortable with Americans telling Kiwi stories? No". Crucially, this discourse, of telling 'brown' stories in 'brown' ways, effectively set limits on how 'Pacificness' could be legitimately performed. *Tagata Pasifika* producers (like most of the research participants

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[77] Notably, *Tagata Pasifika* rarely labelled subjects' ethnicities or 'home' village.

spoken to for this study) argued that credible, 'authentic' Pacific media should be led by Pacific producers and fronted by Pacific journalists. What constituted their 'Pacificness' was not only cultural knowledge and community connection, but also, notably, appearance.

> I don't think we'd ever employ a Pākehā journalist unless they were half: half. In fact, we do have half – Adrian[78], half Swiss and half Samoan. But you've got to have some connection to the Pacific community for credibility ... just credibility in that the person telling the story is somebody *who looks like they know* [my italics] what they're talking about and is familiar with the issues, the language even, if you're lucky. _Pacific media producer

The implication is that one was defined as 'Pacific' only if one looked 'brown'. By constructing 'Pacificness' in such a racialised way, producers risk including some and excluding others, notably mixed ethnicity Pacific peoples or those "half: half" who look 'white'.

These findings suggest that, by emphasising Pacific identity in certain ways, Pacific media are at risk of falling back on well-established versions of that identity. Sometimes this means a racialised version that reproduces dominant ideological constructions, but more often it means essentialist, traditional or orthodox versions that are characterised by an allegiance to the 'homeland' and 'homeland' culture (Naficy 1993; Nagel 1994, p.154). Thus, in *Tagata Pasifika*'s texts we see, broadly, the construction of Pacific, but rarely New Zealand-Pacific identities; 'brown' but rarely mixed ethnicities; and the celebration of Pacificness within orthodox frames of 'homeland' and cultural performance. *Spasifik* offered a broader identity with its inclusion of New Zealand-Pacific and Māori identities, and a richer portrayal of the complexities of Pacific identity, but it also constructed identities more narrowly through its 'home' village and ethnic classifications.

Identifying and identification back

Although the 23 Pacific producers interviewed for this study spoke frankly and unequivocally about their locative practices, they were typically less explicit about which identities they reproduced or why. Routinely, they fell back on indistinct and taken-for-granted understandings of 'Pacificness' and often reproduced identities that potentially excluded and misrecognised emerging generations of New Zealand-born and mixed ethnicity Pacific youth. In responding to the four-way pull on Pacific media referred to above, producers create points

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[78] Adrian Stevanon, former *Tagata Pasfiika* and Māori Television journalist, now associate producer for TV3/Great Southern Television's Māori current affairs show, *The Hui*.

of reference that can at times over-determine orthodox representations and marginalise some groups. This analysis reveals that traditional cultural representations are much more durable than we give credit for, contradicting the notion that identity is "always in process" (Hall 1996b, p.2; Matsaganis et al. 2011, pp.70-72; Downing & Husband 2005, p.14).

The persistence – and reification – of particular versions of Pacific identity is partly an effect of dominant and Pacific hegemonic forces, as well as wider structural forces. Pacific news media work within a racial, political economy (Abel 2011) that restricts the range of identities that can be called on. Several producers spoke directly about their experiences of being categorised. One had approached a major corporate sponsor four times only to be turned away because it saw his production as Pacific niche only. Another corporate turned him down, the producer said, because, "We're clean, green, beautiful, pure; that's our [company]. You guys are sand and hot, you know, palm trees. Nah, nah, you guys don't walk with us". Other producers said:

> People never ask me if I (am) Swedish – not one – and I have Swedish in my mother's ancestry. Not one person has ever asked me. They always ask me, "what have you got in you; you've got something in you?" You know that's the dominant culture looking at that. _ Pacific media producer

> Unfortunately, well I say unfortunately because I was brought up here, people say I'm a Pacific broadcaster. That sits okay with me. It's fine with me, but if I want to spread my wings and go outside of this box, then I'm a broadcaster first. That's what I put on my form when I go through the airport anyway; I'm a broadcaster, not a Pacific broadcaster. _ Pacific media producer

These statements highlight how the notion that ethnic identity is a personal choice or freely constructed performance can over-emphasise agency at the expense of structural forces. Pacific producers choose their representations from existing symbolic resources and they perform identities within the limits of cultural conventions (Moores 2005, p.161) and the dominant categorisation of ethnic groups. With respect to Nagel (1995, p.156), New Zealanders of Pacific ancestries are confronted with one option – brown. While Pacific peoples can and do make intra-group distinctions (Samoan, Tongan, Niuean and so on), the power of racial discourse often collapses these internal differences into a 'black/white' colour boundary. Thus, Pacific producers' identity work comprises their self-identification – what they think their ethnicity is – *and* the dominant outsiders' designation (Nagel 1995, p.154). The positioning of Samoan news media in New Zealand as 'ethnic media' when, in Samoa,

where Samoans are dominant, the same media are normal, unremarkable and not 'ethnic' must be understood as an effect of a particular structural and ideological context. Pacific news media are a minority culture media situated in the wider context of a racial political economy (Abel 2011) that influences the frames of reference that producers employ as well as the material means at their disposal (Kosnick 2007, p.166).

Thus, producers located themselves and their media primarily in relation to dominant institutions and mainstream media partly because they were constructed in return as the 'other'. Producers navigate a tension between finding and articulating a voice as a minority ethnic group and being forced or allowed to speak *only* as a member of that group (Sreberny 2005, p.445). Producers of other Pacific media described *Tagata Pasifika*, in particular, as shaped by the expectations of TVNZ's former charter and Pākehā bosses: "There's so much involved – politics, politicians, everything like that – and that's what *Tagata Pasifika* is; it's a vehicle for a lot of things other than its audience." *Tagata Pasifika* producers themselves described being tasked by New Zealand on Air and TVNZ with being "everything to everybody", when, ideally, the show would be carved up for different audiences.

> If we had the resources and the time you would really have a Samoan programme or you'd either cut it across some ethnic lines or you'd cut it across age lines or the biggest divide, New Zealand-born and island-born. _Pacific media producer

Tagata Pasifika, Niu FM, and *Pacific Beat Street*, through their dependence on state funding and the goodwill of their (Pākehā) bosses, as well as *Spasifik,* Samoa Capital Radio and *New Zealand Pacific* (through their heavy reliance on government advertising), are positioned like ethnic media elsewhere (Cottle 2000, p.17; Cohen 2003, p.146). That is to say; they are positioned by state regulatory frameworks and policy; the state's ideas about multiculturalism; and its reification of a conglomerate "Pacific Island" ethnicity and community. *Tagata Pasifika* executive producer Taualeo'o Stephen Stehlin says (quoted in Morgan 2009):

> You see, what you endlessly get with this kind of show is trapped into the constructs between what the broadcaster wants and what the funder will fund. So you fit into it as best as you can … We have no control. The only control we have is within the editorial. But even then the funders would stick their noses in (p.108).

Hegemonic ideas and narratives from the dominant space thus circumscribe Pacific producers' identity constructions. The reproduction of stereotypes within *Spasifik* and *Tagata*

Pasifika, for instance, is possibly an unavoidable consequence for minority groups attempting to stake out identity within a dominant society – they cannot altogether escape the categorisations of the dominant group (Jenkins 1997)[79].

Having said that, identity is a product of internal definition and group identification as much as it is a product of external categorisation, and Pacific communities also have a role shaping the identities presented in Pacific news media. Matsaganis and Katz (2014, p.932) found that ethnic media producer identities are influenced by audiences whose expectations of 'their' media can pressure producers to emphasise specialist identities over inclusive ones. In the Pacific space, there are proper ways of being Pacific and, as Appiah says (1994, pp.162-163), the line between recognition and compulsion is a blurry one. Through the power of recognition (Mila-Schaaf 2010, p.133), Pacific audiences and particularly Pacific community elites authorise the legitimacy of Pacific news media and their identities. Elsewhere, bell hooks (1996, p.105) describes consumers' heavy policing of the authenticity of black producers' work, and the same appears to happen here. Producers might identify their media as Pacific, but to have it *identified back* is never a given, especially if they operate beyond the limits of what is constituted and regulated in Pacific social spaces as 'Pacific', such as being in a Pacific language (Southwick 2001, p.125; Mila-Schaaf 2010, p.262). Hence, producers' identity work was about more than simply branding one's media or oneself as 'Pacific', or even finding an audience; it was also about acceptance and fit, or as Butler (1995) suggests, the burden of recognition. In this respect, the more inclusive concept of *locative practice* is helpful, as it can better capture these complex relational and connective processes of identity.

Key to understanding these locative practices, too, is recognising the meaning that Pacific producers invest in the ethnic identity they share with their imagined audiences and their felt obligations to those audiences. This study finds that the meaningfulness of that relationship effectively narrows the producer-audience distance that Thompson (1995) describes in mainstream mass media as a 'mediated quasi-interaction' typified by one-way communication over a distance where "neither producers nor recipients are under any mutual obligation to take account of the responses of the other" (Thompson 1995, p.98). In Pacific producers'

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[79] Riggins (1992, p.279) says dominant ideology permeates ethnic minority media because minority journalists cannot sever all intellectual ties with the dominant culture and do not create all of the content for their media outlets.

identity and 'community' work (discussed further in Chapter Eight), producers perceived a more active relationship and interactive audience – one that had the power to misrecognise and reject Pacific media as legitimately belonging in-group – and a much closer Pacific community, where the distance between producers and audiences was reduced by their ethnic commonality. Whether or not such a tight community existed is not the point; the reality of community lay in producers' perceptions of its vitality and the ways in which they made it a referent of their locative practice and Pacific identity (Cohen 1985, p.118).

Similarly, whether or not audiences exercised their power to misrecognise is beside the point. What is important is the meaning that Pacific producers attached to their felt obligations to those audiences, which could have material effects. More often than not, producers appeared to take defensive action to anticipate community criticism or misrecognition. They tended to restrict their productions to certain cultural and representational parameters (typically, the 'doxa' identity ideals that Mila-Schaaf (2010, p.263) says have hegemonic status over others in the New Zealand Pacific space); or they compensated for unorthodox representations with conspicuous efforts to prove in-group belonging, often by resorting to short-hand based on orthodox or nostalgically traditional identities. *Spasifik* magazine's departure from Pacific norms – by being in English and combining a Māori and Pacific 'Polynesian' identity that is not universally embraced[80] – may account for its recourse to explicit village and ethnic labels, and to more visibly Pacific artwork in its logo when it was first establishing itself, to stamp its 'Pacificness'.

> Pacific media producer: If you look at our logo, which we changed a couple of years ago, we had a more island look in our logo with the triangles and stuff. But I thought we're here now. We don't need to pander to the Pacific motifs and branding and stuff throughout. Just let the strength of the content, the images themselves, tell.
> Researcher: Why did you need that logo in the first place?
> Pacific media producer: Because I felt like we needed something which at least our – we still needed to identify with the community and reach out. I thought if we did it just for the mainstream, it may not create that ownership. I wanted something that at least had a bit of Pacific feel.
> Researcher: And you don't need that now because?
> Pacific media producer: I think people know us; we've got the brand. People know the strength of our content, so I just want it looking clean, professional and readable.

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[80] The 'Polynesian' identity sits within a history of political tension and resource competition between Pacific peoples and Māori as well as categorisation by dominant institutions, which have traditionally lumped Māori and Pacific together as the 'brown Other'. Pacific peoples have fought to be treated separately from Māori and one producer said TVNZ's grouping of Māori and Pacific in former programming "would be unthinkable now, unthinkable".

Conscious that many Pacific peoples might regard it as "not really Pacific", the magazine's producers had to take care not to be "too Palagi" or "not Pacific enough".

Pacific Beat Street, the former television magazine show for Pacific youth[81], compensated for its non-conformity in similar ways. The show was in English and arguably less traditionally Pacific-oriented than other media. The majority of stories focused on generic content, such as baseball, share milking, professional juggling, adventure kayaking, skydiving, an Auckland hospital's burns unit – even Irish dancing – and its music stories focused mostly on contemporary urban and hip hop music, rather than traditional music. Its producers said the programme had attracted criticism, mainly from older people.

> Saying, "Why isn't it more grass skirts" and, "Why isn't it more, you know, like this". Whereas we'll go, because Pacific people are more than that and if they aren't more than that it's about time we did have a go at that…. So we got a Bentley the other day and we got the Bentley and the guy got his bike, chucked it into the back of the Bentley and then they came home in the Bentley, but it's a half a million dollar Bentley…. Why can't it happen? Why can't we say that's Pacific? Why can't we say it's a Pacific story? _Pacific media producer

Clearly, the show's producers consciously pushed the bounds of what was traditionally seen as 'Pacific'. At the same time, they also made expensive trips to various Pacific Islands to feature traditional dancing, drum making and vaka-building. The "flat of flava" that served as the show's set arguably relied on Pacific cultural symbols such as lava lava, lei, woven fans and mats, shell lampshades and curtains and other Pacific artwork and retro-chic Pacificana to establish the show's 'Pacificness' to viewers and counterbalance the relative absence of orthodox representations in its story content.

In such moments, producers conceive not of an anonymous, passive audience, but an audience with a voice. "People are really good at ringing up. They're getting better at writing in, but they can ring up and just let you have it. They won't hold back," said one. Indeed, Pacific audiences held real power to recognise or misrecognise producers' work. Pacific Broadcasting, for instance, replaced a Pākehā Samoan-speaking presenter after Samoan audiences successfully lobbied to have him dumped: "They didn't want him. You can't get a non-Samoan to front Samoan news, so we have to pull him out". Another producer suggested such tensions could be bridged by force of personality and the quality of the product, citing

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[81] The programme, funded by NZ on Air, ran on TV3 from 2005 to 2010.

the example of Robert Rakete, a Māori presenter, who drew a large Pacific audience when he was employed at Radio 531pi.

> It doesn't come down to being Samoan or being Tongan to produce stuff that Samoans and Tongans would like. It would be useful but it's not exclusive … Pacific Island people won't question their ethnic origins if they're able to do a good job ... The usual kneejerk reaction by the racists, the rednecks in our community is, 'If you're not a Pacific Island person I don't want to listen to you', but two weeks later, 'you know, he's really great', 'he's brilliant', and before long, 'he's part Samoan'! _Pacific media producer

However, Rakete was Māori, not Pākehā, and Māori are perceived as having an affinity for and some belonging to Pacific cultures (Howe 2009). In general, there was a strong thread through producers' talk that their media ought to be run and presented by Pacific peoples if it was to be 'owned' by Pacific audiences. This view was underscored by the state funder NZ on Air, whose Pacific Content Strategy (2012c) states that Pacific broadcast content should be "made by, or with the strong involvement of, content creators who are Pacific people to ensure authenticity".

Producers' juggled their felt obligations to their communities against pressures from the market and state (a balancing act described elsewhere by Cottle [2000] and Forde et al. [2009, p.137]). *Spasifik's* editor, for example, described balancing the economic survival of his magazine, when he rebranded it as Pacific and Māori, against a strongly felt obligation to maintain a Pacific-only focus.

> I didn't want to lose the Pacific identity but I knew if we could tap into even a smidgeon of Māori advertising it would help us financially … Especially when advertising dried up in 2008 and I thought, 'well, we need to diversify otherwise it's going to struggle'…. [*Spasifik*] still has a Pacific feel about it and I think that's the way people want it. So I'm careful. I'm always wary because I know that when we first started the magazine we had Māori content and we've always had it but Pacific people, we were getting a couple of letters and complaints saying, "Why are you giving space to Māori? They've got their own magazine, they've got their own iwi stations, they've got more funding; this is ours". But I needed to look at the broader picture from a financial point of view. _Pacific media producer

Other producers described having to balance their need for advertising revenue or sponsorship (which, for many, was in short supply) with community expectations of Pacific values of service and Christian ideals, particularly when weighing whether to advertise loan sharks, alcohol or gambling venues. In these moments, it appears that audiences are 'present' for Pacific producers in a way that Thompson (1995) does not account for, and they have a voice that, even if only imagined by producers, has weight and influence in their decision-making.

In these respects, understanding identity work in terms of the broader concepts of va and interdependent relationships is helpful.

Similarly, it is important to understand that Pacific producers' locative practices are more than just an abstract exercise (Weinberg 2008, p.32); identity is both performed and experienced (Madianou 2005, p.523). Producers are practically and emotionally invested in these identity constructions, because it is not just the identity of their media that they represent, but also their own identities. When asked what it was that made their media 'Pacific', producers invariably located *their own identities*, describing their community connections, how often they attended church, how often they visited their 'home' islands and so on, and there are strong cultural pressures to do so[82].

> There's a different sort of credibility that you have in the Pacific community. When you go out there and they ask, "Who are you?" they're not asking what qualifications you have, necessarily, but they're asking, "What gives you the right to stand here before me? Who is your family?" that kind of thing. _Pacific journalist

Again, the concepts of tūrangawaewae and va are helpful here to understand Pacific producers' identity work as connected to deeply personal feelings about acceptance, belonging and empowerment, and exclusion and rejection (Mila-Schaaf 2010, p.250). The oft-repeated criticisms of Niu FM, for not being 'Pacific' enough, are thus an indirect criticism of the radio station's staff and producers; they, too, are not 'Pacific' enough or 'Pacific' in legitimate or authentic ways. This coupling of producer and media identity appears to distinguish Pacific media from mainstream media, where there is no obvious parallel. So, too, does the felt relationship of producers to their audiences; it is a much closer relationship, in both producers' imagining and practice than that supposed by the model of 'quasi-interaction'. Forde et al. (2009) found a comparable collapsing of the barrier between audiences and producers in their study of Indigenous and ethnic community broadcasting in Australia. There, the intimate association between producer and audience was confined to community media and was stronger for Indigenous community media than ethnic community media. Here, a similar intimacy was apparent in *all* of the Pacific news media studied: commercial and community media; professional and 'amateur' media; local and nationally based media; and state-supported and independent media all demonstrated a stronger connection between producers and their intended audiences than is apparent in dominant

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[82] In Pacific spaces, identities are strongly "rooted" in genealogy, (ancestral) land, village and family position, and it is these identities that are centred and privileged as authentically 'Samoan' or 'Tongan' or 'Pacific' (Mila-Schaaf 2010, p.224).

mainstream media, which also opens them up to greater pressure from community elites about proper ways of being 'Pacific'.

Conclusion

Earlier chapters asked whether there is such a thing as 'Pacific' style or content and whether it is this that defines media as 'Pacific'. This analysis finds there are common themes that run through Pacific media ('homeland', for example), but suggests that it is not so much this 'stuff' enclosed within the media texts that define Pacific media, as it is the *locative practices* that the content reflects. As is demonstrated above, content differs between media outlets (as do the specific locative practices). What is shared, however, is the need to locate and enact identity/community/belonging through their content. In other words, the category of 'Pacific media' may be better understood in terms of these locative processes of producing and maintaining identity/community/belonging rather than by an inventory of their stories and content style.

Through this lens, we can be more sensitive to the ways 'Pacificness' is constructed differently and contested by different groups (producers, policy makers, funders, audiences) in different contexts – *and* how it is enabled and constrained by underlying power relations. Because Pacific media (including those pan-Pacific media that might be considered the most inclusive media) universally locate themselves in relation to the Pacific space, their identity and community constructions are shaped to some degree by its modes of seeing and thinking, and its power relations. Thus, while we can see some differences in the identity discourses and locative practices of Pacific news media producers depending on their different contexts (for instance, the differences between *Tagata Pasifika* and *Spasifik,* and the differences between the journalism-leaning and Pacific-leaning media described in Chapter Six), they also tend to be narrowed by the hegemony of both the dominant and Pacific spaces. In this way, Pacific ideologies of the proper ways of being 'Pacific', along with dominant ideologies of 'race' and ethnicity and the effect of wider structural forces, work in combination to restrain some versions of Pacific identity and maintain other, usually traditional, versions.

Significantly, these frames of culture and traditional cultural representations were not foregrounded in audience focus group participants' talk. In fact, as is discussed further in

Chapter Nine, Pacific audiences often described Pacific media producers' identity representations as too narrow and "clichéd".

> Participant 1: A lot of Pacific from a very young age are groomed from as young as two, three to perform in front of an audience. So, for example, with a lot of churches with White Sunday, so they, at a very young age, develop the skills to perform and so it's a very natural skill, natural ability in the Pacific to perform and so when you see things like that on TV on *Tagata Pasifika* you think, oh you know ---
> Participant 2: Just tell us something that we don't know. (Laughter)
> Participant 1: You know, so performing arts, we do that. This is what happens in our communities all the time and one of the things that I would like to see more of – this is the wish list that I'm coming back to -- is more sort of intrepid sort of journeys. Yeah? Showing the real hardcore survival… Because what you see at the moment is very sort of glossy, you know, Pacific, but it's boring really for us because we live that all the time. We see it in our communities all the time. _Audience focus group

Thus, it would appear that the relatively limited range of 'Pacific' identities represented in Pacific news media, and therefore their locative practices, may be out of step with some Pacific audiences' desire for more inclusive representations. At the very least, it suggests Pacific media could do more to account both for the significant differences between Pacific peoples, particularly between different generations, and for the apparent shift in Pacific youth identity (Anae 2001; Borell, 2005, p.205; Fairbairn & Makisi 2003, p.40; Macpherson 2001; Teaiwa & Mallon 2005, pp.210-211).

Some media are attempting to do so. The wide-ranging identities produced in *Spasifik* and the now defunct *Pacific Beat Street*, along with more recent attempts to tailor media products to a New Zealand-born audience (such as Samoa Multimedia's *The Crazy Coconati* and *MoanaTV*, as well as *Fresh* and *The Coconet.tv*) suggest that producers' identity practices are dynamic and shifting in some respects. However, the continuity of narrow and orthodox Pacific identities elsewhere in New Zealand's Pacific news media suggests that 'Pacific' identity is changing more slowly in the Pacific media sphere than the shifting Pacific demographic profile in Aotearoa/New Zealand suggests. As Southwick (2001, p.125) notes:

> Given that more than fifty percent of people who live in New Zealand and claim a Pacific ethnicity are New Zealand born, the question of identity becomes a more urgent issue for individual Pacific people and their communities. Exclusionary normative group boundaries mean that over time fewer and fewer people will feel comfortable to claim their Pacific heritage, and Pacific communities will become small elite enclaves.

This raises more questions. How might Pacific media producers make their identity categories more accessible and position Pacific news media closer to the communities they seek to

serve? The following chapter suggests some possibilities. Further research may identify others – as well as the implications, if any, for the future relevance and reach of Pacific news media if they cannot find ways to stay in closer step with *all* of their communities.

Chapter Eight: Building affective bonds and community belonging

> *One thing about Pacific is that whenever you're in a gathering first and foremost is finding a connection…. It doesn't matter where you are, the first person I will look out, 'Oh, there's another brown face in the corner.' So it's finding a connection before I'm able to feel comfortable to be who I am, so that's when I watch – what's her name on Tagata Pasifika[83], the young reporter? Yeah, so when she talks I would – it's that connection already for any Pacific woman … finding a connection to be able to be comfortable in who you are and who they are.* _Audience focus group participant

Just as Pacific media are powerful symbolic referents of Pacific identity, they are also key sites where producers and audiences negotiate community and belonging (RQ3). This thesis argues that, in Pacific terms, identity, community and belonging cannot be seen as separate; rather, they are tightly integrated and reciprocating. As such, by looking more closely at how Pacific media play a role in community-building, as well as the ways in which Pacific communities 'imagine' themselves (Lowrey 2012, p.96), this chapter further develops the idea that Pacific media practices and discourses of identity and community can be best understood as a form of *locative practice*.

