The Media and New Zealand's
developing relationship with Asia.

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ABSTRACT

The importance of Asia to New Zealand has become increasingly apparent. The New Zealand government has recognised the prominence and potential of the region. However, it is arguable whether the media have acknowledged its importance. This study attempts to determine how the New Zealand media has responded.

The research is based on two hypotheses amended from their American origins to suit a New Zealand context. The first questions the media's ability to influence public attitudes toward the relationship. This focuses on the attention given to Asian issues. The second questions the media's ability to influence public attitudes because of its vulnerability to government manipulation. This deals with areas where the government has the potential to influence aspects of coverage.

The research focuses on the 1990s when New Zealand's relationship with Asia has taken on a new dimension. Particular emphasis is placed on the print media.
# Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contents</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Figures</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SECTION ONE: THE FORMATIVE YEARS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>Chapter One: New Zealand Foreign Policy towards Asia (1945-1990)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii</td>
<td>Chapter Two: The developing relationship in the 1990s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SECTION TWO: THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv</td>
<td>Chapter Three: The Kegley and Wittkopf Hypotheses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>Chapter Four: The Kegley and Wittkopf Hypotheses and New Zealand's growing relationship with Asia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SECTION THREE: THE NEW ZEALAND MEDIA AND ASIAN COVERAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi</td>
<td>Chapter Five: The level and nature of coverage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vii</td>
<td>Chapter Six: Recent media developments</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SECTION FOUR: THE GOVERNMENT, THE MEDIA AND NEW ZEALAND’S RELATIONSHIP WITH ASIA........................................107

viii Chapter Seven:
Direct government influences.................................................108

ix Chapter Eight:
Indirect government influences..............................................137

x Conclusion...........................................................................154

References
## List of Figures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Asia as defined by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>NBR coverage of Asia and New Zealand's relationship with the region</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Press coverage of Asia and New Zealand's relationship with the region</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>ODT coverage of Asia and New Zealand's relationship with the region</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>NZ Herald coverage of Asia and New Zealand's relationship with the region</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Dominion coverage of Asia and New Zealand's relationship with the region</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Total Asian coverage 1990-1994</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Total Asian articles and editorials</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Yearly coverage of publications</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Trends in Asian coverage</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>NBR nature of coverage</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Press. nature of coverage</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>ODT. nature of coverage</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>NZ Herald. nature of coverage</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Dominion. nature of coverage</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The countries of Asia have recently been experiencing a period of rapid economic growth, unmatched in recent decades. These economies have become New Zealand's most important trading partners, outstripping the more traditional markets of Europe and North America. The New Zealand Government has recognised the region's potential by placing strong emphasis on enhancing knowledge and awareness of Asian countries. This was illustrated by the launching of the Asia 2000 programme, a government initiative established in 1991. The aim of the programme was to increase New Zealanders understanding of the region.

However, the importance of Asia is often undermined by the assumption that New Zealand's future lies with the countries of Europe and North America. This stems from the fact that New Zealanders are not Asians, while our historic roots lie predominantly in Europe.

New Zealand has always enjoyed close international relationships with the major western powers. The paternal element associated with the British relationship initially rendered it New Zealand's foremost international association. Following World War Two, this paternalism was to some extent replaced by the development of relations with the United States. The British parent had been replaced by the American big-brother.
The development of relations with Asia has not been as widely accepted as the former associations with Britain and the United States. This is perhaps due to it reflecting a more professional type connection, lacking the bonds associated with the former primary relationships.

Perhaps the absence of a precise, unanimous definition of Asia reflects the lack of knowledge associated with the region. However, for the purposes of this research, the term 'Asia' will refer to the area of the world as defined by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. The ministry categorises the region into three separate divisions: the South-East Asian division includes the members of the ASEAN, together with Indo-China, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam and Myanmar; the North Asia division incorporates China, Japan, Korea, Taiwan and Hong Kong; while Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh make up the South Asia division.¹

Figure one: Asia as defined by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Trade

The purpose of this research is to examine the role of the New Zealand media in the developing relationship with Asia since the advent of the 1990s. Due to the unavailability of research material and the scope of the topic, particular emphasis will be placed on the print media.