The following analysis finds that Pacific media perform these community-building and attachment functions regardless of their location or size. Pacific media are more like smaller, hyperlocal community media in the intimacy of their relationship with their audiences (Lin & Song 2006, p.381; Reader & Hatcher 2012; Rosenberry 2012, p.25), even those that do not practise in small, distinct geographic markets. Producers do this by foregrounding both their Pacific identities *and* their relationships and community service, to establish strong ties with Pacific communities (though, not so strongly with Pacific youth). In turn, Pacific audiences do community in slightly different ways, though also through locative practices. Audience participants used Pacific media as a strategic resource to build a secure sense of identity and attachment and to 'imagine' their belonging and connection to Pacific communities. It is possibly this role of building affective connections and community ties, more than others, that underpins the distinctiveness of Pacific and other ethnic media, and their enduring relevance for ethnic audiences. However, this chapter suggests that more could be done to help bridge connections with Pacific youth, who are more likely to feel excluded by locative practices that rely too heavily on orthodox identity representations and offline media.

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[83] Marama T-Pole (formerly Papau).

Media producers and community

As described in the previous chapter, the practice of 'community' in Pacific news media is a distinguishing feature in that they are connected to, or at least identify a connection to, communities in a way that is less apparent in mainstream media (Reese et al. 2007, cited in Meadows 2009). In his global study of ethnic media, Browne (2005, p.113) found that mainstream media viewed audiences differently from most ethnic minority media, seeing them as a community to talk to rather than a community they must work with. His work, along with others (Ball-Rokeach et al. 2001; Forde et al. 2009; Lin & Song 2006; Matsaganis et al. 2011; Reader & Hatcher 2012) identifies a blurred line between ethnic media producers and their audiences, partly because they are often co-located in the communities they serve.

Pacific media producers interviewed for this thesis also shared a close identity with the communities they drew on, and they viewed themselves as community stakeholders. In their talk, they invoked a strong sense of connection to Pacific communities and an even stronger sense of responsibility toward them. In practice, they were more often than not embedded in the same communities, which were not necessarily communities of 'place'. Even at Pacific media that were commercial enterprises and larger outlets serving pluralistic and dispersed communities, producers demonstrated lived-in connections to their communities and strong Pacific values of attachment and service to community. In many cases, they drew no distinction between media producer and community member: "We live what our listeners live for the most part", said one. Producers attended Pacific churches, sat on Pacific community and advisory groups and worked in Pacific education outreach programmes. Again, what is key, perhaps, is not the extent to which producers were embedded in specific Pacific communities, but the degree to which they invoked that embeddedness. What makes Pacific media distinctive (and maybe ethnic media more generally) is that there is not such an abstract public for them. Rather, producers expressed and practised a culture of community through routine accounting of connectedness to Pacific communities and reliance on a discourse of "villageness" and community-oriented practices that generated and reinforced Pacific communities.

The discussion that follows looks at how Pacific producers constructed community-ness and thereby called together Pacific groups. As noted in Chapters Six and Seven, producers did not do this in a vacuum or with complete independent freedom. Pacific news media producers called on existing cultural symbols and social norms to construct commonalities with Pacific

communities, and thereby reinforce basic social arrangements and institutions (Moores 2005). At the same time, they were categorised and circumscribed by the dominant society and were thereby limited in the constructions they chose to present. It bears asking: would the sense of Pacific community evoked by producers be as strong if dominant institutions did not 'other' them to the same extent, or if Pacific peoples were better recognised and included within mainstream media? The focus here is on what Pacific producers do and say about community, but it is underpinned by the understanding that this is often shaped by other external forces, such as dominant Pākehā culture and professional norms (which can be particularly powerful forces for some media).

Community talk

Pacific producers employed several narratives to imagine and construct communities and to locate their media in relation to them. A common narrative was about being 'out in the community' and related to community engagement as well as media location. For instance, Pacific Media Network producers, at the time of interviewing, were planning the network's shift from upmarket Ponsonby to South Auckland, where Pacific peoples are strongly grouped (Maré et al. 2011 cited in Chen 2015, p.69). Though clearly driven in part by financial need, producers explained the move in terms of the need to be close to community: "we have a greater pull [than other Pacific media], but what we're not doing right now is we're not being part of the community". Such talk indicates a need to repair the sense of community connection and is an important marker of the Pacific ideal to be an active part of one's community. Producers routinely called on this 'out in the community' narrative to demonstrate their "connectivity" with and belonging in Pacific communities: their media attended Pacific events, they were where Pacific peoples were, they "go out and see what's really happening out there".

> There's a lot of cultural stuff, funerals and things that we rarely cover unless it's a very high profile person, but we will sometimes cover others because we want to be seen out and about in the community and covering more than what you see in mainstream media. It's important that we're there and seen to be there. We have to be there for the good and the bad otherwise people won't open up to you. _Pacific media producer

A radio producer explicitly contrasted this with dominant media, which she criticised as being a "one-way street". Their reporters contacted her when they wanted information, but there was no reciprocity when "our community" wanted publicity for events. Pacific media, by implication, demonstrated better care for Pacific communities.

Producers also constructed their community connection with a 'go-to' narrative, describing themselves as the go-to media for relevant information as well as for handling story tips. One radio producer said, "this radio station is like a public centre of communication for our community because this is where they get all their information". Another said, "Samoan people, they don't go to the Yellow Pages; they ring us… If they want information for something, they ring Radio Samoa. They don't know any other phone number". Producers variously described community members calling in with stories "every day", and one stressed that *all* her stories were community-initiated. Most called on this narrative to demonstrate not only their community credentials but also their news credentials – to prove that they were on top of events in the community or were the pre-eminent news media for the community. Several producers, for instance, pointedly named well-known mainstream journalists who came to them for story ideas and tips.

By far the most common narrative used by producers was a discourse of 'villageness'. Producers universally located themselves and their media *in the community* – in their Pacific family networks, in their churches and so on. When describing how he imagined his typical listener, a radio producer said: "the person who shops at my Pak'nSave in Mt Albert". Samoa Multi Media promoted its web television with: "MoanaTV isn't a channel trying to reach the Pacific Community. MoanaTV is part of the Pacific Island community!" Producers routinely talked about "connectivity", "relationships", "ownership", "belonging", or their sense of connection to their "own people". One characterised the closeness of the relationship between Pacific media and Pacific communities in terms of felt pressures. She fought harder for stories about her community – "you're doing stories about your own people. It's pretty weighty, and it does mean more" – and sensed enormous pressure from her community to do even more. "It's a huge burden when you're approached … by Aunty so and so or their church, 'It's a good story. You should be doing this'." Another producer characterised the connection in familial terms of trust, partnership, reciprocity and sacrifice:

> We've served them for a long time. They know we don't have a hidden agenda. They know who we are and the fact that we are involved in church, we have faith in God, and we live what we believe, and we're out there when the community is doing things. That's where the newspaper comes in, because our staff are there to cover it and we promote the community. We're publishing all their events and stuff like that. So, it's a partnership; it's a relationship. That's what I mean by connection. We're not just there to get their money. _Pacific media producer

The community embeddedness that producers invoked was a different thing from the mainstream experience, where journalists can be quite separate from those they report on. For instance, living in different areas and mixing in very different socio-economic groups[84] (Matsaganis et al. 2011, p.214), and following professional norms of objectivity and independence that distance them as neutral or disinterested observers rather than community participants (Zelizer & Allan 2010, pp.78, 97). This is more than just a geographic or social association for Pacific producers. These ties are bolstered by Pacific cultural understandings of family, family obligations (such as donating money at fa'alavelave[85] ceremonies), and normative values of group solidarity that tightly bind Pacific producers to their extended families and communities. The 'village', too, is conceived not just in terms of a particular media outlet's staff and target audience, but also the wider Pacific media network, community organisations and even their subjects, that is, the Pacific people who are profiled in their media. For instance, a radio producer called on the 'village' to promote his station's closer connection to New Zealand musicians.

> With Nesian Mystic[86], they'll be played on Flava or Mai[87] or whatever, but we can own them or bring them into our fold, because we can say there's a Samoan in there, there's a Cook Islander in there, and they speak about that in their songs. We can talk to them about Donald's[88] mum who works at Foodtown, who is a Tongan mum who works at Foodtown. That's the twist, that's the difference that we have over any other radio stations. _Pacific media producer

This discourse of 'village' speaks to shared identities and group belonging across different communities – and not just audiences – in different contexts. *Tagata Pasifika* producers, for instance, took seriously the need to be all things to all people. One said the programme was often accused of being too Samoan or too Auckland-focused ("Tagata Aukilani") and it developed a database to track its stories to ensure inclusiveness.

> I can pull out a report that breaks it up where our stories come [from], what kind of stories they are, what ethnic group has been served and most of the time most of our stories are of a general nature. They're not just one community…. For a while there we had nothing but Samoans. So it's changing, little by little. _Pacific media producer

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[84] Sports journalists possibly have the closest relationship to their communities. Overholser (2003, p.85), for example, cites the unusually close relationship between sports reporters and teams, particularly in small towns.

[85] Fa'alavelave (Samoan) is an obligation, donation or gift usually to family or church.

[86] Nesian Mystik was a New Zealand Hip-Hop/R&B group that formed in 1999 and disbanded in 2011 after making four commercially successful albums and winning numerous awards. Its members were of Cook Islands, Tongan, Samoan and Māori descent.

[87] Commercial Auckland radio stations.

[88] Nesian Mystik band member Donald McNulty.

Similarly, Pacific producers universally invoked a discourse of service to authenticate their commitment to their communities. Every producer interviewed for this research typified their work in some way or another as service to their community. For some, this was in terms of preserving language and traditions, for instance, the Pacific-language radio producer who was shoulder-tapped by her elders to create an in-language programme for a community whose language was under threat. For many, it was in terms of informing the community: providing information in-language or information that was relevant to Pacific peoples, but missing in the mainstream; providing health and education advice or uncovering scams targeting the Pacific community – "stuff that we know it will help our people" or "what's good for our audience, for ourselves and our community". In addition, producers consistently cited their own personal sacrifices or the sacrifices made by their media in service to their community. This included instances such as foregoing income by banning advertisements for junk food, alcohol and gambling; providing community notices for free; working to mentor, upskill and train other Pacific journalists and broadcasters; or to promote other Pacific artists or businesses (see Chapter Nine). Smith's (2016, p.48) observation that getting out into the community requires higher rates of funding than are currently available suggests that the in-community practices described above might also be viewed as sacrifice.

> In the mainstream media if you don't have the dollars you don't operate and it's all business driven. Where, in our Pacific media, it's community driven, it's community focused – and communities mean sports groups, family groups, church groups, and they're all operated by donations and subs and things like that. So what do you do? You can't [charge them]. Those are our listeners, those are our supporters and what you operate is part of them. They call Radio Samoa our radio because it's their language; it's their culture. _Pacific media producer

Underpinning this service discourse was a strong discourse of betterment – improving Pacific people's lot, getting Pacific people off welfare, getting Pacific youth out of gangs – and a focus on positive news stories and aspirational role models for Pacific communities.

> I don't want to hear all these other negative things, you know, like sensational stories to sell the newspaper…. We should give quality information for our listeners, something that is uplifting and make them try to be something or somebody, you know, better their life for them. _Pacific media producer

> [We profile] the unsung heroes of the Pacific community. If we do this now, hopefully, in the next ten years the gangs and stuff will slowly fade away…. There's a lot of potential out there and these kids are, for example, myself – Pacific kid going to school, I was always the one at the back, didn't want to come to the front. So there's a lot of potential out there but they just don't know it yet, and if we can do stories about other kids graduating and making it and show them where to go and stuff, hopefully, that will open some doors for them. _Pacific media producer

> We do believe in transforming communities, like what I said about being a well-informed community, a healthy community, so I expect a lot of successful Samoans. We expect a lot of good things to come out of – they have no excuse because we've put on a whole lot of good things here, we've sown a lot of good seeds, eh? So our Samoan people have no excuse to do well and thrive, and not only for themselves but to contribute well to New Zealand. _Pacific media producer

These discourses were all called on to demonstrate producers' commitment and connection to their communities. In different ways, they also cultivate and legitimate power by aligning with Pacific cultural and social capital. The concept of service (tautua) to elders, family and community is an important governing principle in Pacific spaces and a track record of labour and service to the collective is closely associated with the granting of symbolic capital and status (Mila-Schaaf 2010, p.257). Often, these discourses were called on to demonstrate one production's worth over another, that X was better than Y because it cared more or had 'our' people's best interests at heart. In doing so, these locative discourses and practices also establish producers' rights (over other media) to represent and speak on behalf of a community. By underpinning producers' efforts to be the pre-eminent voice for Pacific communities, they become important symbolic resources in a contested Pacific media and community space (but also sources of tension for some audience groups who feel disconnected from these forms of cultural capital).

A common thread in much of the discourse of service was the idea of sacrifice. Indeed, one longstanding Pacific producer argued that sacrifice was a key part of what made Pacific media 'Pacific'.

> The sacrifice that people make in order to work in that space; it's not easy, and you have more respect for people. Like Innes[89], he struggled. Like Stan Wolfgramm[90]. And they've continued with it when they could have gone and done something else and done really well in mainstream. And, like *Samoa Observer* and everyone else. We've chosen to be in this space, but there have been sacrifices that have had to be made to be in that space, and not a lot of people would do that. _ Pacific journalist

Matsaganis et al. (2011, p.159) note that most ethnic media are small-scale, local 'mom and pop' businesses that are funded by individual entrepreneurs and families, and ask why it is these individuals invest in ethnic media, especially as many do not yield satisfactory profits. The same could be asked here, including why it is that successful Pacific journalists and

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[89] Innes Logan, owner and founding editor of *Spasifik*.

[90] Director of Drum Productions, producer of *Pacific Beat Street* and *Style Pasifika*.

producers continue to work in Pacific and not mainstream media, where there is more churn and insecurity. Producers universally cited poor and uncertain resourcing (even in state-funded media) as a constant problem. So why do they stay? To a certain extent the biases of mainstream media, where it is hard for Pacific and other ethnic minority producers to get ahead (see Abel 2004; Kailahi 2009; McGregor 1991) narrow Pacific producers' choices, but there is more at play here than dominant structural or ideological bias.

To an extent, service to one's community strengthens relationships and potentially boosts producers' and their media organisations' social and symbolic capital. It may even increase economic capital. Newsrooms' success depends on establishing relationships with the people they serve, and service can help to not only boost newsrooms' relevance but also grow their audience and find the public support they need to endure (Guzman 2016). There is something, too, in producers' own sense of belonging, pride and commitment to the Pacific sphere.

> I think that other media don't come from a place, their communities aren't at the bottom of the scale… it's just a story, they go and do it. But when we do a story and it's about our community it has – it means more to you because you have the weight of culture behind you. It doesn't affect how you do the story, but you have the weight of culture, you have the weight of your background, your family, and so when you do a story, any story, it means more. _Pacific journalist

Significantly, serving community may be a locative practice and discourse that can balance out and even ameliorate the forms of identity/community criticised in previous chapters as being at risk of narrowing and essentialising Pacific media. Producers' connections with specific aspects of community may stop them drifting too far into an idealised space where Samoan/Tongan/Pacific culture, 'home' and hierarchy have timeless authority. It may also be a locative practice that reconciles Pacific identity and journalism (see Chapter Nine).

These community and service discourses appear to go beyond simple marketing or branding strategies; they are as much about developing, negotiating and reinforcing producers' own identities as they are about negotiating Pacific media identities. 'Pacific' identity is a motivation for the development and production of Pacific media (Matsaganis et al. 2011, p.10) and for steering the careers of their producers. Being 'Pacific' means something in terms of which producers work where, with whom and how. Even those who worked in the mainstream continued to work in some way in the Pacific mediasphere.

> Regardless of whether people go to mainstream or Māori [media] like I have, it's about those people still having a connection, because we all stay connected to each other in some way: socially, through work, or whatever. _Pacific journalist

In other words, one's Pacific 'belonging' was personally and symbolically important regardless of where one worked in the media landscape. In this respect, the tendency in ethnic media literature to focus on types of media (for instance, diasporic media [Georgiou 2006], Indigenous media [Hanusch 2014; Pietikäinen 2008], or community media [Howley 2005]) creates categories that make it harder to describe and theorise these kinds of community-building and locative practices.

The various narratives of 'community' identified here seem to have several functions. First, there is an element of authenticating community-ness and establishing Pacific credibility to the researcher, to funders, to audiences and to the broader Pacific community. These discourses also reflect Pacific cultural values and producers' location in the Pacific sphere. Family links, obligations and community-orientedness (subsuming individualism for the good of all) are key Pacific values (Mila-Schaaf 2010; Robinson & Williams 2001), as is the importance of making connections face to face (Health Research Council 2014, 2004). Hence, discourses of reciprocity, service and being 'out in the community' in some cases reflect producers' own cultural background, and, more often, perform expected cultural values and norms to a Pacific target audience. In media production terms, these narratives are also part of establishing bonds of intimacy between media and their audiences (Thompson 1995). In their discourse, producers deployed symbolic performances of Pacific values or connections and a 'routine "deixis"' (Billig 1995, p.11) that continually encouraged the listener to imagine a shared place of "us". Commonalities were continuously constructed through the habitual use of "our people" and "our community", and the repeated flagging of connections, such as "we connect with each other", "we know our roots", and "there's an element of that knowing, familiarity, understanding. Sometimes, a Pacific group boundary was explicitly spelt out: "it's a brown person who has lived the life of a brown person and being able to connect with someone else within the village or within the community".

> I want people to know that they own what they listen to; it's theirs. If you were listening to me or someone else listening to the station this morning, they could say, "Yeah, that's Niu FM. I relate to that station. It's a part of my life style, it's a part of what I do, it's about - I own my car but I also own whatever is happening on Niu FM. I like that song, I'm a part of that." It's all being a part of, I guess, that's what I mean. It's their life; it's their experiences. You were asking about what makes us Pacific; it's that, it's about sharing stories about their life, their livelihood. _Pacific media producer

Similarly, producers deployed intimate performances, such as the first person address used in many of *Spasifik's* feature stories or the magazine's (and Niu FM's) habitual reference to Polynesian "brothers" and "sisters". Pacific producers also deployed particular modes of

address that constructed specifically 'Pacific' communities, most obviously through Pacific languages but also through distinctive *styles* of discourse (as noted elsewhere by Miller and Slater (2000)). Producers described their use of formal or chiefly Samoan language, respectful language or correct pronunciation as marking their Pacificness. Only those with access to the relevant cultural capital, Morley argues (2000, pp.110-111), will feel interpellated by and at home within the particular forms of sociability offered. Interestingly, a Niu FM producer described the style of English language the station used on air and, especially, in its social media as consciously positioning the station as belonging to its *younger* Pacific community. The style can be characterised as a mash up of shorthand text-speak, Facebook language, and Pacific phrases that are increasingly identified as youth Poly-speak[91].

> I don't know whether it's Pacific language, all I know is that the audience that we communicate with, they speak in the language of today. They speak in like a text language, but they throw in Pacific words…. And that's how we talk as Samoans… Short, sharp language and then in amongst that, it is island phrases, which from my point of view is a great thing because I know that 1) we're talking to the people we need to talk to and 2) and they still love their culture but they know that "hey this is where I'm at" type of thing. _Pacific media producer

This example is revealing, because the producer not only thinks of community and identity in non-traditional terms but also feels a need to justify that. Clearly, to claim language in this way as 'Pacific' is not quite the norm. Similarly, negotiated claims can be seen in talk about practices that arguably break from traditional or dominant Pacific norms in relation to *Pacific Beat Street, Spasifik* and working in mainstream media.

Community-in-practice

Tellingly, compared with these discursive practices of community, the range of practices of actually linking to community was smaller. At one level, producers talked of cohesion and community between Pacific media, and many of the larger productions did belong to PIMA. Members met for social events, such as quiz nights, and supported each other in informal, behind-the-scenes ways, even when their media products were in competition. In their talk, producers described PIMA as providing "strength in numbers" and a place where producers could be "Pacific".

> There is a connection with us, the need to get together every now and then to talk about stuff. We're sort of aware of what we're doing and I think there is definitely that feel – while there's that competitive element there's still that Pacificness. I can go into

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[91] Elsewhere, Gibson and Bell (2010) identify a linguistic variant of Pasifika English among second-generation New Zealand-born speakers that is not only distinguishable from first generation Pasifika migrants' English, but also clearly marks, through everyday language performance, a youth Pasifika identity.

all those other environments and be welcomed as they would be welcome here, and we can talk openly about stuff and gossip about others. _Pacific media producer

There is no obvious cross-platform parallel in New Zealand's mainstream media and in this regard, Pacific media can be seen to be operating a community of practice not found elsewhere. Smaller Pacific-language media and those outside Auckland were less likely to belong to PIMA, but they operated informal networks with other like-Pacific-media, sharing news bulletins, programming, and phone hook-ups with distant communities, as well as sharing meals. With actual Pacific communities, however, these media had surprisingly few formal connections or accountability mechanisms. State-funded Pacific media such as Niu FM, Radio 531pi, *Tagata Pasifika*, and Samoa Capital Radio were more likely to have boards and organised community consultation, because that was a requirement set by their funder (NZ on Air 2011, p.5). For example, *Tagata Pasifika* producers keep a database of all the people the programme has encountered, whom they then invite to community meetings held in the main cities every two years. But few Pacific news media had community boards or any structured means of consulting Pacific communities, and it was not clear how most determined what information their communities wanted or needed and, as such, audiences for them are practised in the more organic and embedded ways described above.

There was evidence of community participation – columns and programmes hosted by ministers and other leaders, talk-back sessions on radio, panel discussions with community leaders on *Pacific Viewpoint*, and commentary on various media websites – but producers remained very much in control of programme content. Audience members tended not to be co-participants as much as the discourse above suggests. There are several reasons why producers must take the lead in deciding what to provide and how to provide it, ranging from meeting licensing requirements to facing the prospect of a lot of "dead" space if they rely heavily on audience or community members to fill it (Browne 2005, p.125). In some respects, too, producers must be the final arbiters of what content they carry. *New Zealand Pacific*, for instance, dropped the Pacific language inserts it had initially trialled, because editors could not always be sure what they said and risked publishing defamatory material. However, in doing so, they lost the opportunity to add force to their stated connections with Pacific communities.