Section One is divided into two chapters. Chapter One discusses the background from which the relationship has emerged. Presented from a New Zealand perspective, the dominant theme emphasises the transition from security concerns toward economic cooperation in the post World War Two period. Chapter Two briefly outlines the nature of the relationship in the 1990s as a benchmark from which the media's role will be examined.

To explore this concept, Section Two provides a theoretical framework. Formulated in the American environment, Chapter Three presents five hypotheses focusing on the correlation between media reports and foreign policy. While not absolutely compatible for this research, subtle adaptations to two of the hypotheses make them effective vehicles upon which to base the remainder of research. Chapter Four modifies these versions. The validity or otherwise of the amended hypotheses form the basis of discussion associated with Sections Three and Four.

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2 The five hypotheses add important considerations to the assumption that media reports shape public attitudes toward foreign policy. The hypotheses, formulated by American authors, Regley and wittkopf will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three.
Section Three focuses on the level and nature of coverage in the pursuit of determining the validity of the hypothesis:

The media are by and large themselves relatively inattentive in covering Asia and New Zealand's relationship with the region.

Chapter Five contains a content analysis of coverage of Asian issues by five major New Zealand newspapers between 1990 and 1994. The chapter also presents a number of viewpoints as to the adequacy of Asian coverage. These include the views of editors, Asian diplomats and other New Zealanders with an interest in Asia. Chapter Six outlines a number of recent media responses to the developing relationship. These include four recent New Zealand initiatives as well as a recent Australian response which highlights the disparity in Asian coverage between the two countries.

Section Four examines a number of direct and indirect government influences over the coverage as a means of determining the validity of the hypothesis:

The capacity of the mass media to influence New Zealand's developing relationship with Asia is undermined by the media's vulnerability to government manipulation.
Chapter Seven focuses on direct influences which include the presentation of Asian media briefings and government funded journalist travel awards to the region. Chapter Eight on the other hand deals with indirect governmental influences. These include the launching of Asia 2000 week in July 1993 and activities performed by government funded organisations.
SECTION ONE:
The Formative Years

Section One presents the backdrop from which New Zealand's relationship with Asia has emerged. The section is divided into two chapters. Chapter One discusses the evolution of New Zealand foreign policy toward Asia. It begins in 1945 when New Zealand's interests in the region were dominated by concerns of a possible resurgent Japan as a military threat. The systematic movement of New Zealand's interests in Asia from defence-related issues toward those of an economic nature set the scene for the next chapter. Chapter Two broadly discusses the nature of the relationship in the 1990s and emphasises its importance to New Zealand's economic interests. The current relationship forms a benchmark from which the role of the New Zealand media will be examined.
CHAPTER ONE:
New Zealand Foreign Policy Towards Asia (1945-1990)

New Zealand Foreign Policy towards Asia in the immediate post World War Two period was dominated by security concerns. The Japanese advance after 1941 had reminded New Zealand that the Pacific Ocean connected it irrevocably to the Japanese Empire in the north.

However, more significantly the advance illustrated the Royal Navy could never again defend New Zealand against Asian aggression and other dangers. This led New Zealand to look to the United States for security guarantees and made American policy in occupied Japan of considerable interest to New Zealand. In this context, New Zealand's concern focused on the future security of the Pacific region which at that time seemed threatened only by Japan. New Zealand's diplomacy of occupation had no other more specific focus. Matters such as future Japanese trade competition; or the resumption of trade with Japan were of minimal interest to New Zealand in 1945.

While the Pacific war had highlighted reliance on Britain was no longer enough, there was still a strong feeling that New Zealand's security interests were closely linked to those of the British Empire. New Zealand's involvement in matters relating to the occupation of Japan arose as much from its desire to demonstrate itself as a good Commonwealth team player as from a desire to win the goodwill of the United States.

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4 ibid, 1p.

5 ibid, 27p.
Thus during the period of occupation, New Zealand emphasised its pacific identity to both Britain and the United States. This approach was undertaken in order to enhance its title as a small nation whose concern about possible future Japanese aggression was legitimate. However, this was more of a tactical statement than an indication that New Zealand had become a great deal more "Pacific minded" than in the pre-war era. After the war New Zealand's attention remained firmly concentrated on Britain and Europe rather than wanting to know more about Japan and the rest of the diverse Asian world.

During the immediate post-war years, the United States placed strict military and economic restrictions on Japanese development, primarily to prevent a resurgent Japan as a military threat. However, the onset of the 1950s represented a change of American attitudes toward Japan. The United States began to favour a "peace of reconciliation" and an easing of economic and military restrictions. The signing of the Sino-Soviet Treaty in January 1950 and the outbreak of war on the Korean Peninsula in June led to the United States desire to build up Japan as a bastion of the west. This led to the Americans proposing a Japanese Peace Treaty with as few economic and military restrictions as possible. New Zealand however, remained much more concerned about a possible renewal of the Japanese threat and was therefore very hesitant about signing such a treaty.

While New Zealand was reluctant to sign the treaty, it was eager along with Australia to form a lasting guarantee of its defence through the establishment of a security alliance with the United States. However, America was initially as hesitant about such an arrangement as the Australasian nations were about the

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6 ibid, 27p.
7 ibid 27p.
8 ibid, 27p.
Japanese Peace Treaty. Although it would be too simple to suggest that the formation of the Australia, New Zealand and the United States (ANZUS) mutual defence pact was reward for New Zealand and Australia signing the Japanese Peace Treaty, American willingness to sign the Pacific pact went some way to allay Australasian doubts regarding the peace treaty.  

The ANZUS treaty and the Japanese Peace Treaty were signed within a few days of each other in San Francisco in 1951. When the peace treaty came into full effect in April 1952, the New Zealand mission in Japan became New Zealand's first legation in that country. Later that year, the Japanese established a legation in Wellington, setting the stage for the development of what has become one of New Zealand's most important international associations.  

The 1950s represented a transition in New Zealand-Asian relations. During the decade, security concerns remained dominant in New Zealand foreign policy towards Asia. However, a number of economic considerations also became apparent as did the link between economic and security aspects.

The signing of the Japanese Peace Treaty highlighted the relationship between these two parameters of New Zealand foreign policy. The National Government's main motivation for signing was the desire to keep Japan out of the clutches of communist China. If Japan was unable to trade with the West, it would have to trade with communist China and become politically influenced by the relationship. Not only was a good trading relationship necessary to prevent communist influence, it was also necessary to prevent the possibility of Japan

10 ibid, 30p.

embarking on an expansionist policy for economic reasons. These factors show how economic considerations were perceived to be important in the maintenance of New Zealand security.

During the 1950s, New Zealand foreign policy in Asia began to diversify, moving away from its predominance with a possible renewal of the Japanese threat. Following the North Korean invasion, the Security Council of the United Nations (UN) recommended the formation of a joint UN force to counter the North Koreans, under the command of General Douglas McArthur. New Zealand made an immediate response with its contribution to the force being greater in terms of commitment than its later involvement in Vietnam.

New Zealand also became more involved in Asia during the 1950s by establishing relationships through participation in regional organisations and initiatives. One such example was New Zealand's involvement in the establishment and development of the Colombo Plan. The plan was developed from a proposal made by the Australian Foreign Minister, Percy Spencer at a meeting of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers at Colombo in 1950. The purpose of the plan was to lay the economic foundation in the South and South-East Asian region by encouraging and coordinating economic aid programmes. The plan soon came to involve non-Commonwealth countries including the United States which soon became the largest donor of economic aid.

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14 KENNAWAY, R. (1972) op.cit, 115p.
Although the Colombo Plan focused on economic and social concerns, it was another example of the relationship between economic and security considerations, in the formation of foreign policy. With many people in Asia and South-East Asia existing on low standards of living as they had for centuries, it was seen as only natural that Communism could and did thrive. However, rather than using force in order to checkmate communism, those at Colombo believed that an increase in the regions standard of living through economic and technical assistance was necessary.\(^{15}\) In other words, they viewed development in the region as the most productive approach to resisting communism, rather than through military means.