Like ethnic minority media elsewhere, most Pacific news media also could not say how they identified, assessed and served their target audiences more systematically in terms of

programme scheduling, forms of presentation, appropriateness of the medium and content, or which groups they particularly wanted to serve (Browne 2005, p.129). Few, if any, could afford audience surveys or ratings services and their information about their audiences was mostly impressionistic and anecdotal. Samoa Capital Radio, for instance, talked about serving the local community, but Nafiz's study (2012) found less than 9 percent of news airtime in a two-week period was given to local news and only three news items were from Porirua, the largest centre for Samoans in the Wellington region. Samoa Multi Media had registered with an audience monitoring group, but did not have the $5000 required to pay for the collated data, while data collected by Nielsen and sourced for this study was not fine-grained enough to warrant the effort or cost to producers[92].

This lack of formal connections and audience data did not appear to be a barrier to community connection. As Browne (2005, p.125) notes, the key to success in encouraging a community's support seems to be an outlet's ability to demonstrate its attempts to serve the community. Cohen (1985, p.98) argues that can be done in more of a cultural field than a structural form. Community ties exist in the minds of a community's members and need not be accompanied by geographic or sociological assertions of 'fact'; what is salient is not so much the substance of supposed community interaction, but more to the need to call it into being (ibid., p.110). What is more, the hierarchical nature of some Pacific cultures, particularly Samoan and Tongan (Mila-Schaaf 2010, p.108), facilitates the broadening of community from a few key relationships. Many Pacific news media had close informal relationships with key Pacific community figures, particularly in the church, which remains an important means of disseminating Pacific print media (Utanga 2007, p.20). Moreover, radio and smaller television productions, in particular, relied on community members, often elites such as church ministers and their wives, to appear as guests. In their study of Indigenous community media in Australian, Forde, et al. (2009, p.145) found that 'authorisation' by elders or those in the community who have the greatest respect was important when establishing Indigenous communities' ownership of their community media and it appears likely that the same is true here.

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[92] Nielsen's Pacific audience ratings for the state-funded programmes were too small to meet its data threshold and had to be aggregated with Māori audience figures as a condition of their release, which makes the data less useful to Pacific media producers.

Having said that, many Pacific producers' practices of community re-inscribed certain established versions of community (which account poorly for the shifting identity of New Zealand's Pacific youth) and so were a conservative force within a population that is changing significantly. Indeed, New Zealand-born, multicultural youth are hard to hear as being 'the community' in the quotes above. Almost all media interviewed for this study (Niu FM was a notable exception) admitted low or negligible youth audiences and little or no youth involvement in their production[93]. It is difficult to untangle whether this is about young Pacific people's disenfranchisement from orthodox Pacific identities and migrant culture, which privilege age and language proficiency as higher status (Mila-Schaaf 2010; Tiatia 1998), or about a generational drift away from news altogether. In their Australian study, Ang et al. (2006) found that *generation* more than linguistic or cultural background predicted media use, and young people were reading/watching/listening to increasingly less news and current affairs. Whatever the reason, in the New Zealand environment where Pacific youth comprise the greater proportion of the Pacific population, their absence raises awkward questions about the 'community-ness' of Pacific news media. If producers locate their media with narrow identities and (usually older) elites, they risk excluding younger Pacific peoples and, no matter how intimate their connection with the broader Pacific community, jeopardising the future viability of their media products.

Many producers were aware of this risk and some have taken steps to respond. *Pacific Beat Street* attempted to include Pacific identities that were less rigidly rooted in notions of 'home' or tradition, while *Spasifik* embraced a Polynesian identity that is more inclusive of Pacific peoples who also identify as Māori. News website *Kaniva Tonga,* which is not only produced in English for a Tongan audience but has a dedicated section dubbed 'Diasporic Pacific Islanders' for news about Tongans in New Zealand, the United States, Australia, and Tonga, speaks to a younger Pacific transnational identity described further below. Notably, some producers also appear to be building on social relationships and interaction to bridge their diverse communities. For instance, the youth magazine show, *Fresh,* pulls in different well-known Pacific people to front each of its episodes. For its five April 2016 episodes it included netball Silver Ferns Kayla Cullen and Grace Rasmussen, American/Samoan-heritage singer/songwriter J Boog, young South Auckland musician Giantkilla, young singer/actor Awhimai Fraser, actor Joe Naufahu and stars from the then recently released movie *Three*

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[93] Browne (2005, p.208) suggests this is a widespread pattern within ethnic media.

Wise Cousins, Fesui Viliamu and Vito Vito. Younger participants in this study's audience focus groups clearly loved the programme, describing it as "cool", "funky", "hard out" and *the* media that "does really engage with the younger generations like us". Part of that seemed to come down to the fact that it showcased people whom they knew and could connect with: "Oh like, get motivated with all the high up of Pacific Islanders"; "like having a famous person doing it is more attractive than someone off the streets that no one knows of". Some participants contrasted it with *Pacific Beat Street*, which they said was "boring" and "didn't really speak any of the language":

> Participant1: If you compare *Pacific Beat Street*, if you had a survey and you know, asked 'Oh, how do you feel about *Pacific Beat Street*? How do you feel about *Fresh*?', I tell you now, it's probably 70 percent of people would like *Fresh.*
> Participant2: *Fresh*, like they have like a different host. …They have a different celebrity. A well-known PI.
> Interviewer: Why is that important?
> Participant2: Because it gets youth more involved in the language and stuff. Also if they see their, you know, a celebrity presenting the show, they sit there and say, 'I want to aspire to be that person'. You know what I mean? _Audience focus group

It is notable that some of these younger participants still saw the programme as a vehicle for traditional cultural forms, such as Pacific language, but not in a way that excluded them. Instead, because *Fresh* packaged traditional culture with a greater range of identities (transnational Pacific Rim, multi-ethnic and Māori), and an in-group prototype of urban youth, the show appeared to have a better fit with second-generation Pacific youth[94]. It may be that its sister outlet *TheCoconet.tv's* interactive connections with audiences (it invites audience members to contribute their own video stories) may do the same thing. If so, this would balance out the dominant Pacific identities that are also present on the site (sections dedicated to brushing up on basic Pacific languages, 'knowing your roots' and learning "age-old Pacific traditions and customs" via 'how to' videos).

Pacific communities and Pacific media

Pacific audience focus groups also talked often about community and Pacific media, and for them it was in terms of the affective dimensions of Pacific media as a strategic resource for building Pacific connections and a secure sense of belonging (tūrangawaewae). The sense of belonging and pride in one's group are key aspects of ethnic identity (Phinney 1990, p.507).

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[94] Neilsen figures below demonstrate that *Fresh* out-rates *Tagata Pasifika* and its predecessor, *Pacific Beat Street.*

In the New Zealand context where Pacific peoples are marginalised, Pacific media provide points of recognition through which individuals can affirm their self- and in-group identities: "it is that sort of familiarity and just the commonality that when you're listening you say, "Oh yeah" – it's sort of a sense of belonging". At the most basic level, Pacific media restore Pacific peoples to the media frame and in doing so affirm identity: "I like seeing brown faces. I mean that's really attractive to me"; "just seeing your own reflection"; "validation"; "I like watching him because he's a Samoan. He's brown"; "It's the places and voices that are part of your everyday life." By providing positive (or at least neutral) representations in the face of stigmatisation in other media, Pacific media also provide the positive in-group prototypes that enable in-group definition and internalisation of social identity (Mora et al. 2016).

> We already know how dire our statistics are and we don't need to continually have that repeated through to us, and we need to be refreshed. We need to be reassured that there is something better out there and that definitely – because I actually see the negatives as far as what we are attuned to in a daily life because I mean I'm watching the news practically almost every night if I can … and then just to watch *Tagata Pasifika* as well when I do have the opportunity, it's actually being connected to what's actually happening in a positive way with our Pacific communities, because you need that. _Audience focus group participant

> Participant1: I always get a bit recharged watching [*Tagata Pasifika*] because it is positive, you know, and it makes you, you know, feel like you are, you know, you can do things and people out there are doing things --
> Participant2: And the negative's all already on.
> Participant1: -- because the negative, you can switch on any time --
> Participant2: You've seen it already
> Participant1: -- any TV channel you can see that. _Audience focus group

In her recent work on Māori Television, Smith (2016) suggests that this dissemination of positive representations is a crucial source of wellbeing for ethnic minorities.

> One cannot underestimate the value of strength-based representations of Māori people and things Māori when we take into account the longer history of Māori media representations, as well as the hostile environment that some Māori initiatives endure (p.105).

Pacific media also served a connective function for focus group participants to news and people from elsewhere. Not only, as is sometimes assumed, from the 'homeland' but also (or instead) from Pacific communities scattered throughout New Zealand, Australia, Western USA and the larger metropolitan Pacific Islands, such as Hawaii and American Samoa. Participants talked about "Pacific connection" in a broad sense. They wanted to "hear about how our people are doing", and "see how well our people are doing out there", and their talk

was about more than news from 'home.' Participants talked about looking for people and communities they knew as well as connecting with bigger or dispersed communities. For instance, among those based in Christchurch, where the Pacific population is relatively small, one participant looked in the international sections of Samoan-based media for people she knew from her Christchurch community to see how they connected elsewhere. Another followed *Tagata Pasifika* to connect to Pacific communities and culture in the North Island because, in Christchurch, "we don't have a strong sort of Pacific", and another looked to Pacific media to check how Pacific people fared in the 2010 and 2011 Canterbury earthquakes:

> You want to hear stories of how people are. If you can't see that anywhere else then you're kind of looking for – like especially when something's happened, when the earthquake happened, I wanted to know how people were in the east [of the city]. _Audience focus group participant

Younger focus group participants talked about making connections in ways that is not as well accounted for in the diasporic and community media literature, which has tended to focus on a binary division between homeland and host land media (Adriaens 2012, p.4). For a start, they looked for connections across ethnic categories, including a pan-Pacific category, and not just within specific ethnicities such as Samoan or Tongan: "It's good to know from not just where I'm from but, you know, the rest of the islands" – and across a multi-ethnic space and not just their parents' 'homeland' space.

> I think that in terms of the media that does really engage with the younger generations like us, programmes like *Fresh* that use to come up on Saturdays, those really engage with us. Shows like current affairs and stuff that school kids go for like sport – they covered like the Samoan and the Cook Islander – everything – and Tongans, like it was all good, eh. _Audience focus group participant

Often, it was assumed in producers' talk that Pacific peoples would be interested in 'news from home', but there is evidence to suggest (even from producers[95]) that this is not always the case, and that interest can be manifested in broader ways. Lee's (2004) research into transnational Tongan communities contends that Internet sites such as *Planet Tonga* and the now defunct *Kava Bowl* emerged as an important new means of communication among

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[95] A Pacific journalist who launched a short-lived Cook Islands newspaper in Auckland in the mid-1990s attributed its failure to young New Zealand-born Cook Islanders' disconnection with 'home'. He said they were not interested in what happened in the islands – they *"[didn't] even know their relations"* [my italics] – and they weren't interested in his newspaper: "People here just weren't interested in it, because they didn't know the issues, didn't know the personalities, had no connection to what we felt were serious constitutional, financial, political ramifications back in the islands … so that died a horrible death".

second-generation migrant Tongans, in terms of performing identity and a new global "emotional" community that stands in for significant and tangible transnational ties (such as remittances, kinship obligations, nation-building). The sense of what one's horizons are is hugely important, and to have a sense of being part of a cultural group that extends to Hawaii, Australia and the USA is a participation in the transnational that is potentially quite empowering. It is possible there is something significant in people's evolving notions of transnationality, both in terms of Pacific identity formation and the potential reach of Pacific media, which requires further research to pin down. At the very least, it marks a break with producers' instinctive sense of connection as back 'home'.

Many of these examples demonstrate the public work that builds the self-esteem of individuals in a group, gives a community a stronger, positive sense of itself (Hatcher 2012, p.140), and develops social ties and civic engagement within a community. Notably, producers and audiences alike saw *Tagata Pasifika* as a key cultural resource for this work. Most focus groups talked about watching *Tagata Pasifika* communally as a family, often with young people told to watch it with their parents.

> In the early days, parents would say, "Oh, we always used to get up on a Sunday morning and we'd get up before church and the kids would have their breakfast and watch *Tagata Pasifika*", and we'd just laugh about it, but you know what? The kids who watched it as kids, they're watching it now and forcing their kids to watch it. _Pacific broadcast producer

The programme was used as a strategic resource by parents who attempted to bind their family to a Pacific identity through an outlet that valued their traditions and, possibly, showcased their home islands ("it's about as close as they can get to their homeland"). The ceremony of watching was intended as a cohesive force of the imagined Pacific community (Anderson 1990). One young audience participant said she had grown up watching the programme: "It's just a habit. We've kind of done it and I always like when I watch it, just to get that Pacific kind of connection. And the music. It's just been habit and ongoing." Another young participant said he sometimes watched *Tagata Pasifika*.

> Because, that's – I quite like it (laughs). Sometimes it just has general stuff about what's going on in the Pacific community. I think it is quite important because, you know, we've got a lot of Pacific Islanders here and, yeah, my Mum always had it on (laughs). Just when it's on, I'd watch it. _Audience focus group participant

A *Tagata Pasifika* producer said audience research conducted by the programme had clearly shown that the older generation used the programme as a vehicle for transmitting cultural knowledge and forging a sense of belonging. Indeed, in all of the focus groups' talk, *Tagata*

Pasifika was a key referent of Pacific belonging and there was an implicit assumption that if you were Pacific, you would have watched it at some point: "They're talking to us. It's aimed at us and we know that." It is possibly the act of watching the programme, as much as its content, that is meaningful (Hermes 1995).

Much of this community-building work is about what Putnam (2000) calls *bonding capital* – reinforcing the ties of those who already identify and connect in-group. As previous chapters have shown, Pacific media tend to focus narrowly on elite and older generations' perspectives (see Chapter Seven) and their imagined in-group does not always accommodate other, more complex identities (Rosenberry 2012, p.38). As such, they may not do enough to provide the social capital sought by Pacific youth or mixed-ethnicity Pacific peoples. Indeed, this is where audience expectations of community-building appeared to diverge most from producers'. In audience focus groups, younger Pacific audiences tended to be looking for what Putnam distinguishes as *bridging capital*, that is, the work that reaches across groups or that attempts to build capital in a disparate or pluralistic group, such as the Pacific conglomerate. Yet, it was harder to see in a lot of producers' talk or practice the bridging work that allowed more complex views of 'Pacific community' and inclusion of New Zealand-born English-speaking Pacific youth or those who identify with multiple ethnicities (who tend to be excluded by the conventional representations on which much bonding practice is built)[96]. Hatcher (2012) suggests that bridging capital may be contrary to the mission of media that rely on a degree of homogeneity to build their sense of community. However, without the more open discourse that bridging practices entail, Pacific media may risk alienating some, especially younger, audiences.

Certainly, audience participants' use of Māori media raises some big questions about Pacific producers' potentially narrow community-building practices (and the way we imagine Pacific media as scholars). In this study's audience focus groups, six of 46 participants said they had used Māori news media in the previous week. At 13 percent of participants, that is a relatively small number, but it outnumbered those who said they had used Pacific newspapers (n=5) in the previous week, and equalled those who said they had used Pacific community radio

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[96] *Fresh* is one outlet where the identities on which community is built are relatively open (they embrace both transnational connections and Māori as well as Pacific urban identities) and therefore are more likely to avoid forcing audiences to make complicated choices between components of their identity and to affirm their experience of connection with a multiplicity of communities (Alcoff 2005).

stations (such as, Samoa Capital Radio and Radio Samoa). In fact, Māori media were ranked third as media most used by participants in the previous week, behind Niu FM (n=13) and *Tagata Pasifika* (n=11). Ostensibly, Māori media do not 'fit' the category Pacific media, yet they sit at the heart of audiences' reality of Pacific media, which suggests a problem with the ethnic media model[97]. It is likely that mixed Pacific and Māori ethnicity explains some of this: "We do watch Māori TV more, because my husband is Māori so they often – the kids, because of basic Māori language that they provide – so it caters for them." Sociocultural and historical ties between Māori and Pacific peoples also provide some explanation. When asked about Pacific audiences' use of Māori Television, a Pacific journalist said it was only natural that they would feel an affinity for the network.

> Producer: It's that whole thing with kinship ties with Māori and the Pacific region.
> Researcher: You covered the coronation and the Ashika ferry[98], and in depth, too?
> Producer: Yes, and I think because our Māori people are very interested in that and they don't forget those ties. Also, when we go up around the Pacific, when they hear we're from Māori Television, doors always open.
> Researcher: Why is that?
> Producer: Because they know that we're not Pākehā, they know we're not Palagi, and they know that Māori have had similar struggles. It just gives you a different identity, because they're used to dealing with colonisers. Once again, there are things that we don't have to explain to each other; we can just get on with the business of the story.

Māori media also lack deference in their coverage and are more secure in their identity (they are not continually negotiating in the way Pacific producers said they were), which may also explain part of their appeal.

> Participant1: One thing I love about [*Te Karere*] is that the reporters just give it back, you know, straight. There's no – I mean from a Māori perspective, so they're talking about their – asking the questions that I would want to know ---
> Participant2: Yes, you're right.
> Participant1: So and that's why I like watching *Te Karere*. _Audience focus group

> Participant1: Yeah, to be honest, I use Māori media more than I have Pasifika because I just don't really like what's on the mainstream channels.
> Participant2: Yeah, I don't like what's on mainstream TV programmes
> Participant3: Yeah, and Māori TV has a lot more interesting programmes.
> Participant2: Yeah. They have a lot more independence. _Audience focus group

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[97] Pacific media such as *Niu FM, Fresh* and *Tagata Pasifika* (which is re-broadcast on Māori Television) also attract Māori audiences. Perhaps signalling its recognition of this affinity, in 2016, NZ on Air funded the youth programme *Fresh* from its Special Interest *and* Māori categories, and counted the programme in both Māori and Pacific programme hours (NZ on Air 2016).

[98] The 2008 coronation of Tongan King George Tupou V, and the 2009 sinking of the Princess Ashika ferry, in which 74 people died.

More research is needed to explain the apparent synergies here. Nevertheless, it was clear from audience focus groups that Māori media, like Pacific media, also provided an element of affective belonging and connection.

> I watch *Te Karere* regularly because it's issues that are off the plate and hot issues and then you've got a Māori perspective which I still find that connectiveness to, so I watch that regularly. _Audience focus group participant

> I think [MāoriTV] reach out to a lot of well, you know, diaspora like from all over, and I think Māori and Pacific cultures are quite similar. Like my Mum loves *Homai Te Pakipaki*[99]. She loves that … she watches it all the time but, yeah, I think they really do appeal to Pacific communities, definitely. _Audience focus group participant

> I know that with *Te Karere* there's only a select people that are watching it and they're all the same as me – well, they're brownies that are all watching *Te Karere* and it's like I know that the next house is the same and will have the same view as I do. _Audience focus group participant

Pacific participants' use of Māori media reveals a tension between their actual media uses and producers' understanding of their intended audiences, particularly their assumptions about how Pacific audiences locate themselves. Fleras (2015) has questioned the relevance of ethnoculturally specific media in the context of increasingly hyper diverse identities and multiple attachments, and argues that ethnic media must become "post-ethnic", that is acknowledge that ethnicity is but one component of multidimensional identity. Audience participants' clearly stated desire for (and use of) Pacific media suggests that ethnic identities remain important, but Fleras is right to say that the media that serve ethnic minority communities need to find ways of embracing complex identity positions to make their media more accessible. This is particularly important for Pacific media given the significant demographic shift within New Zealand's Pacific population. Empirical research on ethnic identity suggests the formation of ethnic identity is a developmental process that takes place over time as people explore and make decisions about the role of ethnicity in their lives (see Phinney 1990 for a useful summary of the literature). New Zealand research (Carter et al. 2009; Kukutai & Callister 2009) has found that multi-ethnic identity and ethnic fluidity is especially pronounced among younger people and among Māori and Pacific peoples, which suggests that this identity process is one that Pacific youth are *more likely* to contend with.

The talk of some this study's younger audience focus group participants suggests, too, that

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[99] A live television music competition.

this is an important process for them – and one that is sometimes enacted through media. Unlike older participants (who talked as if they were already stable members of the Pacific community), younger participants talked about using Pacific media as a resource for building their as-yet uncertain ethnocultural identities and for social integration. For these participants, their sense of belonging was not a given but work in progress and they consulted Pacific media to fill the gaps of what it meant to be Pacific in an in-between space – neither island-born like their parents or 'Kiwi' like their white New Zealand-born peers.

> I look for stories that kind of celebrate [being a Pacific Islander] but not only celebrate it, just talk about it because I don't know much about it.... My Mum kind of adopted my Dad's kind of style of life and that kind of thing, so I've pretty much – I don't know very much about my language, very much about my culture or customs but I'm very interested in it, even so.... So I think it's definitely an avenue that we can learn more about our culture that we don't know much about. _Audience focus group participant

> From just going through the paper [for] something to do with Pacific community, then I'll take an interest. Because yeah, I kind of feel like, well that's my heritage. _Audience focus group participant

Media are not the only resource that Pacific peoples might draw on to build a secure sense of identity and community, but in the context of significant intergenerational and cultural transformation, they may be an increasingly important one. Macpherson (2004) suggests that the kin, village and church-based relationships that have provided Pacific social capital in the past are being eroded. Increasing social and economic mobility has destabilised dense networks of kin relations, while commitment to Christian religion, which Macpherson describes as the 'social glue' of Pacific communities, was eroding (ibid., pp.151-152). The proportion of Pacific peoples who said they had no religion in the New Zealand Census grew from less than 8 percent in 1996 to 17.5 percent in 2013 (Statistics New Zealand n.d [2013 census]). Tiatia (1998) has further suggested a widening gap in the church between island-born elders and New Zealand-born youth. Indeed, in its 2006 snapshot, Statistics New Zealand (n.d. [2006 census]) said about 9 out of 10 Pacific people who said they had no religion were New Zealand-born and concentrated in younger age groups (about half were aged under 15). In this context, Pacific media have the opportunity to play a greater, and more inclusive, role as resources with which New Zealand-born youth[100] can negotiate their identity

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[100] Some older focus group participants asserted their social and cultural capital by saying they did not need Pacific media because they relied on "coconut Wi-Fi". "We don't hear it from the news people…we hear it from the village"; "Communication is a natural thing in the Pacific communities. I mean the communities are coming

and their communities – which would tally with producers' discourse of 'service' above.

This study found that younger Pacific focus group participants were actively looking for media resources that could fulfil this function, and they were looking for them online. Younger audience participants wanted Pacific media to do more in the online spaces that were a part of their everyday reality.

> Going internet would be the best way of tackling the use, and just being youthy. [Interviewer: What do you mean by youthy?] Well a lot of, like me, for example, I'm not, can't really understand Samoan. And haven't been brought up with that kind of culture as much as I'd like to. Yeah, if they put on maybe Facebook or something that, yeah, own page, I'd be a bit more interested and maybe learn more things. _Audience focus group participant

> Like it's easier to just jump online and, I don't know, you could look at news stories of Pacific and that kind of thing … I think the media does teach a lot of people about the world. So I think it's, it's definitely an avenue that we can learn more about our culture that we don't know much about, you know. _Audience focus group participant

In this respect, young Pacific participants' practices are consistent with research elsewhere that has found that younger ethnic audiences are more likely to use online media than earlier migrant generations (Elias 2011; Natolo 2011). So, the opportunity is there for Pacific media to embrace their community-connecting role by providing more content – and content that builds bridging capital – in the spaces where Pacific youth are active. The risk, if they do not, is that it becomes another layer of potential alienation for digitally native young people (see Chapter Nine), and Pacific youth may simply take their attention elsewhere. Research by Drotner (2000) demonstrates that young people access the broadest range of media of any group, which suggests that their loyalty to any one media cannot be taken for granted. In Pacific audience focus groups, some participants were more likely to use Māori media and many used social media networks rather than Pacific media.

Tellingly, of the 21 focus group participants who were aged 30 and under, 14 had used Facebook in the previous week to follow news, 9 had used online sites to follow news (only one of whom listed a Pacific news site), 10 had used YouTube and only three (all island-born) had watched *Tagata Pasifika*. In group discussions, it was clear that Facebook and YouTube

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together all the time and.…exchange of information occurs without the need to have to resort to the media." These participants were secure and/or senior in their communities, which suggests the attachment function of ethnic media is more powerful for those with uncertain identities and/or status, such as mixed-ethnicity Pacific youth.

were go-to media for younger participants[101]. Several said that when they wanted to find out about Pacific news, they looked on YouTube first, *before* using specific news sites or search engines like Google. They used YouTube in an active way (rather than waiting for ambient news on their Facebook news feed or the news cycles of Pacific media outlets): "Yeah, YouTube, hard out all day". One participant said news relating to his community was more up to date on YouTube and used more by the community. "I always go through YouTube to see what video clips they have. It's the easiest to find, I think ... and it's something short and Pacific and, YouTube, they have more video footage and all"[102]. The appeal of some of these platforms, too, is their participatory nature. They are sites for not only following Pacific content, but also creating Pacific content. A *Tagata Pasifika* producer said young people were not following older forms of Pacific media (radio and television) but were increasingly making their own media online instead.

> That's where the future lies. If you want to go and have a look and see what kids are doing on YouTube, just type in the words Porirua or Otara into YouTube. You're going to see they're doing it themselves. And they can and they're good, and it's minority and it's fractured and all that but it's where it's at. It might not be your cup of tea. It certainly wouldn't be the older generations. _Pacific media producer

What this means, then, is that Pacific producers need to re-frame their sense of being 'out in the community' to accommodate these online spaces, which were clearly important community fora for Pacific audiences.

Drotner's (2000) research, which confirms that young people are the most active audience group in terms of media production, suggests that Pacific media, as part of their community-connecting practice, must also find ways to allow audiences to contribute their own voices and content. Smith (2016, p.48) proposes the idea of consumer sovereignty, where ethnic minority media become a portal for dissemination of community-based media content. She argues that this would enable wider dissemination of stories told from the 'flax roots' of society, and allow audiences to see themselves better reflected in – and as active agents of – media. Other research similarly suggests that news organisations can build real community connections with their readers by publishing citizen journalism (Meyer & Daniels 2012, p.208). Certainly, by contributing to the development of a wider creative sector, that could

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[101] NZ on Air (2015, p.9) reports that YouTube now rivals TV2 for children's viewing.
[102] Older participants also referred to YouTube as having a better range of Pacific material, and material that could not be found elsewhere: "If you go on YouTube today, Samoan, Tongan educational videos, you know, are released on to YouTube so that they accessible. They're quite good stuff. None of which appears or has featured or is spoken about…. That's what I do at midnight. I'm on YouTube."

also enact and extend the 'service' Pacific producers referred to above. Participatory models, such as these, challenge existing theories about what constitutes 'quality' content (Smith 2016, p.48), but newer Pacific media like *TheCoconet.tv* (see Chapter Two) demonstrate some of the ways in which connections can be made with communities by inviting content creation and interaction. The site describes itself as the "bare bones of a universe for online Pacific storytelling" and invites viewers to help fill it in with their own video uploads, stories, comments and shares. It also hosted an online talk show *#TeuilaTalks*, where actress Teuila Blakely led a panel of "Poly stars" and invited the public to join in a social media conversation on controversial topics that were considered "'too much' for conversation in our community". The topics included brown boys dating white girls or whether Polynesian women could be as sexually promiscuous as Polynesian men. In such ways, Pacific media might extend their community-building role into the digital space – and bridge the gap with Pacific youth.

Finding ways to incorporate networked communication, in particular, might help Pacific media strengthen their connection with community, and provide ways for overlooked community members to find a voice from which to renegotiate Pacific identities[103] (Waller et. al. 2015). Lowrey argues (2012, pp.99-100) that in identity communities and communities of shared interest that are neither geographically bounded nor strongly supported by structures and institutions (as is arguably the case for New Zealand's Pacific community), interpersonal networked communication becomes more central to the process of community and communication's role in that process. Yin's research (2015) into Chinese migrants' use of online media in New Zealand – along with Smith's (2016) identification of audience practices in and around Māori Television, which she dubs e-whanaungatanga – further demonstrate how social networking sites can help to provide immediate and intimate community connections.

None of this is to say that older media such as *Tagata Pasifika* are not performing this community-building function. In focus groups, almost a quarter of participants said they had watched it in the last week, and the talk across all focus groups underlined the prominence and status it retains in Pacific communities. For instance, one 24-year-old participant, who neither watched *Tagata Pasifika* nor followed it on social media, hunted it out after it

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[103] Although Carpentier (2011) suggests that the form of participation is important, as participation in media production equates to active engagement, while interaction with media content is more passive engagement.

broadcast a special episode on suicide, so that she could connect with what other Pacific people were saying about the issue.

> After the *Tagata Pasifika* suicide special, I went on their Facebook page. I didn't like the page because I don't watch it enough but I looked to see the comments because I was going to compliment them on the show because it was a really moving show, well for me it was. So yeah, I went on that and just read the comments. _Audience focus group participant

Clearly, the programme plays a community role, but, for various reasons, it operates in a way that is seen by some as constraining[104] and a bit stale (see Chapter Nine and the restrictive set of representations discussed in Chapter Seven). Certainly, *Tagata Pasifika's* ratings and social media reach compared with newer media offerings, though a crude measure[105], suggest the programme could be doing more to connect with Pacific audiences. Figure 3 (below) shows *Tagata Pasifika* had about a third of *Fresh's* audience numbers in 2015 and less than a fifth of its likes on Facebook. NZ on Air (2015, p.18) reports that *Fresh* boasts an online audience comparable to its average broadcast audience and some of its online clips generate tens of thousands or even millions of views. Similarly, *TheCoconet.tv*, which launched in late 2013, had four times as many Facebook likes as *Tagata Pasifika* and more followers on both YouTube and Instagram. In 2014, it had 1.5million visits[106] and an equal number of YouTube views (NZ on Air 2015, p.18). Likewise, the *Coconut Wireless,* a Facebook-based community noticeboard founded in 2014 to celebrate "OUR success utilizing Social Media to create a virtual village ONEHeartONEPeopleONEPacific", is one of the most popular Auckland-based Pacific media on the social network platform (Neilson 2015).

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[104] *Tagata Pasfika's* timeslot is clearly an issue for audiences, with many participants stating that as a reason for not watching the programme.
[105] All of these will include non-Pacific users, for instance, as well as people who like within Facebook without necessarily watching or listening to the original programme or station.
[106] It averages 70,000 users/viewers a month.
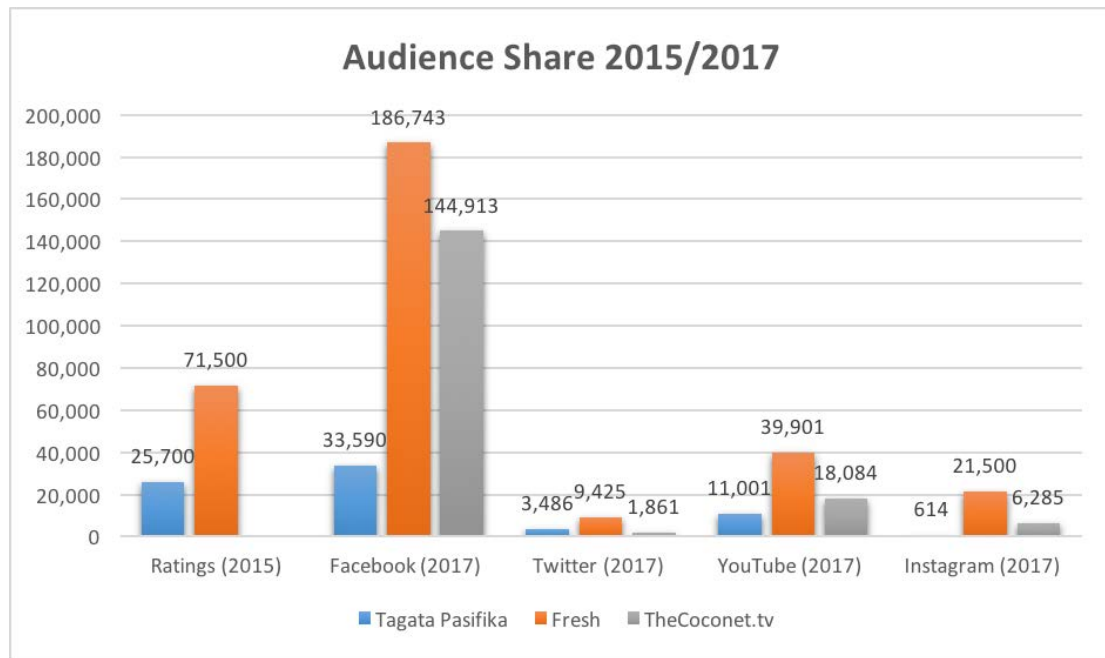
Audience Share 2015/2017

Figure 3: Audience share for *Tagata Pasifika, Fresh* and *TheCoconet.tv* 2015/2017[107]

The dynamics at play here are varied and complex (and include, as discussed earlier, external forces such as pressure from funders, structural issues and so on), but these figures demonstrate how questions about producers' imagined audience and community-building role become more pointed in the context of a mediascape under pressure from audience expectations around newer media. Young people, in particular, are heavy users of social media. In New Zealand, Nielsen research has shown 81 percent of 16-24-year-olds access Facebook daily (StopPress 2015). In the USA, 82 percent of 18-29-year-olds use Facebook, compared with only 64 percent of 50-64-year-olds (and on other social media their heavier use is even more pronounced[108]), and most of them are likely to get their news on the site (Gottfried & Shearer 2016). Without wanting to over-generalise or overstate the character of the so-called digital generation (see Buckingham 2006), there are lessons here for Pacific media.

Further research is needed to explore how 'virtual' community connections, digital interaction and collaborative content creation might strengthen the community-building role of Pacific

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[107] Ratings figures are taken from Nielsen (2016) data for the 2015 year and count audience across TVNZ's channels and Māori Television. Social media figures are taken from a snapshot of each outlet's respective social media site on February 7, 2017.

[108] 55 percent vs 11 percent on Instagram, 32 percent vs 13 percent on Twitter (Duggan 2015).

media – and whether Pacific audiences might find it easier to build a sense of identity and attachment/belonging via digital platforms as opposed to traditional media. Older research (Spoonley 2003; Lee 2004; Howard 1999) certainly suggests their potential for linking new Pacific identities/communities[109]. Elsewhere, Cover (2012, p.30) suggests that active participation in media-making among young refugees/migrants can provide valuable benefits for social empowerment and inclusion. Valenzuela et al. (2009) suggest that newer forms of digital media such as Facebook enable users to engage in behaviours that contribute to not only their bonding social capital, but also their *bridging capital*. However, there are enough signals in this study to suggest that the different ways some Pacific media are doing community on social media and participatory web platforms (effectively blending Pacific ideas of 'villageness' and being 'in the community' with Web 2.0 practices of participation and interaction) have the potential to bridge some of the gaps in producers' community-in-practice identified above.

Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates that Pacific media are key sites where producers *and* audiences negotiate identity, community and belonging. Producers expressed and practised a culture of community through discourses of "villageness", embeddedness and service, and community-oriented practices that continually generated and reinforced community ties, and blurred the line with their audiences. There is not an abstract public for Pacific producers, which arguably makes Pacific media distinctive, at least from the mainstream where journalists can be quite separate from those they report on. Indeed, these community discourses and practices are intimate locative performances – they are as much about developing, negotiating and reinforcing producers' own identities as they are about negotiating the identity of Pacific media and their imagined audiences.

Viewed from an audience perspective, it is clear that Pacific audiences look to Pacific media as key referents for identity formation, affective belonging and in-group membership (as is suggested in the literature discussed in Chapter Two). They use Pacific media as a strategic resource for building a secure sense of identity and attachment, and to 'imagine' their belonging and connection to Pacific communities. Audiences also use it in ways that do not

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[109] Though Chung and Yoo (2008 cited in Cover 2012, p. 30) suggest that audiences' primary interests of gaining information or being entertained mean they may be *less* likely to want interactive features than media producers whose aim is to build online communities.

necessarily involve 'consuming' Pacific media (for instance, using *Tagata Pasifika* as a conduit to community debate), and to make connections across ethnic categories and across a transnational space that departs from producers' sense of connection as 'back home'. Again, this role of building affective connections arguably underpins Pacific media's distinctiveness and relevance to Pacific audiences. However, the analysis above demonstrates that this role can be limited in practice. The narrow range of identities noted in previous chapters play out here in the communities that are reinforced, and it is distinctive that youth are relatively absent from some Pacific media audiences. In fact, despite their more intimate connection with Pacific communities, Pacific producers risk alienating Pacific youth (who are more likely to be mixed-ethnicity, New Zealand-born and have multiple attachments and/or identities). Alienation can occur through locative practices that are often more about *bonding* (and which reinforce orthodox in-group norms), rather than through practices that offer the social capital for Pacific youth to *bridge* their out-group status as Pasifika who may not know their Pacific language or culture.

Further research is required to explore these tensions, but the analysis here helps to underline how ethnic media are resources in the formation of identity and community belonging in ways that mainstream media perhaps are not, as least as much. It also suggests that Pacific media producers need to attend to this bonding/bridging contradiction – and that innovation in the online and social media space, where there are opportunities to expand and strengthen Pacific community-building practices, may be one way of doing that. Producers' sense of community service is key here, as it may provide the focus for broadening the range of identities/communities in Pacific media to better 'serve' Pacific youth. It may also be a means through which Pacific media producers can reconcile their emphasis on identity with audiences' emphasis on journalism, which, as the following chapter demonstrates, risks being marginalised when identity is understood in terms of culture rather than civic community and publicness.

Chapter Nine[110]: Pacific audiences' desire for news and a sphere of their own

> *Why can't we have it every day, you know? And why can't we just have updates every day of the news? I mean, I think Tagata Pasifika do focus on our achievements and all the good stuff that are happening outside, but I'd also like to see just updates on the news – what's happening in Tonga, Samoa in terms of the local stuff and that's where all the nitty-gritty things – all the daily news that we get here do, which is what the Māori TV have for their people and they've done so well, you know, why can't we do the same?* _Pacific focus group participant

Gaps in the literature on the relationships between ethnic media and their audiences mean there is much we do not understand about audiences' content preferences and interests or media habits (Ogunyemi 2015). This chapter aims to address that gap with regard to Pacific media by examining how audience members value the material they get from Pacific media sources. By viewing Pacific media in this way, that is, from the "bottom up" (Madianou 2011), societal-wide ideas of journalism and publicness come into sharper focus. Indeed, this chapter suggests that ideas of journalism are more central to ethnic audiences' assessments of ethnic media than may be accounted for in some ethnic media research (see for example Hanusch 2014; Shumow 2010). Focus groups held with Pacific audiences at several urban centres in New Zealand found participants routinely used the idea of journalism in evaluating Pacific media. Moreover, journalism for them was a term defined to a significant extent by wider societal expectations around journalism, and not by their ethnic difference. They also clearly valued dominant Western journalistic values and standards at least as much as cultural traits or counter-narratives, and more than might be accounted for in the literature or Pacific media production practice. Indeed, widely studied ethnic media dimensions of community-building, cultural values and information deficit fall short of explaining Pacific audiences' emphasis on journalism. This directs attention to Pacific audiences as publics. When coupled with their appeal for a space in which they could work out internal issues, audience participants' talk reveals that Pacific groups are positioned in New Zealand publicness in narrow ways, which they express concern about through their frustrations with the journalistic depth of Pacific media and the neglect of Pacific perspectives in other media (excepting Māori media).

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[110] This chapter is derived, in part, from an article published online in *Journalism Studies* on 19 Feb 2016, available at: http://www-tandfonline-com.ezproxy.canterbury.ac.nz/doi/abs/10.1080/1461670X.2016.1146626

The chapter concludes that viewing ethnic media within categories of ethnicity or culture (as do funders, scholars and, often, media producers) only helps us so far. As the previous chapters have shown, a focus on ethno-cultural specifics in Pacific media production risks narrowing the range of identities and connections that are generated and reinforced – and alienating Pacific audiences, especially those who are second generation and subsequent. Through examining the intersection of media practices with the ideals and expectations of journalism and public debate, this chapter further questions how far we should foreground the specifics of culture in interpreting people's media use (or in funding and producing media content). In addressing this study's first research question about how we should understand Pacific media theoretically (RQ1), this chapter argues that we need to push the ethnic/diasporic/community/alternative media literature in fresh directions. It advocates a commitment to more empirical research to reorient the study of ethnic media away from a fixation on difference and towards people's actual media practices. We need to look at broader categories, starting with those that audience members themselves say are important. By paying closer attention to ethnic audiences' orientation to news media, this chapter suggests that ethnic media are more complex and, in some respects, more ordinary than is supposed.

As discussed in Chapter Three, studies of Indigenous and ethnic minority news media typically regard these types of media outlets as providing a voice to communities that may be left out of the discourse in mainstream national media (Shumow 2014). Definitions tend to emphasise their cultural preservation work and political advocacy, such as maintaining the language of an ethnic group and providing cultural and political self-representation (Browne 2005; Husband 1994; Riggins 1992) or providing a counter-narrative to dominant media and a space for empowerment (Hourigan 2003; Pietikäinen 2008). These aspects are clearly important and are mirrored to varying degrees within Pacific audiences' talk about media, but not in straightforward ways, particularly when it comes to cultural preservation. The analysis of Pacific audience focus group talk (discussed below) reveals that the cultural representations described in Chapter Seven risked appearing stale and overdone to some participants. In fact, there was a disconnect between what actual audiences said they wanted and the cultural performances Pacific media producers' imagined they wanted. Audience participants in this study said producers' cultural practices and representations sometimes turned them off – they were just too bright, too stereotyped, too "cliché, eh", demonstrating divergent understandings

not just about what constitutes Pacific culture but also its place in the mediascape. Empirical audience research elsewhere hints at a complex picture of minority audiences' motivations and media use, not all of which can be ascribed to or framed by culture or 'difference' (see Georgiou 2004; Madianou 2005; Arnold & Schneider 2007; Lewis 2008; Ojo 2006; Aksoy & Robins 2003). Indeed, Waisbord (2010, p.155) argues that, while particular traditions and cultures clearly infuse journalism with certain characteristics, we must resist examining media through an essentialist view of culture, which necessarily curtails critical reflexivity. As researchers, we must stay attuned to the fact that cultures and cultural identities are fluid, contested and in continual process – changing according to time, place and usage (Hall 1990, 1996a, 1996b). That is especially true in the New Zealand Pacific space, where there are significant differences between and within Pacific ethnic groups as well as debates over authenticity and tradition, which is often privileged as culturally representative (Underhill-Sem 2010, p.11).

Instead, when closer attention is paid to what these audiences said in relation to media (Couldry 2004), explanations emerge that are more closely related to journalistic functions (which have tended to be under-explored or overshadowed in the literature by a focus on other functions such as maintaining the language and culture of an ethnic group). Here, media audiences are not assumed to be filling the audience roles that producers set out, and their media use is viewed as part of their participation in society, not an activity apart. This chapter sets out to explore these complex practices by drawing on analysis of audience focus group discussion that identified several broad themes: alienation from mainstream media, affinity for Māori media, contested cultural frameworks, and frustration with the journalistic role and public sphere.

Audience views of Pacific media

All 46 focus group participants interviewed for this study said they had consumed Pacific media at some point, and 19 of the 46 said they had used Pacific media in the previous week, demonstrating that these media do form part of people's mediated participation in society, albeit in multiple and complex ways. Participants referred to recently using Pacific media to follow stories on topics as varied as climate change, suicide, Samoa's recovery from the 2009 earthquake and tsunami, education issues and sport. Of those who had used Pacific media in the last week, the majority (n=15) listened to a Pacific radio station. Most (n=13) listened to the state-funded Pacific broadcaster Niu FM and a handful listened to the smaller stations,

Samoa Capital Radio, Radio Samoa and Radio Ivanui. More than half (n=11) watched *Tagata Pasifika,* New Zealand's longest-running Pacific television news and current affairs programme (notably, six also said they had watched Māori television news), five read Pacific newspapers and only two said they had followed a Pacific news website.

Audience participants' talk about Pacific media and their media use reflected the literature on ethnic media in several respects. Participants felt a deep-seated alienation from mainstream news media, typically describing mainstream media as untrustworthy and racist and their portrayal of Pacific peoples as non-existent at best, or negative and stigmatising. Indeed, NZ on Air's stock take (2012a) of news coverage on Pacific communities referred to in Chapter Two bears this out. Focus group participants were clear that if they followed mainstream news, it was in a detached way. "It's not my news", was a widespread theme. Indeed, participants in every focus group talked in terms of looking for news about Pacific peoples and issues in mainstream media but rarely finding it. Mainstream media had little room for them: "They don't cover most of our stuff. There are various things that are important to each ethnic group that should have been covered, but they do not do that".

Instead, participants described various practices of searching for alternative sources of news where Pacific peoples were visible and that was connected to their daily lives and communities, "Like 'the taro is arriving in Auckland'... It's community-centred. It's not about what's happening in the world". They also looked for news that demonstrated Pacific values of family and community service as well as a familiar socio/political outlook: "That the journalist who is asking the question … it would be the same questions from Porirua as a single mum asking, 'Why?'". Participants looked for news that reflected themselves and captured their lives and their concerns, mostly in Pacific media but also in Māori media (see below), and much of their talk was about the trust, credibility and belonging (the connections discussed in Chapter Eight) that came from the shared experience and worldview they recognised in those news sources.

In such ways, Pacific audiences' talk reinforced the functions described in the literature of providing self-representation and counter narratives to dominant media representations. Audience talk also reinforced the earlier finding of the meaningfulness of media that are embedded in community and proclaim themselves as the heart of community. There was less clear support in their talk, however, for the emerging scholarly emphasis on the importance of

culture, argued for instance by Hanusch, (2013b) who calls for a renewed focus on culture in his paper on the influence of culture and cultural values on Māori journalists' professional views and practices, and Kenix (2013), who argues that culture is central to how journalism is conceived by audiences and journalists and, in her study, more influential than organisational norms or professional orientation. The absence of ethnic or cultural identity explanations about their media use in audiences' talk might indicate the extent to which cultural values and practices are taken-for-granted by participants. It may also reflect the extent to which New Zealand has become increasingly 'brown' and super diverse (Chen 2015); against that background of apparent multiculturalism, discourses of separation may recede from people's everyday talk. However, the fact that participants did not talk in terms of culture-as-thing also raises questions about what we mean when we say culture shapes how people use and make sense of media.