In the aftermath of World War Two, strategic considerations were felt particularly strongly in Australia and New Zealand, the two members of the old Empire who were geographically closest to the region. The events of the war and the rise of the communist state in mainland China forced both countries, to face the realities of their geographical position in the Pacific. It also demonstrated how closely their destinies were linked to those of their neighbours in South and South-East Asia.\(^{16}\) The Colombo Plan therefore, had added significance for Australia and New Zealand.

Strategic factors were also responsible for the formation of the South East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO), of which New Zealand was a member. While SEATO was primarily a security arrangement, New Zealand saw it as a significant step in the development of broader political links with South-East Asia. The treaty also contributed to the establishment of New Zealand's first diplomatic

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post in an independent South-East Asian country, opened in Bangkok in 1956.\textsuperscript{17}

The various reasons for New Zealand joining SEATO were stated in a speech to the House of Representatives by the External Relations minister, Mr. T. A. Macdonald:

We support SEATO, not only for its defence potential, but because of its stabilising influence and because it helps to gain time for measures relating to economic progress to operate. I have already said that where you have large and crowded populations on low standards of living you have a fertile breeding ground for communism, and if communism makes headway in South-East Asia, our own security is threatened.\textsuperscript{18}

From the late 1950's the possibility of a Sino-Soviet bloc seemed increasingly unlikely in view of the rapidly deteriorating relationship between the two major communist powers. Threat perceptions in Asia came to focus more specifically on China. Such perceptions were reinforced by the off-shore islands crisis of 1958, when the mainland government sought to regain control over the tiny islands of Quemoy and Matsu from Taiwan. From the early 1960's onwards, China was also viewed increasingly as the major force behind the rising strength of communist forces in Vietnam.\textsuperscript{19}

New Zealand foreign policy in the mid-1960s was dominated by the Vietnam War, in which New Zealand was involved with its major allies. By late 1967, nearly 609 New Zealand troops were in Vietnam, and the commitment remained at this level until the bulk of combat troops were withdrawn during 1970 and 1971. Therefore, the commitment in physical terms was very small, even in comparison with New Zealand's contribution to the occupational force in Japan and

\textsuperscript{17} KENNAWAY, R. (1990) \textit{op.cit}, 46p.

\textsuperscript{18} MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. (1972) \textit{op.cit}, 424p.

during the Korean War.\textsuperscript{20}

However, in political terms the commitment was far more important and controversial than on the earlier occasions. The Government's decision to commit troops appears to have been motivated by concern for national interest; for the American alliance generally; and for its interpretation of SEATO treaty commitments specifically.\textsuperscript{21}

In claiming New Zealand's own interests were directly involved in the conflict, Government spokesmen particularly stressed security aspects. It was claimed that communist insurgency in South-East Asia was important to New Zealand's own security. The 1965 White Paper stated:

To demonstrate that the communists will not be allowed a military victory will be of the utmost importance to the future peace and stability of the whole area. In this sense, the present conflict in Vietnam seems likely to be a turning point, one way or the other in the history of Asia, with all the implications this has for New Zealand's future security.... The Government is convinced that the course of action on which it has been determined is in full accord with New Zealand's capacities, its international obligations and its truest national interest.\textsuperscript{22}

Despite New Zealand foreign policy towards Asia during the 1960's being dominated by security concerns, economic considerations were also an important element. A major example of the economic focus was the despatching of New Zealand's first trade mission to South-East Asia in October 1964.

\textsuperscript{20} KENNAWAY, R. (1972) \textit{op.cit}, 73p.

\textsuperscript{21} ibid, 73p.

\textsuperscript{22} Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives. New Zealand assistance to the Republic of Vietnam. Vol 14, 1965, p71-72
In 31 days, the mission visited Kuala Lumpur and Singapore in Malaysia, Bangkok; Thailand, Hong Kong and finally Manila in the Philippines. The principal objectives of the mission were; to sell more goods in South-East Asia; to consolidate the markets already established and to evaluate the market potential for New Zealand manufactured and processed goods.\textsuperscript{23}

The mission was a direct outcome of the Government policy designed to assist New Zealand exporters in the search for new markets. The Government's financial commitment to the mission covered the main expenses, with publicity incurring the major cost. An extensive publicity campaign was essential for the mission to gain maximum impact.