Notably, talk about language and the cultural markers of Pacific media was not volunteered; mostly, it was prompted by researcher questions about what made media 'Pacific' and, then, participants talked most about "perspective".

> But I think also the thing is that to hear it from a Pacific perspective is that they've been through that as well so they can understand, whereas to hear it from Petra[111] would be a different – she has no idea of the community that I live in. She can talk about it, but I won't have any trust in what she says to having it from a Pacific person whom I know a bit of background and who has come from South Auckland. _Audience focus group participant

> What we see is like what Samoans see … like Samoans, they can live in a three-bedroom house with 14 people and they're happy, you know, that's their family. They don't care – for them, it's a roof, it's warmth, you know. But for mainstream people looking at it, they think that they're like at a low place in life you know: they're poor or they're all cramped up in that one house. Culturally it's different just how we look at things. _Audience focus group participant

> It is important for the information to be delivered by a Pacific person … and that they understand having been raised in that community and understanding how that community operates. _Audience focus group participant

While this concept of perspective partly reflects a cultural framing of news, participants often described it as a worldview shaped as much by socio-economic context as by culture. For instance, as noted in Chapter Eight, participants spoke of the appeal of Māori media, which

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[111] Petra Bagust, a television presenter best known for her role as co-presenter of TVNZ's morning show *Breakfast.*

represent a different cultural framework and ethnic community but speak to a shared Māori and Pacific experience of being brown, marginalised, and having poorer economic circumstances than the overall New Zealand population (Statistics New Zealand & MPIA 2011). Participants said Māori television programmes spoke to people, "the same as me – well, they're brownies", and asked "the questions that I would want to know" as opposed to mainstream media, which had "no idea of the community that I live in… South Auckland".

Interestingly, participants said they found the news that was relevant to their daily lives more often in Indigenous Māori media than they did in mainstream media. Pacific audience participants reported watching or following Māori Television's current affairs show *Native Affairs*, TVNZ's *Marae* and *Te Karare*, iwi radio stations Tahu FM and Kia Ora, as well as the former iwi radio and now commercial station Mai FM. In a 2011 survey of Pacific peoples' views on Pacific broadcasting (NZ on Air 2012a) more than 70 percent of respondents said they watched Māori TV for "Pacific programmes", making Māori TV their second-most-watched television channel.

As noted previously, the appeal of Māori media problematises our assumptions about ethnic categories and definitions of ethnic media as media produced *for* a particular ethnic community (Matsaganis et al. 2011, p.5). In terms of ethnic categorisation, the boundaries between Pacific peoples and Māori are fuzzy (evidence, if more were needed, of the inadequacy of essentialist definitions and fixed identity categories). In the 2013 Census, 37.2 percent of the total Pacific population identified with more than one ethnic group, including Māori (Statistics New Zealand 2014), and a significant part of the Pacific population is also part of the Māori population (Statistics New Zealand 2012). Younger, New Zealand-born Pacific peoples, particularly those with mixed Pacific ethnicity, are increasingly adopting a shared 'Poly' or 'Nesian' identity that has more in common with young urban Māori than their parents' and grandparents' identities and traditions (Anae 2001; Macpherson 2001; Spoonley 2001). In such ways, ethnic identity is neither exclusive nor fixed and is, as Aksoy and Robins (2003) suggest, likely to be just one of a number of drivers of media consumption.

Certainly, the Pacific audiences studied here made media choices that cannot be explained simply in ethno-cultural terms. Participants' talk suggested that the appeal of Māori media was partly about familiarity – they were simply more likely to see themselves in Māori media than in mainstream channels. They were also more likely to see coverage of issues that

affected them and within a socio-political framework that resonated with them. Māori Television, for instance, re-broadcasts *Tagata Pasifika* and highlights Pacific news (such as the Pacific Forum meetings, Pacific music awards, the Pacific games and Pacific language weeks), and two of its *Native Affairs* reporters, Iulia Leilua and Adrian Stevanon, are both Pacific heritage and former *Tagata Pasifika* journalists.

> I don't know any Cook Islander that doesn't watch *Te Karere*, doesn't watch Māori TV. Because what's that news all about? Just Māori. Things that are important to Māori. Seldom do you have mainstream issues. The only mainstream issues are the, you know, State Owned Enterprises. The sale of assets, that kind of stuff, which impinges on Māori rights. But otherwise nothing's the same, so entertain, kept up to date with what the community wants, so it's relevant for today. _Audience focus group participant

Significantly, Māori media were also considered by several participants to be more culturally accessible than Pacific media. For instance, one young participant, who, like many her age, was not fluent in her Pacific heritage language or culture, said she preferred Mai FM over Niu FM because it was more inclusive.

> I think it's probably because it isn't so Pacific. Like, I know that sounds really bad but it's kind of like, it seems quite inclusive as well because they also reach Māori people but also like it's all encompassing and they also play like well modern music kind of thing and like I'm not really a fan of old school Samoan. I feel really bad saying that but I'm not because my Mum always used to play it and I just, it just doesn't really appeal to me (laughs), I'm sorry to say but yeah, I listen more to Mai, I have to say. _Audience focus group participant

This quote is instructive – she feels a need to apologise for and negotiate explanations of her media use, which says a lot about how people's complex situatedness culturally is played out on the field of their media use. For Pacific youth, Māori media are brown enough to appeal (more than mainstream media) yet distant enough to avoid questions of 'fitting in' and authenticity. It appears that Māori media may provide a space for some that is both familiar *and* free of the discomforts associated with not fitting the identities prescribed by Pacific media.

The quality and breadth of journalism in Māori news media was also a factor. Pacific audience participants said they followed Māori media because the news was relevant, and also regular, more up-to-date and more in-depth (see more on this below).

> I watch *Te Karere* regularly because it's issues that are off the plate and hot issues and then you've got a Māori perspective which I still find that connectiveness to, so I watch that regularly. But with *Tagata Pasifika* it was only once a week and really it

doesn't bring in all the hot issues that are happening now and that's why I watch *Te Karere*. _Audience focus group participant

Participant1: Yeah, to be honest, I use Māori media more than I have *Tagata Pasifika*, because I just don't really like what's on the mainstream channels.
Participant2: Yeah, and Māori TV has a lot more interesting programmes.
Participant3: Yeah. They have a lot more independence.
Participant1: So diverse, what they have on it. _Audience focus group

It's better than *Tagata Pasifika*, Māori current affairs…. It's got more content and it's not just trying to flash through 30 issues at the same time. It recognises that it has time for three or four issues. So while there's no, there's not the kind of depth you'd have in mainstream, there's four consolidated minutes on this issue. It's not a magazine show. That's what *Tagata Pasifika* is. _Audience focus group participant

Indeed, audiences' use of Māori media has implications for their sense of participation and being spoken to and being informed, and it is an area that merits much closer study in future research.

As Chapter Six found, language was a key focus for some Pacific producers (as it has been for ethnic media researchers; see for example Cormack 1998; Cormack & Hourigan 2007; Davila 2001; Moran 2006). Language did figure in audience participants' talk but in ways that were contested and hard to pin down – and which demonstrate the dangers, as Madianou warns (2011), of focusing on groups or identities as homogenous or privileging cultural practices that are neither straightforward nor uniform. If we want to avoid essentialising, then we need to understand the value of these media for people by listening to their accounts of how they use them.

Participants described a range of language practices, from an ideal of fluency through basic conversational understanding to simply being able to pronounce Pacific words correctly. In such talk, they revealed complex negotiations of identity and group-boundary setting and an interesting Catch-22 for ethnic media. When asked to specify the media they had used in the last week, less than a quarter of participants listed Pacific language media. This was despite almost three-quarters of participants stating they had a good understanding of or fluency in, a Pacific language. It was clear that language loss among those who were New Zealand-born was a significant barrier to their Pacific media use. Most young New-Zealand-born participants could not follow media in a Pacific language: "I just wish it was more accessible because I know I can't learn Samoan. Like, I have been trying, but I can't learn it in a quick amount of time." Even participants who described themselves as fluent speakers said they

struggled to read in a Pacific language: "Samoan is a second language so it takes a lot more time ... so I just look at the pictures."

Though only a minority of participants said they had used Pacific language media, *most* saw it as the natural role of these media to foster Pacific languages, and several called on Pacific media to provide more language instruction: "Because it gets youth more involved in the language and stuff"; "That's the main problem that the youths today – their mother tongue, they've lost it." On the face of it, such talk appears to support the language mission defined in the ethnic media literature, but it should not be overstated. Participants' talk may say more about the cultural capital available through claiming or aligning with statements about language fluency in Pacific spaces (Mila-Schaaf 2010, p.262; Southwick 2001, p.125) than the role of these media in people's lives. Elsewhere (NZ on Air 2012a, p.37), Pacific audiences have said that Pacific broadcast programming should be focused most on language and culture, but when researchers interrogated that more closely, they found that language on its own was significantly less important than culture. This was, in turn, less important than Pacific perspectives and news and current events (which suggests these things are interconnected for respondents).

In this study, the apparent gap between audiences' idealisation of the language mission and their actual media practices suggests further study is needed. This is not only to test whether older definitions about ethnic media's language and cultural role can explain the place of ethnic media, especially in a wider context of generational language loss, but also to separate out these strands to better trace their specific and relative importance for people. The fact that producers of the state-funded national Pacific radio station Niu FM sought permission to relax its language programme targets suggests that talk about what media should do does not necessarily match up with Pacific realities. At Niu FM, at least, producers found that Pacific language use was turning listeners away: "Once you start pushing language at our audience they just switch off" (Interview with Niu FM producer, 2011).[112]

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[112] This tension is mirrored elsewhere, for example at the Indigenous Māori Television Service. Launched in 2004 with the explicit aim of contributing to language revitalisation, it created a second te reo channel in 2008 for fluent Māori language speakers and second-language learners in a bid to manage the competing tasks of programming for language revitalisation and programming to build and maintain audience share (Māori Television Service 2008).

Valuing quality journalism

Significantly, rather than foregrounding culture in their talk about Pacific media, a stronger theme about which participants not only spoke more often but also spoke without prompting, was a bundle of issues that the analysis here gathers together under the theme of journalistic quality. Discussion in every focus group turned to various aspects of the content and format of Pacific news and media outlets' journalism practices. In particular, participants talked about Pacific media with regard to their lack of timeliness[113], their perceived amateurism, their outdated practices (particularly how they were not up-to-the-minute with the digital formats and platforms that participants used in their everyday lives), and a lack of reporting depth, especially on social issues.

> I'd like to see all facets of our Pacific community, not just the achievers and the scholarship winners. I get tired of that... We've got massive issues in housing and education and social areas, but you don't want to just hear the politics of that or solutions to that; you want to hear some stories about the struggles and in between. _Audience focus group participant

Participants used the idea of journalism in evaluating Pacific media – "there's not the kind of depth you'd have in mainstream" – and used it in terms that would be unremarkable for any other audience group in New Zealand. Journalism for these participants was defined by wider societal norms as giving a critical, comprehensible and accurate account of daily events and current affairs, and disseminating relevant news and public information in a timely fashion (Bardoel & Deuze 2001; Urban & Schweiger 2014): "I'd like to see what's hot, and what's hot and on top right now, not like from a week ago."

To be clear, participants articulated their critique within a Pacific-only space and it is unlikely they would have voiced the same critique in a predominantly Pākehā forum, especially given their strong assertion of ownership and loyalty to Pacific media. Regardless of whether they consumed these media or were satisfied with the news these media produced, participants routinely described them as "our media" and there was an implicit expectation that Pacific peoples should know them. The strength of one's ethnicity/Pacificness hinged to some degree on one's recognition of these media as important cultural objects. This echoes NZ on Air's findings (2012a, p.5) that Pacific audiences' criticism of the depth of Pacific radio and TV coverage did not dampen their enthusiasm for "connecting to their Pacific identity and communities across all formats".

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[113] Interestingly, Misajon & Khoo (2008, p.462) note that Pinoy TV, Australia's only Filipino-Australing community television producer, cut its news content partly to alleviate the problem of the show being outdated/date-specific.

In research with disadvantaged youth, Banaji and Cammaerts (2014, p.15) suggest that stringent critique towards the news media and journalism may indicate a heightened sense of critical citizenship; that is, those who are most pathologised by news, and who see themselves as negatively represented, are most likely to show disaffection and critique. Certainly, the dominant talk that took hold in focus groups was that Pacific media failed to match up to audiences' desire for high-quality journalism in key respects. First, they were seen as outdated – their formats and styles had not changed, and their technology was "behind the times". "You would have thought we would have evolved", was a typical comment. Participants, most of whom described their media habits as web-based, wanted more news online, news alerts on their phones, Pacific news apps, and a more sophisticated social media presence from Pacific media than was offered[114]. Perhaps it is not surprising then that only two of the 19 focus group participants who said they had used Pacific media in the previous week had followed Pacific news online.

In fact, as described in Chapter Two, it was hard for audiences to access Pacific media and news content. Many had not found long-standing and relatively prominent Pacific media such as *Tagata Pasifika* online, ("Can you watch it online? Is it online?"), while others said unfriendly programme schedules made it too hard to follow Pacific programmes on linear television.

> That programme *Fresh* I thought was pitched perfect for me, but it's on at the wrong time. That's the main thing. It's Pacific youth-based but most Pacific youth on a Saturday morning won't be watching TV. They might be out with friends or they don't even know it's on at that time. I've never seen it advertised that much. _Audience focus group participant

> One thing I was following was the Samoan Independence celebrations – I was trying to look for you know coverage of the day and *Tagata Pasifika* had some, so that's trawling for that, but there was very little other information other than people putting their own videos online. _Audience focus group participant

> In terms of access too, [mainstream media] are much better than Pacific media. When I talk access is that international radio they get their news straight away, you know, but Pacific media it gets to them second and stuff. _Audience focus group participant

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[114] This corresponds with a NZ on Air survey (2012a, p.26) where Pacific peoples said they wanted good quality material that was relevant, topical, entertaining and informative for Pacific peoples – and they wanted it delivered using new forms of media and technology, with a strong presence on the Internet and social media, and mobile devices.

Pacific audience participants were similarly critical of Pacific media's perceived amateurism relative to other news outlets. Some described presenters at the main Pacific broadcasters as weak – unable to carry out a proper conversation and handle debate or complexity – and the community newspapers and radio programmes as often inaccurate.

> They've either got to train up and have apprenticeship type things to really boost their skill base – but I actually think they just don't know what they're doing because they think that their accent is what's getting their audience. _Audience focus group participant

What is notable here is that participants measured Pacific media against mainstream (and Māori) news media and their norms. While they expected Pacific media to be different from mainstream media in some respects – subject matter, point of view – that did not equate to a different expectation of quality journalism.

> I'm quite selective now because we have this mainstream that we've been kind of adapting to for so long and then having something that doesn't quite [live] up to that standard will really annoy me. _Audience focus group participant

Ethnic or in-group connection and loyalty to 'our media' were no substitute for the journalism that participants said they wanted – and wanted more often.

The desire for up-to-date news was a common refrain in focus groups. Many Pacific media publish or broadcast only weekly and their news has often been reported first elsewhere (often in mainstream media). Browne (2005) and others (Kailahi 2009; Utanga 2007) have shown that ethnic media outlets typically lack enough trained staff and are too poorly resourced to undertake much of their own reporting and instead pull news second-hand from other sources. *The Coconet.tv's* blog is a good illustration of this. A snapshot of its stories revealed that it produced less than half of its content, and more than a quarter of its stories were sourced from mainstream media (see Chapter Two). That means that news reports can be quite old by the time audiences see them, which clearly frustrated participants in this study: "Why can't we just have updates every day of the news"; "We're getting it too late, you know"; "I want to know what's hot right now in Samoa or in Tonga or whatever. You know, we need to be update right now". It also means that content is less likely to have the Pacific perspective that audiences say they want.

Van der Wurff and Schoenbach's (2014) large-scale survey in the Netherlands suggests that audiences value journalism that not only disseminates the news as quickly as possible but that interprets it as well. Media talk within the Pacific focus groups suggests Pacific audiences similarly valued a more interpretive role for Pacific news media. Participants demanded more detailed analysis of news and current affairs and more coverage and interpretation of social problems and the "nitty gritty" of Pacific peoples' lives. They repeatedly voiced frustration with Pacific media outlets' false positive image of their communities, which they said focused too narrowly on inspirational and feel-good stories: "It's all a bit celebrate, festival events-based rather than what's the nuts and bolts of the politics that's going on." As previous chapters and Ross (2014) reveal, Pacific media producers felt a need to portray their communities in a positive light, usually to combat stereotypes or negative representations in mainstream news or to provide positive role models for socio-economic advancement, which mirrors findings in studies of ethnic media elsewhere (Daniels 2006). Focus group talk suggested Pacific audiences similarly felt there was enough negativity on the mainstream news, but, for them, that did not rule out analysis and deeper exploration of the hard topics: "They need to be a little bit more open … because we tend to focus on the positive we are actually not really covering the reality – that life for Pacific people is quite difficult". By attending to what ethnic audiences say about news media, it becomes apparent that both aspects need to be heard.

None of this is to say that the cultural dimension of ethnic media is not important. Clearly, for Pacific producers, cultural factors were very important (Chapter Six and Seven; Ross, 2011 and 2014a), and it is probable that they are important to audiences also, perhaps in different ways and in ways that are harder for audiences to articulate. However, by viewing ethnic media through the prism of audience members' talk, we can see people from multiple perspectives at once. Clearly, while the Pacific participants in this study spoke in terms that linked to a number of widely studied ethnic media dimensions such as language, they *also* spoke in terms that foregrounded aspects of media that are neither particular to ethnic media nor participants' ethnicity and culture. Indeed, a 'bottom-up' approach allows us to rethink the explanatory power of essentialising categories of culture and ethnicity, which can only help us so far and which risk being a lens of difference. As this analysis shows, accounts about the culture of a Pacific person in New Zealand must also include having access to good journalism, high-quality information and, as the discussion below argues, public debate.

This study's finding of strong audience demand for more accessible and high-quality Pacific journalism raises key challenges for media producers and funders who have prioritised cultural dimensions that may exclude, both materially and symbolically, the very audiences they hope to reach. The view that the role of ethnic media is more cultural than journalistic can have significant effects on Pacific audiences. For instance, Pacific media producers often value specific cultural skills over journalism skills, preferring to hire someone with language fluency over someone with journalism training or experience (Utanga 2007, p.26), when audience participants' demand for higher-quality journalism suggests this may not always be the best approach. NZ on Air research (2012a) found Pacific peoples had a stronger preference for news and current affairs than language and culture per se:

> In terms of perceived gaps in programme content, the various fono expressed a wish to listen to and watch more in-depth coverage of Pacific issues or issues from a Pacific perspective particularly in the form of documentaries, in-depth interviews or extended features items (p49).

Nonetheless, many of the structural features of Pacific media, including their regulation and financing (see Chapter Two), favour a cultural focus – where 'cultural' is interpreted in ethnic categorising terms. Cultural elements such as targets for Pacific languages are embedded as priorities in the establishment deeds and state funding contracts of several Pacific media, which further works against Pacific audiences' desire for more news and current affairs. For instance, the state-owned Pacific Media Network is required to report against language targets of at least 4100 hours of Pacific language annually across Niu FM and 531pi. However, given the majority of Pacific peoples in New Zealand cannot hold a conversation in their heritage Pacific language (Statistics New Zealand, n.d. 2013 census), that means significant portions of the network's programming is in a language that cannot be accessed by more than half of the Pacific population.

Funding mechanisms that appear to give quality news and current affairs less priority than language and cultural performance further reinforce these incongruities. NZ on Air's funding for *Tagata Pasifika,* which does most of the heavy lifting in terms of Pacific journalism, appears to be lower than its funding for other programming, which may be an effect of seeing them as community (rather than public service) media. From 2011 to 2016, *Tagata Pasifika* received between $1.49m and $1.69m annually to produce 52 to 54 shows, amounting to $28,846 to $32,003 a show. That funding was often less per programme than NZ on Air's funding for *Fresh*, a youth-oriented magazine production "with a light-hearted take on Pacific culture and events" (NZ on Air, n.d. Fresh). *Fresh*, which is funded under NZ on Air's

Special Interest and Children and Young People's (and, in 2016, its Māori) categories, features lighter news, such as profiles of 'Poly-Kiwis' "who through their performance in arts, music and sports have put Pacifica on the cultural map" (ibid.). Per half-hour programme in 2016, *Fresh* was paid $46,089, almost 1½ times the $32,003 granted to *Tagata Pasifika*, despite the fact that the latter show attempts more in-depth and investigative journalism, which generally costs more to produce than entertainment programmes (Hamilton 2009; Jeffery 2009; Matheson 2010)).

Tagata Pasifika				
Year	Annual NZ on Air funding	No. of 30-min shows	Funding per show	% change funding
2011	$1,499,994	52	$28,846	
2012	$1,547,898	52	$29,767	
2013	$1,544,912	52	$29,710	
2014	$1,598,872	54	$29,609	
2015	$1,641,392	53	$30,970	
2016	$1,696,165	53	$32,003	
				+11%
Fresh				
Year	Annual NZ on Air funding	No. of 30-min shows	Funding per show	% change funding
2011	$731,656	32	$22,864	
2012	$800,613	32	$24,034	
2013	$1,143,848	20	$40,030	
2014	$1,143,000	25	$45,753	
2015	$1,143,890	25	$45,755	
2016	$1,843,571	40	$46,089	+102%

Source: NZ on Air (n.d. Annual reports)

Table 6: NZ on Air funding for Pacific special interest TV programming 2011-2015

What is more, the funding for Pacific programmes does not appear to be keeping pace with inflationary pressures. In the six years from 2011 to 2016, *Tagata Pasifika's* funding increased by only 11 percent. This figure is less than the rate of growth in wages over the same period (Reserve Bank of New Zealand n.d.) and, very likely, not enough for the programme to keep pace with rising production costs as well as the cost of developing expensive investigations and new online products. Interviews with producers, as well as the state's 2014 request for proposals for *Tagata Pasifika* and *Fresh* (NZ on Air 2014b), suggest it is often the case that external funders are more focused on cultural representation and

performance than journalism. Consequently, ethnic media producers, who already face significant structural and funding constraints, are unlikely to get the resourcing they need to produce the high-quality, in-depth journalism (and original content) that audiences say they want.

Valuing a sphere of one's own

All of this leaves Pacific peoples in something of a news and information gap between mainstream media that rarely speak to Pacific communities or issues (see Chapter Two) and Pacific media that face key constraints both reporting on and for their communities *and* providing a space for debate, deliberation and public connections. In terms of the democratic and public sphere functions of news media, that has important implications. Normative theories of a socially responsible media suggest that news media constitute the civic culture and public spheres that are vital for democracy (Dahlgren 1991, 2002, 2005, 2006; Fraser 1992, p. 125; Lewis 2006; Waller & McCallum 2014), and there are strong arguments that marginalised communities have *more* need of this role. Waller and McCallum (2014, p.20), for instance, note that because marginalised groups typically have limited access to formal channels of influence in government bureaucracies compared with established interest groups, the news media have extra importance in conveying their concerns to policymakers. That said, it appears from the analysis above that Pacific audiences' expectations are much higher than structural forces or policy instruments seem to allow, and they are positioned as second-class in relation to news products.

Audience participants saw mainstream media spaces as alienating and Pacific media spaces as second-rate. Significantly, they were also potentially turned off by some Pacific media's openness to outside view. Where Pacific language media seemed able to raise and debate contentious issues relatively free from the scrutiny of those outside their community (but only within a smaller circle of Pacific language speakers), English-language Pacific media, which have the biggest audiences and broadest (pan-Pacific) community reach, were exposed to the gaze of outsiders, potentially dampening civic debate and deliberation. Several focus groups said that exposure to outside view limited their ability to debate issues that were "important to us who are there but they're not actually the things you show the rest of the world." This concern was not shared in all focus groups, but it is worth discussing here briefly, as it raises key questions about the civic role of Pacific media within a marginalised context.

English-language Pacific media appear to act as something of a shop window for the Pacific community. Some audience participants expected that there were things that should not be shared in that unrestricted space with a non-Pacific 'them' that could be better shared in a more private space with an in-group Pacific 'us'. To an extent, this caution may be a result of the insecure socio-political position of Pacific communities and their marginalisation in mainstream news. Focus groups were hypersensitive about negative stories and several talked at length about the harm done by well-known stories such as TVNZ's 2009 'Gangs and Drugs in Samoa' expose (Broadcasting Standards Authority 2010) and mainstream media coverage of the "hip hop grant" scandal in 2004 (Whimp 2008).

> Participant 1: It still hurts. I mean even people who aren't family or you know, just being brown and living in Christchurch, it still hurts what happened with that, because I think the effects of it, to our perspective, to the general perspective, was so blatant. It really rankled that one.
> Participant 2: Yeah, it did stigmatise Pacific people. 'Oh, don't give them funding.'
> Participant 3: Oh, yeah. It stopped a whole heap. _Audience focus group

Stories like these had significant impact and had clearly sensitised some audience participants to negative attacks within news media.

Audience participants' sensitivity about the appropriateness of sharing tricky content in open Pacific spaces sat alongside their suspicion that producers' representations were sometimes tailored for a dominant audience, rather than Pacific audiences. Many participants expressed frustration with what they described as the false positive representation of their communities through stories that were either too celebratory or too narrowly focused on high achievers and/or arts and cultural performance, and some felt these representations were aimed at addressing an outside view. For example, participants said that *Tagata Pasifika* played too much to what they described as the "tourist perspective".

> Tourist perspective being, obviously the dominant culture viewing us as people who just dance, sing and chant and all of that scenario. So I sort of wonder if maybe *Tagata's* other angle of actually putting on those dances and whatever to also try and attract the dominant culture .... I don't know, but I just feel that we are so much more than that and maybe we need to actually incorporate a lot more of the realities of what we are encountered by on a regular basis. _Audience focus group participant

> My Palagi friends who see TP love it because they otherwise never see any Pasifika stories, while some of my Pacific friends think it feeds the stereotypes of brown people only liking brown things and that it's somehow unusual to find Pasifika professionals or successful business people etc., or that not knowing a language makes you somehow second-class. _Audience focus group participant

Audience figures for *Tagata Pasifika* (see Table 4) demonstrate that the majority of the programme's viewers are not Pacific, leaving plenty of room for people to feel 'exposed' (indeed, in the 15 years of broadcast from 2001 to 2015, the show's combined Māori and Pacific audience has accounted for less than half, and usually less than a third, of the overall audience[115]). Elsewhere, a *New Zealand Pacific* producer said the newspaper had a sizeable Pākehā audience and Pākehā advertisers, for whom it tailored stories.

The discussion here does not attempt to reconcile these tensions. Rather, the aim is to demonstrate how Pacific audiences are positioned in a conflicted space by dominant forces in society, with English-language Pacific media caught between Pacific audiences' demand for more in-depth and investigative journalism that addresses the tough issues in their communities *and* the same audiences' misgivings about the dominant group's scrutiny of such journalism-led debate. These tensions suggest that Pacific audiences have few fora in which to enact everyday citizenship (particularly to learn about and debate issues, and agree on solutions to social problems). This situation raises questions about the narrow way Pacific groups are positioned in New Zealand publicness and how specialised communicative spaces or counter-public spheres actually work in practice for marginalised groups. The issue is how those tensions are addressed, and for a marginalised group of peoples, that is particularly difficult.

Dahlgren (2005, p.152) and Curran (2000, pp.140-141) argue that marginalised groups require separate spaces and specialist media where they can work out internal issues, debate issues of identity and express politics that are oppositional to the dominant mainstream. However, it would appear from audience participants' concerns above that the existence of a separate ethnic media is no guarantee of an empowering public sphere. For instance, Pacific media do tackle controversial issues, but it is clear that is not easy for them. The Māori and Pacific web magazine *e-Tangata* ran an in-depth interview with New Zealand-born Samoan rugby player Eliota Fuimaono-Sapolu, which challenged the 'White history' being taught in New Zealand's schools and became the site's most popular story. But *e-Tangata* co-founder and editor, Tapu Misa (quoted in Neilson 2015, p.53), said the site struggled, because of lack of funding, to tackle the issues it would like to: "We've concentrated mainly on profiles and

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[115] Nielsen would not provide Pacific audience numbers as the data was too small to meet the minimum sample size it requires; instead it provided overall audience numbers and a breakdown of Māori and Pacific audience from 1995-2015, which obscures what are likely to be higher Pacific audience figures.

Q&A interviews, because it's the most do-able, cost-effective way of getting our thinkers and movers and shakers on to the site". Indeed, the structural positioning of Pacific media in ways that make it harder for them to sustain high-quality journalistic informational outputs poses significant questions about the limits of media power for Pacific communities. Shah (2008) suggests that news media can mediate the effects of background factors on the public-mindedness and civic participation that underpins a group's advocacy for itself, but the findings above suggest that Pacific audiences may have insufficient access to these levers.

Arguably, the constraints identified in this study have the potential to exacerbate already low rates of Pacific civic participation in New Zealand. Pacific youth, particularly boys, are less well prepared for their roles as citizens, scoring particularly low in civic knowledge scores (Lang 2010) and, despite Pacific peoples' reasonably healthy interest in politics, they remain significantly more likely to be non-voters compared to the general population (Iusitini 2013). Couldry argues (2005, p.304) that the health of democracy depends upon the quality of news and information that people receive, and the meaningful discourse and debate it engenders. That Pacific communities should be as under-served as appears to be the case here has important implications for the healthy functioning of New Zealand democracy – especially as ethnic minority groups such as Pacific are growing as a proportion of the New Zealand population (Statistics New Zealand, 2015). It may be that this is where Māori media fulfil a role for Pacific audiences – by providing extra and alternative avenues for their sense of being informed and for participation. If so, that raises some big questions not just about producers' imagined audiences but also about the practices of funders who have largely categorised and funded Pacific and Māori broadcasting separately[116] through NZ on Air's special interest categories budget and Te Māngai Pāho's[117] budget. This sits in contrast to public service models such as that in the UK, where broadcasters have a remit to speak to all of society, or Australia, where the SBS has a remit to speak to a wide and diverse range of publics.

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter, in light of the strong theme of journalistic quality in audience participants' talk, has not been to contradict earlier theories about ethnic media but to advance

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[116] In a notable departure from that trend in 2016, NZ on Air funded *Fresh* through two funding channels (Māori and Youth), and counted its hours in both Māori and Pacific programming hours (NZ on Air 2016, p.74-75).

[117] Te Māngai Pāho is a Crown Entity established to make funding available to the national network of Māori radio stations and for the production and broadcast of Māori language television programmes, radio programmes and music recordings (Te Māngai Pāho 2016).

the idea that we reassess them in light of the practices of journalists *and* audiences alike. My aim is to argue, as Steenson and Ahva (2015, p.14) have elsewhere, for an audience-inclusive aspect to theorising journalism. Without that lens, the role of Māori media within Pacific media practices would otherwise remain hidden, yet, clearly, it is fascinating and demands further research.

Furthermore, by revealing audiences' concern for journalism, which departs from the cultural motivations that are assumed of ethnic media use, this chapter also suggests that we need to soften the scholarly hunt for what is *different* about ethnic media. Definitions based on difference risk overlooking commonalities between dominant and ethnic media (such as a shared desire for up-to-date and relevant news) and exaggerating the 'otherness' of ethnic minority and Indigenous groups (Smith 2012). Pacific audiences' desire for news that is appropriately culturally framed, for instance, does not preclude a desire for news that also meets quality criteria (Urban & Schweiger 2014, p.823) of timeliness, comprehensibility, relevance and accuracy. That said, there is a risk that we have overlooked the importance of the journalistic functions of these media – and risk doing just the kind of essentialising of cultural categories that we as ethnic minority media scholars seek to avoid.

Chapter Ten: Conclusion

This thesis set out to explore New Zealand's Pacific news media and their audiences and to contribute to a theory of Pacific media. It reveals a media sphere that is more diverse than is sometimes assumed by scholars or policy makers and one that faces several challenges. Like other ethnic minority (or as this study has termed them, identity) media, Pacific media are small and their income is slight and often tied to sponsors or funders in ways that weaken their independence. Their capacity to do journalism or respond to digital transformation is, as demonstrated throughout this study, often limited. Unlike other ethnic minority media, such as Latino media in the USA or Turkish media in Western Europe, New Zealand's Pacific media are also discrete; most do not have parent companies in the 'homeland' on which to call for financial or production support or content. That means that what they do for their New Zealand-based Pacific audiences matters, especially as these audiences are poorly served by mainstream media and have limited choices with regard to media imported from the relatively less well resourced Pacific region. On top of these structural challenges, Pacific news media are grappling with significant digital transformation of the media ecosystem *and* significant intergenerational and cultural transformation within their target Pacific population. As such, these media, especially those that serve more than one ethnic group, are required to be many things for a population that is scattered and tremendously diverse, and which does not always agree on what counts as Pacific journalism – only that it wants more of it. All of which makes Pacific news media a noteworthy case study.

Answering the research questions

Because the scholarship on ethnic media is fragmentary, sometimes essentialising and, often, an awkward fit for the New Zealand Pacific context, this thesis draws on it in a way that is sensitive to practice and driven by listening more than theory. Similarly, it pulls together theories about audiences, social and cultural identity and post-colonialism, as well as critical and practice theories, to problematise Pacific media as an object of study. This requires sensitising existing theoretical models to the Pacific media category, and foregrounding the need to study Pacific media in relation to practice and (because they are the media of a marginalised group) issues of power and structural inequality. As such, it attempts to examine Pacific media by paying attention to what Pacific peoples say and do in relation to media. This comes as much from a commitment to a Pacific research methodology as it does from

simple pragmatism. Attending to people's understanding of their media practices is the most useful starting point for teasing out some of the problems with the literature *and* remaining open to people's practices in relation to Pacific identities, cultures and media, which can be complex and unexpected.

RQ1) How should Pacific media be understood theoretically?

The first research question stems from unease with a tendency in the literature toward homogenising and essentialist explanations for ethnic media. By exposing different practices and tensions within Pacific media, this thesis argues, first, that we must work from theories that can foreground diversity, complexity and dispute. It highlights the increasing use of English language in Pacific media and raises questions about explanations that assume cultural motivations for ethnic media; when media are not primarily about language or cultural preservation, other explanations are required. Likewise, it problematises assumptions about the diasporic role of Pacific and other ethnic media in providing links to a 'homeland' by demonstrating Pacific producers' and audiences' diverse orientations toward domestic, 'homeland' and international communities and locales. Instead, it argues that the various discourses and practices of language, 'homeland' and 'Pacificness' identified in this study might be understood as *locative practices,* that is, strategic practices of identity and connection that are tightly intertwined with ideas of community, interrelationship and one's 'place to stand' (both in terms of one's foundation *and* one's right to speak). When viewed in light of the journalism and Pacific fields within which Pacific news media position themselves (and are positioned), we might also see these locative practices as responses to the expectations of each field.

As such, this thesis argues that it is not enough to take language, diasporic or professional functions at face value; the diverse practices found in this study suggest we need to look for more complex explanations that can account for the heterogeneity of ethnic media and their audiences. Indeed, to better theorise ethnic media we need to step back from a lens of difference and cultural explanations that tend to over-simplify and essentialise. That is not to say that we must reject extant theoretical perspectives, but that we must attend more critically to the complexity and fluidity that typifies the multi-ethnic dynamics of diverse societies. Significant intergenerational and cultural change within New Zealand's Pacific sphere requires a more nuanced understanding of cultural practices than that afforded by more essentialising functionalist research, while audiences' use of Māori media, which suggests

that other ethnic media can be read in 'Pacific' terms, requires a rethink of ethnic categorisations. Similarly, audience demands for higher quality journalism, which cannot be pigeonholed as ethnic, require explanations that are not based on 'culture' or ethnicity. Thus, we need to reorient the study of ethnic media towards people's actual media practices and what they themselves say is important to open up (rather than narrow) the ways we think about identity media. By paying close attention to what people say and do with and around media (Couldry 2011, p.226), we might, more helpfully, see multiple perspectives at once and move beyond the explanatory power of categories of ethnicity and culture, which can only help us so far. We might also bring into sharper focus the underlying power relations that enable and constrain marginalised groups' negotiation of identity. Locative strategies are one way to describe that media of negotiation.

RQ2) What role do Pacific media play in the construction of Pacific identities?
It is clear from the analysis of interviews with producers and audiences, as well as media texts (see Chapters Six to Nine) that Pacific media play a key role in the construction of identities; indeed, they are powerful symbolic referents of Pacific identity. Media producers were deliberately intentioned in their (re)production of Pacific identities and saw their media as an important forum in which Pacific peoples could see and hear themselves, especially given they were largely invisible elsewhere. Producers felt a strong sense of responsibility in this mission, and their personal identities were intimately entwined with it in ways that are not immediately evident for mainstream journalists. Like ethnic and Indigenous producers in Australia (Forde et al. 2009), Pacific media producers interviewed for this thesis had a close identity with the communities they drew on – "we live what our listeners live," said one – which, with further study, may prove to be a defining characteristic of marginalised identity media.

Significantly, though, this study found that the identity practices within Pacific media can be surprisingly narrow. An thematic analysis of *Tagata Pasifika* and *Spasifik,* which might be assumed to be the most inclusive Pacific media (because they speak to the broadest Pacific audience), revealed that producers drew at times on a narrow range of identities. Pacific ideologies of the proper ways of being Pacific, dominant ideologies of 'race' and ethnicity, and wider structural forces work to restrain some versions of Pacific identity and maintain other often orthodox and narrow identities. As a result, these media at times risked excluding some people, particularly those who are New Zealand-born and less likely to have a Pacific

language, those who are urbanised and less likely to have strong connections with a 'homeland', and those who are mixed-ethnicity and, therefore, more likely to identify with more than one or a hybrid ethnicity.

Interviews with Pacific audiences found evidence that some younger participants did feel distanced by some Pacific media practices. Crucially, however, these young people continued to seek out Pacific news – often on social media or on digital platforms – and demonstrated a clear need for content that spoke to their concerns and identities, and that could bridge the gaps in their sense of identity and belonging. This thesis argues that it is this role as a strategic and symbolic resource in people's identity formation and affective belonging that is one of the key features of Pacific media. This role may transcend actual consumption of these media, as evidenced by the fact *Tagata Pasifika* had become a key referent of Pacific community irrespective of whether people watched the programme. Further ethnographic research is needed to explore in more detail the tensions identified in this study between producers' tendencies toward bonding practices and younger Pacific peoples' apparent need for bridging practices – as well as the extent to which Māori media may provide these for Pacific youth.

RQ3) What role do Pacific media play in the construction of community?
This thesis understands identity and community as tightly interrelated. Both are relational and underpinned by our sense of belonging and tūrangawaewae, and they are structured by (and structure) our locative practices. It is not surprising, then, that Pacific media are key sites where producers and audiences negotiate identity and attachment *and* community and belonging. However, by teasing out producers' community-oriented practices for closer examination, it is apparent that, regardless of their media outlet's type and size, producers perform a community-building role that is intimate in its relationship with their imagined audience. Pacific media are more like smaller, hyperlocal community media in the closeness of their relationship with their communities (Rosenberry 2012, p.25), and what is significant about this finding is that this appears to have little to do with their geo-locale or the scale of their media product. Even larger nationally focused media like Niu FM were akin to small community media in their outlook and practice of community. This finding demonstrates that the weakening of the barrier between audiences and producers identified by Forde et al. (2009) is not confined to Indigenous media, but is a characteristic of other identity-based media, too. As already stated above, Pacific audiences looked to Pacific media to 'imagine' their belonging and connection to Pacific communities and to build their secure sense of

community. Coupled with the intimacy of producers' identity work, it is possibly this community-building role that underpins the distinctiveness of Pacific and other ethnic minority media. However, as this study observes, that role is potentially undermined by Pacific media producers' tendency toward narrow or closed discourses of identity that fail to engage with those who cannot tick off conventional markers of Pacific identity (such as ability in a Pacific language, connection to ancestral 'homeland' and so on).

RQ4) What role do Pacific media play in the everyday lives of Pacific audiences?
The low consumption of some Pacific media suggests this question needs further study and a larger study of Pacific audiences would be a fruitful area for future research. Nevertheless, this thesis' work with Pacific audiences suggests two key roles for Pacific media. First, Pacific media provide fora for people to experience a sense of pride and belonging (especially in the face of being written out of other news), and a strategic resource to shape their belonging and connection to Pacific communities, particularly as other institutional resources that might be called on, such as the church, appear to be eroding. This role is notable for its ordinariness in people's lives. Audience participants drew on Pacific media in these ways not just at moments of crisis or major events, but in everyday practices of searching out familiar Pacific names and faces in news content and in small, sometimes ritualised, moments, such as gathering around *Tagata Pasifika* with family.

Pacific media also perform a second role that is less well accounted for – they remain a key site of Pacific people's publicness in New Zealand. This thesis finds that, although frustrated with the limitations of Pacific media to perform the journalism and public debate they wanted, audiences looked to Pacific media (and, interestingly, Māori media) to fulfil their expectations for timely, in-depth and high-quality journalism, and for a space in which their communities could safely debate issues and enact their citizenship. It is clear that more can be done to realise this role, not just on the part of Pacific media producers, but also funders and policy makers, who bundle many different communities under their umbrella 'Pacific'.

Wider contribution and discussion
Contribution to the literature
This thesis contributes to the scholarship on Aotearoa/New Zealand media by examining a broad range of Pacific media and their audiences to fill some of the gaps in our knowledge about Pacific media in Aotearoa. No other study has examined as wide a range of media, or

connected production, media texts and audience practices, and in this respect, this research maps new terrain. The study reveals a greater degree of diversity than the literature might lead us to expect as well as tensions within and between different Pacific media, and between media producers and their intended audiences.

It also contributes to the wider scholarship on ethnic media in several key ways. First, it cautions against transposing literature from melting pot cultures such as the USA or post-colonial urban populations such as London to New Zealand. Western theories, for instance, are not fully adequate to understanding the broader meanings of Pacific peoples' locative practices, which are underpinned by concepts (va and tūrangawaewae/tu'ungava'e) that are grounded in a southern Pacific context. Likewise, they do not adequately explain Pacific audiences' close affinity for Māori media, which is grounded in the specific situation of Pacific peoples' socio-cultural relationship with Indigenous Māori (as 'Tangata moana'[118]) and their socio-political coupling, particularly in the South Auckland setting, as the new disenfranchised urban 'brown' (Brown Pulu, 2002)). Second, this thesis adds to the wider scholarship by researching audiences. There are few empirical studies of ethnic media audiences, and it is hoped this thesis contributes to our understanding of what people say and do in relation to ethnic media *outside* of the production context.

By highlighting the various tensions within and between different Pacific media, as well as between producers and their intended audiences, this study also helps us to rethink some of our explanations for ethnic media, which can suppose a homogeneity or essentialism that is belied by the diverse and contested practices revealed in this thesis. The widening gap between producers' and younger audiences' language practices, for instance, complicates our assumptions about the centrality of language and cultural preservation for ethnic media and their audiences. Additionally, the discovery that some people perform their identity through a form of recognisably Pasifika *English* (see Chapter Six) provides an interesting avenue for further research on the actual role of language in different media: How is language and identity practised differently across generations in relation to ethnic media? How is English performed differently by different media, and can it be said to be performed 'ethnically'?

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[118] A Tongan reference to Pacific oceanic groups, including Māori, that captures the inter-relatedness of their pre-colonial histories, languages and cultures, and which maps the Pacific as belonging to the first tangata-groups who navigated its oceans and settled its islands (Mahina 1999 cited in Brown Pulu 2002, p.24).

Georgiou (quoted in Matsaganis et al. 2011, p.261) predicts that generational change, and the consequent shifts in ethnic identity as younger generations replace first migrants, is the biggest challenge facing today's ethnic media. This study provides evidence that it is, indeed, a key challenge for Pacific media, many of whom are struggling to attract younger audiences (and suggests, below, several ways in which they might serve younger Pacific peoples).

Significantly, the findings in this research about the ways Māori media are serving Pacific audiences raise some big questions about the way we imagine Pacific media as scholars – and, by extrapolation, how we imagine ethnic minority media. Viewed purely on ethnic grounds, Māori media are not Pacific, yet it is clear that they sit at the heart of Pacific audiences' reality. Neilsen ratings and the hosting of *Tagata Pasifika* on Māori Television suggest a notable audience crossover between Māori and Pacific media, while audience focus groups demonstrated the significant appeal and use of Māori media by the Pacific audiences interviewed for this study. This does not fit the ethnic media model, which is a cul de sac for the purposes of teasing out this phenomenon and suggests a need to get out into the wider mediascape to better understand the media needs, uses and meanings of a group such as Pacific in New Zealand.

Taken as a whole, this study pushes the ethnic/diasporic/community/alternative media literature in fresh directions by, first, breaking down definitional categories. It makes a case for re-theorising ethnic/diasporic/community/alternative media in ways that can better account for diversity and complexity, as well as the changing nature of media and their audiences (regarding language, transnational orientation and so on). It also argues for more nuanced ways of understanding the identity work of ethnic media, whose locative practices encompass a sense of identity/community/'belonging-ness' that is not well accounted for in the existing literature. In fact, when we view people's practices, as Couldry (2004) suggests, as media-related and not necessarily in themselves *about* media, Pacific media emerge more clearly, not as diasporic or ethnic media, but as key sites of identity negotiation.

Contribution to practice

In the Web 2.0 era of cheaper-to-distribute content and participatory media, there are more opportunities than ever for niche media, and Pacific media have a head start in a couple of key respects. First, as this study demonstrates, they have a closer, more intimate relationship with their communities, which puts them in a better position to foster their audiences and, within

the limitations of Pacific peoples' relatively low incomes, develop membership and subscription business models. Haile (2016) says niche ultra-light media producers can leverage such models more effectively than those that depend on a mass audience – though, as this research also shows, Pacific media will need to do more to promote their presence if they wish to grow their audiences. Second, Pacific media have found their point of difference. They are more clearly differentiated from mainstream media and their content is potentially more recognisable. However, as this study highlights, as they devise products and aim at relationships in distributed media, there are some areas they might want to look at in terms of serving younger Pacific peoples: through language, both in terms of 'Pasifika English' and opportunities for more bilingual media practices; through transnational orientations that are broader than the traditional diasporic 'home'/'host' duality; by connecting on the digital technologies where audiences are already active; and by capitalising on affinities with Māori, such as *Spasifik* and *e-Tangata* have attempted.

Catherine Murray (quoted in Matsaganis et al. 2001, p.262) suggests that resources may need to be aggregated for ethnic media to grow[119], and there is some scope for Pacific media to work together, particularly in developing new technologies, to shore up their long-term sustainability. New Zealand on Air's Pacific Content Strategy (2012c) signalled the funder's desire to encourage content sharing and collaboration between Pacific media and, in 2015, Wellington's Samoa Capital Radio started providing six hours a week of programmes to the national Niu FM network to increase the Samoan-language content that could be accessed across the country, both on air and online (NZ on Air 2015). An audience focus group in this study further suggested tying together the Pacific television programmes *Fresh* and *Tagata Pasifika* to leverage off each other's strengths. Certainly, there is scope for more collaboration around training and capacity building in the Pacific media sphere. A Samoa Multimedia Group producer, for instance, said larger Pacific media could do more to help train smaller Pacific media, and it is clear that informally at least, *Tagata Pasifika* plays a crucial role as a training ground for Pacific journalists and media talent. This mirrors the significant contribution that Smith (2016) says Māori Television has made, as an employer and outlet for the independent production sector, to Māori development. Key Pacific journalists[120] have

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[119] Spanish-language media in the USA remain the powerful exception to the rule of small ethnic media with small, fractured markets and few easy growth opportunities (Matsaganis et al. 2011, p.263).

[120] Iulia Leilua, who was involved in *Tagata Pasifika's* first episode in 1987, went on to be a founding member of PIMA and Māori Television, and is now a reporter for the Pacific Radio Network and Māori Television's flagship current affairs programme, *Native Affairs;* longstanding *Tagata Pasifika* reporter and director Sandra

come through the programme and, along with the other main state-funded media, Niu FM, it has provided an outlet for other Pacific creative writers and performers to hone their skills and build their capital. Film-maker Nikki Si'ulepa credits *Tagata Pasifika* with developing her journalistic and directing skills (Thunder Productions n.d.), while writer/performers Robbie Magasiva, Shimpal Lelisi, Mario Gaoa, Oscar Kightley and Tofiga Fepulea'I have all had stints on *Tagata Pasifika* or Niu FM.

As this thesis demonstrates, however, New Zealand's Pacific media are not homogenous; there are clear tensions around language use and professional norms and it may be that their differences are too great to admit the development of more formal co-ventures. The practicality of enhanced collaboration between Pacific media would need careful research, not least to ensure that the close relationships they have with their audiences are not jeopardised by any potential partnerships, particularly given the split in practice identified here between media producers (depending on their orientation toward Pacific or journalistic fields). The lack of agreement about norms of Pacific journalism further suggests a need for a strengthened Pacific journalism association to foster standards and common ground between different Pacific media and, possibly, the collaboration discussed above. Ethnic minority media often struggle with financial, distribution and organisational difficulties, and other researchers (Bink, quoted in Matsaganis et al. 2011, p.260; Murray et al. 2007, p.134) have said they can benefit from supporting structures that provide training, representation and, possibly, self-regulation, as does the USA's more activist and service-oriented ethnic media association, New America Media[121]. If state funders are looking for ways to facilitate collaboration between Pacific media, it may be that support for PIMA as a professional hub is a good place to start.

This research has found that Pacific media have been slow to adapt to new technology, possibly because of a lack of financial and human resources (such as having staff with the

Kailahi has worked for various TVNZ news and current affairs programmes, helped form PIMA, sat on the board of the National Pacific Radio Trust, and now runs her own communications company; former *Tagata Pasifika* reporter Adrian Stevanon went on to report for TVNZ's *One News* and Māori Television's *Native Affairs,* and is now associate producer for TV3/Great Southern Television's current affairs show, *The Hui*; while *Tagata Pasifika* senior director Lisa Taouma has made documentaries and short films, helmed TV2's *Polyfest* and co-founded Tikilounge Productions, through which she produces the successful Pasifika youth-focused magazine show *Fresh* and the website *TheCoconet.tv*.

[121] New America Media is a national collaboration of and advocate for 3,000 ethnic news organisations. It was founded by the non-profit Pacific News Service in 1996 and partners with journalism schools to grow local associations of ethnic media.

digital media literacy to create and maintain online content and apps). Like ethnic minority media elsewhere (Matsaganis et al. 2011, p.256), they also risk falling behind media that have been quicker to adapt. For instance, many of the media included in this study had a relatively weak social media footprint, but social media are an increasingly important factor in search engine rankings. A high ranking on search engine result pages and website visibility through web searches are crucial for media organisations' online survival – indeed, search engines now function as gatekeepers to the digital audience (Giomelakis & Veglis 2016). Even those Pacific media that had established a strong online presence showed room for improvement in this area. The state-funded digital offering *TheCoconet.tv,* for instance, has built a high number of audience users/views, but its page/session rate and average session duration have been falling, and its bounce rate[122] has risen to 85 percent, which indicates the site is not holding onto its users as well as it might. Understanding how to improve these metrics will be crucial for the long-term sustainability of Pacific media online, especially if these more granular measures become part of the measures for continued NZ on Air funding (which, as *Pacific Beat Street*'s loss of funding demonstrates, is never guaranteed).

Moreover, having an online presence in the new media environment is not enough; news media must also be anywhere, anytime on any platform (Giomelakis & Veglis 2016), especially if they want to capture young audiences. This diffused model of content distribution poses several challenges for Pacific media. For one, it takes more time and effort to manage content across multiple platforms, which is difficult for small, under-resourced media organisations. The cost of access to social platforms is low, which allows more opportunities for Pacific media, but that same accessibility has also increased their competition. Pacific producers now compete for audiences with citizen journalists on Facebook and YouTube, who are often re-posting producers' own content. For instance, videos from *TheCoconet.tv* have been downloaded and re-uploaded in Facebook where they have had hundreds of thousands of views on other people's sites. That makes it harder for Pacific media to monetise their content and may also make it difficult for them to demonstrate audience reach to funders, as traditional metrics such as page views do not capture this traffic. NZ on Air has called for a content aggregator for Pacific media (NZ on Air 2012c), and evidence detailed in this study, such as Pacific media's poor visibility online and high use of mainstream media content, suggests they may benefit from greater cooperation and shared

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[122] Bounce rates measure the percentage of people who left a given page on a website without viewing any other pages and indicate a site's 'stickiness'. A high bounce rate may affect search engine rankings (Charlton 2016).

infrastructure and content. The fact that several media interviewed for this thesis have folded, and that the long-running flagship television programme *Tagata Pasifika* is steadily losing audience, further underlines a need for strategies to navigate the rapid changes in the media environment and wider pressures on news media revenue (Myllylahti 2015; Bell 2016).

Contribution to policy

This study's demonstration of audience frustration with the amount and quality of Pacific journalism that is available to them, and the lack of fora for well-informed debate on Pacific news and current affairs, suggests a further need for state funders, policy makers and regulators to rethink how they support Pacific media interests. Livingstone and Lunt (2011) argue that the focus of policy deliberation is too often on the regulation of provision – a top-down perspective that views audiences as mere receivers of content – and fails to consider audience participation, the mediation of social relations or provision claimed to be 'in the public interest'. This research suggests that policy makers and funders need, at the very least, to reflect on the cultural lens through which they define Pacific audiences and their needs. Despite a commitment to diverse content in its Pacific Content Strategy (2012c), NZ on Air often talks about cultural rather than news content. Indeed, it funds *Tagata Pasifika* not through its news funding category but through its special interest category[123], where it talks about New Zealand's "diverse *cultural communities* and minority groups" and the "*high cultural value*" of the Pacific programmes it funds. In its showcase of *TheCoconet.tv*, it says the site has helped to address major gaps in Pacific content by reconnecting "Pacific youth with their *culture*"; and in its Pacific content strategy, it talks about the need for collaboration with "*cultural* agencies" (my italics). However, a focus on cultural content risks overlooking audiences' desire for stronger journalistic content and a robust public sphere.

As signalled elsewhere (Hesmondhalgh & Saha 2013, p.193), this focus can also have a damaging effect on the politics of representation, "where issues of discrimination, exclusion, and social justice are marginalised in favor of a raceless, commodified version of (multi)cultural difference". It risks excluding youth and future audiences, as cultural categorisations often translate into narrow identity representations and closed discourses of authenticity that tend to exclude New Zealand-born Pasifika. And it tends toward an essentialism that might prevent synergies with Māori media when this research clearly shows

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[123] Contrast this with TV3's Māori current affairs programme *The Hui,* which is funded under both NZ on Air's General and Māori News/Current Affairs categories.

an overlap between Pacific and Māori media interests and potential for identifying Pacific audiences in less traditionally 'cultural' ways to appeal to younger Pacific (and Māori) audiences[124]. These problems suggest that Western societies need to think about their non-dominant media, which serve many communities, in ways that do not essentialise them but see them as part of society as a whole, without subsuming them.

Further exploration of the possibilities between Pacific and Māori public spheres might also provide a starting point for analysing the interrelationship of New Zealand's communicative spaces (Pacific, Māori, mainstream and so on) and their interaction with wider public opinion. To what extent, for instance, does coverage of issues in *Tagata Pasifika* reach and inform coverage in mainstream media, let alone inform mainstream debate? What does it mean for Pacific audiences as citizens when their interests are overlooked in mainstream media but Pacific media are too small for their voices to be heard within the political sphere? Waller et al. (2015) make a distinction between ethnic peoples' participation as involvement in the production and dissemination of media, and participation as political influence (that is, the attention and responses of decision-makers and democratic institutions), and argue that both are crucial for fully realising the potential of ethnic participatory media, especially in an increasingly mediatised policy-making context. That said, institutional support for Pacific media appears to favour participation in production, rather than political influence. In terms of Pacific media's democratic potential, we should be asking how much attention the powerful afford Pacific media. How often do government ministers appear on *Tagata Pasifika* and Niu FM? Among the many reasons audience participants gave for following Māori media was the fact that they could see ministers held to account in Māori media on issues that mattered to them.

> I'm talking Hekia Parata[125]. Every time she's on *Te Karere* because she's always on there trying to defend her issues on education and one thing I love about it is that the reporters just give it back, you know, straight. There's no – I mean from a Maori perspective, so they're talking about their – asking the questions that I would want to know so – and that's why I like watching *Te Karere*. _Audience focus group participant

This raises fundamental questions about issues of power and citizenship. However, when Pacific communication opportunities are understood largely as cultural practice or content production – and not as the participation of audiences as citizens or as influencers in decision-

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[124] NZ on Air's funding of *Fresh* through both Pacific and Māori funding categories in 2016 suggests some recognition of that overlap at the instituional level.

[125] New Zealand's Minister of Education.

making – these questions are overlooked. The concerns of Pacific audiences identified in this thesis demonstrate a need for policy-makers and funders to recognise these broader roles for the media they fund.

Recommendations for future research

The literature on ethnic minority media is fragmented and the landscape is changing so rapidly that previous works are likely to be outdated (Matsaganis et al. 2011, p.xv). As such, there is a clear need for more empirical research on ethnic media, especially with audiences, and for more theoretical work that identifies deeper processes. This thesis goes some way to filling gaps in our understanding of Pacific media in New Zealand (and ethnic minority media in general). However, as indicated in Chapter Five, it is limited in what it can say about older audiences, actual audience numbers for different Pacific media, and the detailed structural contexts of Pacific media production (especially the many smaller Pacific language media). These are all key areas for future research on Pacific media.

As discussed above, this thesis has identified key tensions and questions that merit closer study than was possible in this exploratory research, and which future researchers of Pacific media could fruitfully explore in more detail, including Pacific journalistic norms and whether there are identifiable Pacific ways of doing the news; Pacific communities' evolving notions of transnationality; the role of Pacific media as a symbolic and strategic resource in identity- and community-building; the use of Pasifika English in the media (and elsewhere) as an identifiable and 'ethnic' practice; the role of Māori media in relation to Pacific audiences' media practices; and potential collaborative models for Pacific media. Given the marginalised positions of Pacific peoples within the New Zealand context, future research should also focus on questions of power and draw attention to the need to change features of the system that lead to inequality (Hesmondhalgh & Saha, 2013, p.189). As such, researchers might explore the comparative role of different Pacific media as active public spheres/sphericules and their interaction with wider democratic processes, including: civic participation, public opinion formation and political decision-making. In addition, youth media practices in relation to Pacific media and whether, and how, different media (including social media, participatory formats like *TheCoconet.tv* and hybrid news/entertainment formats like *Fresh)* enable young Pasifika to build a sense of identity and belonging-ness, *and* participation in the Pacific sphere.

Other scholars have alluded to an 'efflorescence of things Pacific' (Teaiwa & Mallon, 2005: 210) in New Zealand cultural spaces, including the infiltration of Pacific identity at a national level and a new-found confidence to forge new identities (Anae, 2004; Macpherson, 1999: 58). While not wanting to overstate possibilities, Pacific media *may* provide the space for that reimagining of identity (and business success), notwithstanding that Pacific identity is still structured and experienced as the subordinate other to Pākehā in many institutional, including media, environments (Grainger, 2009: 2337). Comments from a Pacific producer who said that he was looking for presenters who "don't excuse themselves for being here anymore" further suggested an emerging confidence among Pacific media producers to assert a Pacific identity in the mainstream and Pacific spaces on their own terms. Further research might also look at how Pacific media are evolving as a media of the New Zealand space, that is, as media grounded in a specifically New Zealand (rather than Pacific) context, where Aotearoa/New Zealand is the primary locating place of identity/tūrangawaewae.

Future research may also look at how ethnic minority media, and not just Pacific media, are evolving across successive generations, particularly in ethnic minority communities that are neither Indigenous to their locale nor, as longer-settled communities, diasporic. For succeeding generations who are not immigrant or fluent in their 'homeland' language, and who may identify with multiple ethnicities, what role do ethnic media play? Research on how ethnic minority media can remain viable over multiple generations – along with research on how ethnic minority media are adapting to new technology and the new media environment – will go a long way to furthering our understanding of the distinctiveness and multi-dimensionality of ethnic minority media.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Glossary of Non-English Terms

aiga	aiga
afakasi	half-caste
ei	flower garland
fa'alavelave	Samoan custom of obligation, donation or gift, usually to family or church
fa'a NiuSila	the New Zealand way
fanau	family
fono	meeting or assembly
hua	an insult in New Zealand slang, said by some to come from upokokōhua, which means boiled head (for Māori, the head is the most tapu or sacred part of the body)
matai	chief
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
Palagi	European or non-Pacific person
Pasifika	Transliteration of Pacific that has developed in the New Zealand context to refer to New Zealand-born Pacific peoples
Si'i Alofa	an age-old Samoan custom of showing support from one family to another at important events and gatherings
talanoa	to talk or to speak, conversation or dialogue
tautua	service
te ao Māori	the Māori world
te reo Māori	the Māori language
tikanga Māori	the Māori way of doing things, custom, habit, lore, method, manner, rule, way, code, meaning, plan, practice, convention, protocol
tuakana/teina	senior sibling/junior sibling
tūrangawaewae/	

tu'ungava'e   a place of strength and belonging, literally 'a place to stand', it refers to people's places of empowerment and connection, such as marae/village forum and ancestral mountains and rivers

umu   earth oven

va   concept of a space between, relationship

waka   canoe

Appendix 2: A Snapshot of Pacific Media in New Zealand

The media environment is in constant flux and this table is merely a snapshot of the landscape in early 2016. While it aims to provide, as best as possible, a summary of Pacific media at that time it is unlikely to be an exhaustive list. The small-scale and under-the-radar nature of many Pacific media mean some outlets may have been overlooked, while some media may have folded since this list was compiled[126].

Data is drawn from NZ on Air (2012a), the JMAD New Zealand Media Ownership Report (Myllylahti 2014), Neilson (2015), PIMA and Access Radio lists, interviews with Pacific media producers, and searches across the Internet, social media and New Zealand Companies Office records.

MEDIA	LANGUAGE	DETAILS
Newspapers		
Samoa Times	Samoan	Weekly, published in NZ, distributed locally and overseas, established 2001. Owned by the Samoa Multimedia Group, which also owns Samoa Radio and Moana TV. Distributed in NZ, Australia, Samoa. Digital: website (www.samoatimes.co.nz/); Facebook (10,606 likes); Twitter (172 followers); Instagram (1,242 followers).
New Zealand Pacific	English	Formerly Auckland Pacific Today, established in 2007 by owners of the Samoa Observer. Free weekly community paper in Auckland, distributed with cover charge elsewhere in NZ. Digital: website (www.nzpacific.nz/); Facebook (514); Twitter (286); Google+.
Other newspapers[127]		
Other newspapers produced in the Pacific and distributed in New Zealand include the *Niue Star, Cook Islands News, Taimi 'o Tonga, Talaki* and *Kele'a*, with more available online.		
Magazines		
Spasifik	English	Qantas Media award winner. Established 2004; originally published bimonthly, quarterly since end 2013. Circulation 9,000, distributed throughout NZ and overseas. It is aimed at a Māori and pan-Pacific audience. Since 2014, it has included a magazine insert *Pacific Peoples Health,* which is supported by the Ministry of Health, DHBs and various foundations and subsidises the cost of producing *Spasifik*. Digital: website

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[126] Social media data updated February 8, 2017. For a list of past Pacific newspapers, see Neilson (2015).

[127] Overseas-produced Pacific media are mentioned here but only in passing, as they were not included in this study.

		(http://www.spasifikmag.com/), Facebook (5,057), Twitter (1,734).
SUGA Magazine	English	Launched late 2012, aimed at young Samoan and Pacific women (removed from the Companies Office register 2014, but still operating online). Digital: website (http://www.sugamagazineonline.com/), Facebook (32,905), Twitter (2,560), Instagram (2,008), YouTube (112).
Radio		
Niu FM	English with language-specific programmes from 6pm	National FM station established 2002, 24/7 FM, Government-funded through Ministry for Culture and Heritage. Pan-Pacific: switches to 531pi Pacific language programmes from 6pm- 6am, Cook Island Māori on Monday, Niue Tuesday, Tonga Wednesday, Samoa Thursday and Sunday, Tuvalu and Kiribati Friday, Fiji on Saturday, and Solomon Islands and Tokelau on Sunday. Programmes in English during the day target a younger urban audience. Also has a sister channel focused more on Auckland and Pacific youth: Niu FM Auckland 103.8. Digital: website (http://www.niufm.com/), Facebook (99,476), Twitter (8,844), Instagram (7,526), YouTube (2,082).
Radio 531pi	English with Pacific language news bulletins through the day and language-specific programmes from 6pm	Longstanding Auckland station (founded 1993), 24/7 AM, Government-funded through NZ on Air. It merged with Niu FM in 2007. Pan-Pacific: Pacific language programmes from 6pm, English during the day with news bulletins in Pacific languages. Generally, targets an older audience of 1st and 2nd generation migrants; stronger emphasis on news and information. Limited digital presence: website (http://www.radio531pi.com/) had broken links, including news bulletin player that was more than seven months out-of-date, Facebook (3,383), Twitter (145).
Pacific Radio News	English	News service created with 2007 merger of Niu FM and Radio 531pi under the Pacific Media Network.
Radio Samoa	Samoan	24/7, long-running independent Samoan-language station based in Auckland. Part of the Samoa Multimedia Group which publishes a weekly Samoan language newspaper, the

		Samoa Times, and Moana TV. Limited digital presence: website (http://www.radiosamoa.co.nz/), Facebook (13,467), Twitter (198).
Samoa Capital Radio	Samoan and occasional English	Wellington-based Samoan-language station, founded 1992. Government-funded through NZ on Air, 38 hours per week on Access frequency 783AM. Older audience (>35), one weekly one-hour youth programme and one weekly one-hour pre-school programme. 5 part-time staff and large team of volunteers. Limited digital presence: website (http://www.samoacapitalradio.co.nz/), Facebook (701).
Access/community radio	English and various Pacific languages	12 not-for-profit regional access community radio stations nationwide, funded through NZ on Air. Programmes produced by voluntary community broadcasters. Seven Access stations have Pacific community groups making their own radio programmes, which can also be accessed by various stations' live feed online and some podcasts. These are included in this table. Other Access stations in Taranaki, Wairarapa, Southland, Kapiti Coast and Nelson rebroadcast Te Puutake Youth Radio Show, a 1-hour Māori and Pacific urban music programme. These areas each have around 0.5% or less of New Zealand's Pacific population.
Wellington Access Radio	English and various Pacific languages	19 Pacific programmes in seven Pacific languages – 7 Samoa, 3 Tonga, 2 Cook Is, 2 Niue, 1 Tokelau, 1 Fiji, 2 Tuvalu and 1 pan-Pacific. Approx. 37 hours per week.
Free FM89 (Hamilton)	English and various Pacific languages	4 Pacific programmes – 1 Niue, 1 Kiribati, 1 Fijian and 1 pan-Pacific in English. Approx. 4 hours per week.
Radio Kidnappers 1431Hz	English and Samoan	1 Samoan language programme and a pan-Pacific programme.
ArrowFM (Masterton)	English	1 pan-Pacific programme.
Otago Access Radio 1575Hz and 105.4FM	Samoan	1 Samoan programme.
Planet FM 104.6FM (Auckland)	Various Pacific languages	27 programmes in seven Pacific languages – 2 Samoa, 13 Tonga, 1 Cook Is, 4 Niue, 1 Kiribati, 1 Tokelau, 3 Fiji, 1 pan-Pacific programme. About a quarter of these are

		health shows sponsored by the Auckland DHBs. Approx. 40 hours of Pacific programming per week
Plains FM 96.9FM	English and various Pacific languages	11 programmes in three Pacific languages – 9 Samoa, 1 Tonga, and 1 pan-Pacific programme in English. Approx. 26 hours per week.
Other radio		
Radio New Zealand International (see note below)	English with some bulletins in selected Pacific languages	24/7 shortwave – main focus is offshore. Government-funded through Ministry for Culture and Heritage. Broadcast throughout the Pacific on digital and analogue shortwave and via the internet. Dateline Pacific (20 mins weekly) is RNZI's flagship Pacific programme with Tagata o te Moana (30 mins weekly) another key programme. Other Pacific issues programmes include Pacific Correspondent (15 mins weekly) and Pacific News & Sports Report (10 mins daily). Pacific news stories also supplied to RNZ. Digital: Live stream, podcasts, Facebook (2,612), Twitter (News: 3,047; Sport: 429)
Television		
Tagata Pasifika	English	Flagship Pacific programme produced by Television New Zealand, established 1987. Weekly 25min current affairs and magazine programme. Produced by TVNZ in-house for more than 25 years, then outsourced from end 2014. Tagata Pasifika staff set up their own production company, Sunpix, to win the tender for the show. Digital: on-demand playback via TVNZ website, Facebook (33,590), Twitter (3,486), YouTube (11,001), Instagram (614).
Fresh	English	Youth-oriented Pacific magazine/variety show featuring Pacific celebrities from the world of arts, music and sport. Weekly, funded by NZ on Air. Digital: on-demand playback via TVNZ website, Facebook (186,743), Twitter (9,425), YouTube (39,901), Instagram (21,500).
TNews	Tongan	Produced by Auckland-based Pasifika Broadcasting, established 2001 (the company also produces Pacific Viewpoint). Broadcast on Face TV, Sky's Access channel (formerly Triangle TV) and to Pacific countries via TVNZ Pacific satellite feed. Digital: website (www.tnews.co.nz), Facebook (3,104).

Pasefika Nius	Samoan	Broadcast on Face TV. Entertainment, news and magazine stories from NZ and Samoa.
Other television		
Māori TV	English and Māori	Replays *Tagata Pasifika*, employs some Pacific journalists. Seen as a 'natural' collaborative partner for Pacific broadcasting and making of Pacific programmes. Digital: website (http://www.maoritelevision.com/), with live streaming and shows on demand; Facebook (97,170); Twitter (11,700); YouTube (several playlists for different shows); Instagram (4,800 – note, account isn't linked from MTS website).
Online		
NZ Kaniva Pacific	English and Tongan	Online newspaper founded in 2010. Since then it has also established a radio show on Planet FM. Digital: website (http://nzkanivapacific.co.nz/), Facebook (15,027), Twitter (416).
TheCoconet.tv	English	Established 2013, funded through NZ on Air's Kickstart Digital Media Fund. Focuses on reconnecting NZ's Pacific youth with their culture through music and video as well as vlogs, a daily blog and interactive and informative content. Digital: website (http://www.thecoconet.tv/), Facebook (144,913), Twitter (1,861), YouTube (18,084), Instagram (6,285); Google+.
Moana TV	English	Video-based website established by the Samoa Multimedia Group, which owns Radio Samoa and the Samoa Times. Digital: website (http://moanatv.com/), Facebook (916).
Pacific TV	English	Channel hosted on mainstream online video platform Ziln. Established 2011. Digital: website (http://www.pacificislands.co.nz/), Facebook (4,038), Instagram (225), Twitter (3,178).
The Coconut Wireless	English	Facebook-based online community noticeboard and PR agency: "celebrating OUR success utilizing Social Media to create a virtual village ONEHeartONEPeopleONEPacific". Digital: Facebook (157,112), Instagram (14,400), website broken/under construction.

Pacific Polynesia	English	News and information about events around the Pacific (mostly an event promotion site). Established 2013. Digital: website (http://pacificpolynesia.co.nz/), Facebook (467).
Other websites		
e-Tangata	English, Māori and occasional Pacific languages	e-magazine format website launched 2014 by the Mana Trust, a spin-off of Mana Māori Media, the company that produced Mana magazine and Māori news for RNZ and iwi radio. Aimed at Māori and Pasifika (former Samoan and NZ Herald journalist Tapu Misa is a trustee and founder). Supported by charitable grant from the Tindall Foundation to set up, now largely reliant on koha (donations). Publishes new content every Sunday. Digital: website (http://e-tangata.co.nz/), Facebook (10,111), Twitter (1,356), Google+.
Pacific Scoop (see note below)	English	Established 2009. Partnership between Scoop Media and AUT Pacific Media Centre; news about Māori and Pasifika issues written by journalism students in NZ and the Pacific. It was re-launched in 2016 as Asia-Pacific Report. Digital: website (http://asiapacificreport.nz/), and links to Pacific Media Centre social media feeds.
AUT Pacific Media Centre's *Niusblog*, *Pacific Media Watch Nius* and *Asia Pacific Report* (see note below)	English	Pacific news and dispatches about Pacific journalism and media, based at Auckland University of Technology. Digital: website (http://www.pmc.aut.ac.nz/), Facebook (2,220), Twitter (3,735), YouTube (305).
Casualties[128]		
Pacific Beat Street	English	Broadcast on TV3 2005-2010, with repeats on regional TV. NZ on Air funded, produced by independent Drum Productions. Targeted at youth market. Archived on YouTube (1,027).
Pacific Viewpoint	English	Pacific talk show with news focus. Produced by Auckland-based Pasifika Broadcasting (which also produces TNews), formerly broadcast on Triangle TV. Established 2009, off air from 2011, but continued to broadcast via TVNZ Pacific satellite feed to Pacific

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[128] Staff at these productions were interviewed for this research but folded before this study was completed.

		countries.
Pacific EyeWitness	English	Established in NZ in 2008. Website and blog on Pacific news and issues.
SamoaNius	Samoan	Weekly, mostly news of events in Samoa. 2008-2010
Koli Tala'aho	Tongan	Community radio programme on Planet FM.
NB: Though RNZI, *Pacific Scoop* and AUT's Pacific Media Centre sites produce content about and for Pacific communities, they were not viewed by other Pacific media producers or audiences as Pacific media. As such, though staff at these outlets were interviewed for this study, they were not included in its analysis/discussion as Pacific media.		

Appendix 3: Pacific Advisory Group members

Sarona Iosefa - Pacific communications manager: Fulbright-Creative NZ Pacific writer in residence at the University of Hawaii, 2007; former Pacific journalist (14 years' experience at the *The Press* in Christchurch, four years as South Island reporter for *Tagata Pasifika*, and founding board director for the National Pacific Radio Programme, which set up *Niu FM)*; and member of the Building Restoration Team for St Paul's Trinity Pacific Presbyterian Church, Christchurch.

Jale Moala - Pacific journalist: first Pacific Islander to edit *Pacific Islands Monthly*, first Indigenous Fijian editor of the *Fiji Times,* editor of Fiji's *Daily Post* during George Speight's 2000 coup, and senior subeditor at *The Press*, Christchurch.

Maria Godinet-Watts - Pacific Practice Advisor at the Department of Labour, co-founder of Pacific Trust Canterbury, a Pacific health and social services provider in Christchurch, and co-founder of the national Pacific women's organisation, PACIFICA.

Yvonne Crichton-Hill - University of Canterbury senior lecturer (and my associate PhD supervisor) and chair of the board of the former Pacific Trust Canterbury, a Pacific health and social services provider in Christchurch.

Appendix 4: Pacific Media Producers' Interviews

Note that interviews were held with more than one source at several Pacific media outlets, including *Tagata Pasifika,* Niu FM and *SamoaNius.*

Interviews			
Date	Location	Description	Media type
29 Nov 2011	Auckland (phone)	Niu FM	Community and commercial radio
1 Feb 2011	Auckland (email)	*Pacific Beat St*	TV
1 Feb 2011	Auckland (email)	*Tagata Pasifika*	TV
20 Jan 2011	Auckland (email)	*Pacific Eyewitness*	Internet
2 Dec 2010	Auckland (phone)	Niu FM	Community and commercial radio
24 Nov 2010	Christchurch	*Te Mato I Pao ia mai'au* & Niu FM/Radio 531pi	Cook Islands community and commercial radio
16 Nov 2010	Auckland	*Spasifik*	Pacific magazine
16 Nov 2010	Auckland	Pacific journalist	TV
15 Nov 2010	Auckland	Pacific journalist	Radio
29 Oct 2010	Auckland	Pacific journalist	TV
29 Oct 2010	Auckland	*Tagata Pasifika*	TV
29 Oct 2010	Auckland	*Kele'a & Kaniva Tonga*	Tongan-language newspaper & Internet
28 Oct 2010	Auckland	*New Zealand Pacific*	English-language Pacific newspaper
28 Oct 2010	Pukekohe	Pasifika Broadcasting	TV
27 Oct 2010	Auckland	*Samoa Times* & Radio Samoa	Samoan-language newspaper and Samoan language commercial radio
27 Oct 2010	Auckland	*Samoanius**	Samoan-language newspaper

30 Sep 2010	Auckland	*Pacific EyeWitness*	Internet
30 Sep 2010	Auckland	*Pacific Beat St*	TV
18 Sep 2010	Wellington (phone)	Samoa Capital Radio	Samoan community radio
24 Aug 2010	Auckland	Pacific journalist	Pacific commercial radio and mainstream TV
24 Aug 2010	Auckland	Niu FM	Pacific commercial radio
24 Aug 2010	Auckland	Niu FM	Pacific commercial radio
23 Aug 2010	Auckland	*Koli Tala'aho*	Tongan community radio
23 Aug 2010	Auckland	*Tagata Pasifika*	TV
23 Aug 2010	Auckland	Pacific journalist	Radio
5 July 2010	Christchurch	Pacific journalist	Newspaper
Interviews with Pākehā journalists/producers working in Pacific media/specialties			
17 Nov 2010	Phone	RNZI	Mainstream radio, Pacific programming
15 Nov 2010	Auckland	Newspaper and radio journalist, Pacific specialist and correspondent	Mainstream commercial newspaper & state radio
23 Aug 2010	Auckland	*Pacific Scoop*, Pacific specialist journalist	Mainstream print & Internet

*The *Samoa Nius* interview was undertaken with three journalists/producers at the newspaper's office.

Appendix 5: Pacific Audience Focus Groups

	Date	Location	Participants
		Focus Groups	
	Date	Location	Participants
1	8 Aug 2012	Christchurch	2 males/3 females • 30, i-Kiribati & Tuvaluan, Fiji-born • 35, Samoan & Pākehā, NZ-born • 26, Samoan, NZ-born • 51, Samoan, NZ-born • 24, Niuean & Samoan, NZ-born
2	12 Sep 2012	Christchurch	1 male/2 females • 20, Samoan and Pākehā, NZ-born • 24, Samoan and Pākehā, NZ-born • 51, Samoan, Samoa-born
3	25 Sep 2012	Christchurch	All males • 18, Samoan, NZ-born • 21, Samoan, NZ-born • 35, Samoan, NZ-born • 53, Samoan, Samoa-born • 19, Samoan & Pākehā, NZ-born • 21, Samoan, NZ-born • 33, Samoan, Samoa-born • 21, Samoan, Samoa-born • 19, Samoan, Samoa-born • 24, Samoan, Samoa-born
4	26 Sep 2012	Christchurch	All males • 26, Samoan, American Samoa-born • 36, Samoan, Samoa-born • 23, Samoan, Samoa-born • 22, Samoan, Samoa-born • 23, Niuean, NZ-born • 59, Samoan, Samoa-born • 53, Samoan, Samoa-born • 21, Tongan, NZ-born • 17, Tongan, NZ-born • 25, Samoan, Samoa-born
5	17 Oct 2012	Porirua	All females • 45, Tokelau, NZ-born

			• 50, Samoan & Pākehā, NZ-born • 28, Cook Islands Māori, Cook Islands-born • 43, Tokelauan, Tokelau-born
6	17 Oct 2012	Porirua	2 males/1female • 25, Samoan, NZ-born • 35, Samoan, NZ-born • 48, Cook Islands Māori, NZ-born
7	29 October 2012	Auckland	1 male/10 females • 46, Fijian, Fiji-born • 44, Samoan, Samoa-born • 40, Samoan, NZ-born • 42, Fijian, Fiji-born • (no age given), Samoan, Samoa-born • 37, Samoan & Pākehā, NZ-born • 36, Samoan, NZ-born • 58, Samoan, NZ-born • 46, Fijian, Fiji-born • 56, Samoan, NZ-born • 49, Samoan, Samoa-born

Appendix 6: Categories of Analysis Generated from Media Producer Interviews

Language
- Identity (Pasifika social space v NZ social space)
  - Orthodox Pasifika identity = migrant and speaker
  - Orthodox Pasifika identity = 'pure/single' ethnicity not NZ born/mixed
  - Orthodox Pasifika identity = Samoan/PI roots
  - Orthodox Pasifika identity = religious
- Discourse (Pasifika social space v NZ social space)
  - Authenticity – not PI without (proper) language
  - Authenticity – pure/single ethnicity not NZ-born/mixed
  - Necessity – migrants fluent only in Pacific languages
  - Cultural preservation
  - Representation – seeing/hearing ourselves

Service (Pasifika social space v Journalistic field)
- Community Connection
- Working for betterment of community

Community (Pasifika social space v Journalistic field)
- Language
- Community: Working for betterment of community

Ownership

Diasporic lens (news from home)

Content
- Relevance to community
- News values
- Journalistic integrity & professionalism

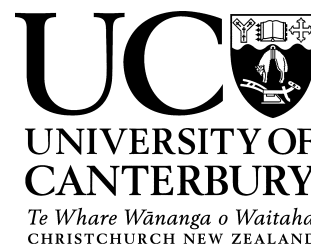**Capital (producers)**
- Cultural
- Social & Symbolic
- Economic

Context (Pacific media)
- Structural
- Social

Appendix 7: Ethics documentation

College of Arts

School of Social and Political Sciences
Tel: +64 3 364 2899, Fax: + 64 364 2414
Web site: http://www.saps.canterbury.ac.nz/

Confidentiality Agreement Interpreters/Translators/Transcribers

PROJECT TITLE:
Deconstructing ethnic media: what makes New Zealand's Pacific media 'Pacific'?
RESEARCHER:
Tara Ross, PhD Candidate
Department of Media and Communication
University of Canterbury
June 2010

1. I understand that the interviews, meetings or material I will be asked to interpret/translate/transcribe is confidential.

2. I understand that the contents of the interviews, meetings or materials can only be discussed with the researcher.

3. I will not keep any copies of the translations/transcriptions nor allow third parties access to them while the work is in progress.
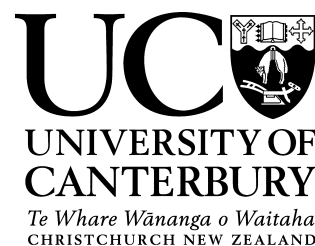
Name (please print):……………….

Signature:……………………

Date:………………..

Tara Ross
Room 109, English Building
Department of Media and Communication
University of Canterbury, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch
Mobile: 027 352 0343
Email: tara.ross@pg.canterbury.ac.nz

College of Arts

School of Social and Political Sciences
Tel: +64 3 364 2899, Fax: + 64 364 2414
Web site: http://www.saps.canterbury.ac.nz/

Research Consent Form -- Audiences
PROJECT TITLE:
Deconstructing ethnic media: what makes New Zealand's Pacific media 'Pacific'?
RESEARCHER:
Tara Ross, PhD Candidate
Department of Media and Communication
University of Canterbury
June 2010

1. I have read the attached information form and understand the description of the project named above.

2. I understand that my participation in the project will involve audiotaped interviews.

3. I understand and am satisfied that all measures will be taken to protect my identity and ensure my interests are protected.

4. I understand that I may withdraw from the project at any time, and may choose to have any information I have provided also withdrawn from use in the final PhD report.

5. I agree to publication of the project's results, with the understanding that my anonymity will be preserved.

6. I note that the project has been reviewed *and approved* by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee.

On the basis of the written information sheet and the points made on this consent from, I voluntarily agree to participate in this research project.
Name (please print):……………….
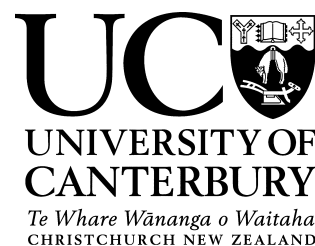
Signature:……………………

Date:………………..

If aged under-18, a parent or caregiver must also grant consent:

Name of Parent/Caregiver (please print):……………….

Signature:………………………… Date:………………………

College of Arts

School of Social and Political Sciences
Tel: +64 3 364 2899, Fax: + 64 364 2414
Web site: http://www.saps.canterbury.ac.nz/

Research Consent Form -- Media
PROJECT TITLE:
Deconstructing ethnic media: what makes New Zealand's Pacific media 'Pacific'?
RESEARCHER:
Tara Ross, PhD Candidate
Department of Media and Communication
University of Canterbury
June, 2010

1. I have read the attached information form and understand the description of the project named above.
2. I understand that my participation in the project will involve audio-taped interviews.
3. I understand that I may choose to be identified or not. If I choose to remain anonymous, I am satisfied that all measures will be taken to protect my identity and ensure my interests are protected.
4. I understand that I may withdraw from the project at any time, and may choose to have any information I have provided also withdrawn from use in the final PhD report.
5. I have the consent of my employers/media organisation to act as their spokesperson.
6. (Please circle)

EITHER:

I agree to publication of the project's results, with the understanding that I will be identified.

OR:

I agree to publication of the project's results, with the understanding that my anonymity will be preserved.
7. I note that the project has been reviewed *and approved* by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee.

On the basis of the written information sheet and the points made on this consent from, I voluntarily agree to participate in this research project.
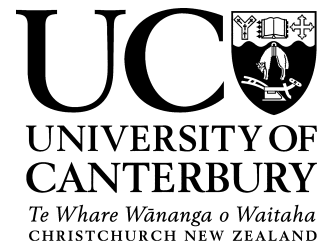
Name (please print):……………….

Signature:……………………

Date:………………..

Employer's Name :…………

Signature:………………… Date:………………..

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UC
UNIVERSITY OF
CANTERBURY
Te Whare Wānanga o Waitaha
CHRISTCHURCH NEW ZEALAND

Information Sheet -- Audiences

PROJECT TITLE:
Deconstructing ethnic media: what makes New Zealand's Pacific media 'Pacific'?

RESEARCHER:
Tara Ross, PhD Candidate
Department of Media and Communication
University of Canterbury
June, 2010

INFORMATION

1. You are invited to participate as a subject in the research project "Deconstructing ethnic media: what makes New Zealand's Pacific media 'Pacific'". Your participation in this project is entirely voluntary.

2. The aim of this project is to contribute original research on a neglected area of New Zealand's media by looking at what is the nature and purpose of New Zealand's Pacific media. I plan to interview Pacific media producers and Pacific audiences, and analyse selected media to explore what Pacific media share that marks them out as 'Pacific'. By highlighting Pacific experiences, I also aim to test some of the assumptions of 'Western' media research.

3. Your involvement in this project will be to participate in a focus group discussion lasting about an hour and a half. You have the right to withdraw from the project at any time, including withdrawal of any information provided.

4. Each focus group discussion will be tape-recorded so the data gathered can be analysed in-depth. The tapes will be transcribed.

5. As a follow-up to the focus group discussion, you will be given the option to review the transcript of the recorded discussion and correct any factual errors – after this point further revision will not be possible. You will also, at a later stage, be invited to participate in a report-back session of the research once it is complete.

6. The results of the project will be published in a thesis, which will be lodged with the University of Canterbury library for public use, but you will not be identified. No names will be used and all identifying details will be removed.

7. It is anticipated that several journal articles and possibly some book chapters will also be produced from this study. The same level of participant anonymity will be maintained in these publications.

8. With respect to securing the confidentiality of data in this project, all voice recordings and transcribed texts will be kept in the researcher's locked office in a secure locked cabinet, accessible by the researcher and her supervisors, or in a secure locked cabinet in the researcher's home office, which may be accessed only by the researcher. Voice recordings will be erased after the transcripts have been made.

9. The project has been reviewed ***and approved*** by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee.

10. Tara Ross is conducting this project in fulfillment of a PhD degree, under the supervision of Senior Lecturers Donald Matheson and Yvonne Crichton-Hill. They will be pleased to discuss any concerns you may have about participation in the project. Their contact details are listed below.

Tara Ross
Room 109, English Building
Department of Media and Communication
University of Canterbury, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch
Mobile: 027 352 0343
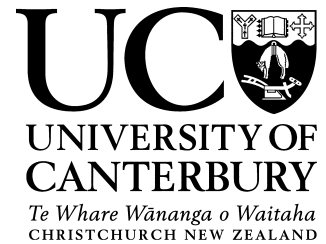Email: tara.ross@pg.canterbury.ac.nz

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UNIVERSITY OF
CANTERBURY
Te Whare Wānanga o Waitaha
CHRISTCHURCH NEW ZEALAND

Information Sheet -- Media

PROJECT TITLE:
Deconstructing ethnic media: what makes New Zealand's Pacific media 'Pacific'?

RESEARCHER:
Tara Ross, PhD Candidate
Department of Media and Communication
University of Canterbury
June, 2010

INFORMATION

1. You are invited to participate as a subject in the research project "Deconstructing ethnic media: what makes New Zealand's Pacific media 'Pacific'". Your participation in this project is entirely voluntary.

2. The aim of this project is to contribute original research on a neglected area of New Zealand's media by looking at what is the nature and purpose of New Zealand's Pacific media. I plan to interview Pacific media producers and Pacific audiences, and analyse selected media to explore what Pacific media share that marks them out as 'Pacific'. By highlighting Pacific experiences, I also aim to test some of the assumptions of 'Western' media research.

3. Your involvement in this project will be to participate in an interview lasting about an hour and a half. You have the right to withdraw from the project at any time, including withdrawal of any information provided.

4. Each interview will be tape-recorded so the data gathered can be analysed in-depth. The tapes will be transcribed.

5. As a follow-up to the interview, you will be given the option to review the transcript of the recorded discussion and correct any factual errors – after this point further revision will not be possible. You will also, at a later stage, be invited to participate in a report-back session of the research once it is complete.

6. The results of the project will be published in a thesis, which will be lodged with the University of Canterbury library for public use. I would like to be able to identify you in the published thesis, but will grant you anonymity if you wish.

7. It is anticipated that several journal articles and possibly some book chapters will also be produced from this study. The same level of identification or anonymity will be maintained in

these publications.

8. With respect to securing the confidentiality of data in this project, all voice recordings and transcribed texts will be kept in the researcher's locked office in a secure locked cabinet, accessible by the researcher and her supervisors, or in a secure locked cabinet in the researcher's home office, which may be accessed only by the researcher. Voice recordings will be erased after the transcripts have been made.

9. The project has been reviewed ***and approved*** by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee.

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Tara Ross
Room 109, English Building
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Email: tara.ross@pg.canterbury.ac.nz

Donald Matheson
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Yvonne Crichton-Hill
Room 131, Social Work Building
Department of Social Work and Human Services
University of Canterbury, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch
Phone: 03 364 3160
Email: yvonne.crichton-hill@canterbury.ac.nz

University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee application & approval

Ref: HEC 2010/89

19 July 2010

Tara Ross
Media and Communication
School of Social & Political Sciences
UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY

Dear Tara

The Human Ethics Committee advises that your research proposal "Deconstructing ethnic media: what makes New Zealand's Pacific media 'Pacific'?" has been considered and approved.

Please note that this approval is subject to the incorporation of the amendments you have provided in your email of 15 July 2010.

Given that this is a part-time PhD, the HEC agree that data should be kept for 10 years to allow completion of the PhD and a time period of possible enquiry afterwards. Please ensure this is communicated to all participants. You may now commence your research.

Best wishes for your project.

Yours sincerely

Dr Michael Grimshaw
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