The campaign illustrated the link between the degree and nature of media coverage and the success of the mission. Such coverage was to increase in importance and significance a quarter of a century later, with the New Zealand-Asian economic relationship taking on a new dimension. The mission required an advance visit to the five main centres by the mission's public relations officer to arrange press, radio, and television coverage throughout. Mr J. D. Davey organised special supplements in thirteen newspapers. These covered both the English and Chinese languages for Kuala Lumpur, Singapore, and Hong Kong, English and Thai languages in Bangkok, and English only in Manila. During the visit, there was a continuity of media coverage, with publicity appearing in 32 newspapers throughout the five main centres.\textsuperscript{24}


\textsuperscript{24} ibid, 11p.
The mission resulted in a new appreciation of New Zealand in South-East Asia. In addition to the more traditional foodstuffs, New Zealand was recognised as a potential supplier of a wide range of manufactured goods. However, more importantly, the mission laid a significant foundation for future trading relations between New Zealand and South-East Asia.

Economic considerations were also apparent in other areas of foreign policy during the 1960s. This was evident in a letter written to President Nixon by Prime Minister, Mr Keith Holyoke in 1969 on the topic of lamb sales, as did the link between security and trade. The letter stated:

There is a direct relationship between New Zealand's capacity to play its part as a good ally and its ability to earn from fair trading opportunities overseas. Restrictive action on New Zealand's exports to the United States makes it difficult for the New Zealand Government to justify to our people its alliance with the United States in other areas.  

Following the conclusion of the Vietnam War, there came a rapid change in perceptions of China. Such a change occurred following the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1969, Henry Kissinger's visit to Peking in 1971 and the entry of the Chinese mainland government into the United Nations in the same year.

The 1970s represented a period of change in New Zealand foreign policy towards Asia. Partly due to the Chinese situation, security considerations received less attention, as opposed to economic concerns which increased in intensity.

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26 KENNAWAY, R. (1990) op.cit, 45p.
The reduction of threat perceptions during the decade led to the winding down and phasing out of a number of security-oriented regional organisations. After the Vietnam War, SEATO became less significant and while the treaty itself has not been renounced, the organisation ceased to function in 1977. Perhaps more significant was the short-lived Asian and Pacific Council (ASPAC) which was established in 1967 following an initiative from Japan. Its anti-communist concerns were inherent in its membership which included New Zealand, South Vietnam, South Korea and Taiwan. Not surprisingly ASPAC failed to survive after three of its members; Japan, Australia and New Zealand opened diplomatic links with China in 1972.\textsuperscript{27}

The 1970s also represented a change in New Zealand's perception of its place in the world. In the 1950s and 1960s, New Zealand saw Asia through British and American eyes. Their interests were generally taken to be ours and our role in the region was based in partnership with them. In the 1970s and 1980s, the decolonisation of the South Pacific has made us look more closely at our geographical location.\textsuperscript{28}

While a number of security-based regional organisations were winding down during the decade, the Five-Power defence arrangements for Malaysia and Singapore were established in November 1971. Under these arrangements New Zealand in partnership with Australia and the United States retained forces in Malaysia and Singapore to contribute to the security of the area and to strengthen local defence capabilities. Rather than a response to increased threat perceptions as on earlier occasions, the defence arrangements were established to compensate for the British troop withdrawal from Malaysia in the same year.\textsuperscript{29}

\textsuperscript{27} ibid, 49p.

\textsuperscript{28} New Zealand External Affairs Review. (1969) op.cit, 52p.

\textsuperscript{29} New Zealand Foreign Affairs Review. Vol 21, No 12.
During the decade, a number of economically focused regional arrangements increased in significance. New Zealand's closest political association since the mid-1970s has been through the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), of which it has never had official membership. Nevertheless, New Zealand was granted "dialogue" status in 1975 and has been in regular contact through annual meetings of foreign ministers ever since. The ASEAN was formed in Bangkok in 1967 with the aim of fostering regional peace and stability as well as economic growth. In 1984 the five original members were joined by Brunei after its full independence from Britain.\textsuperscript{30} New Zealand was one of only six countries to have been granted dialogue status by 1988. While such membership has not always yielded concrete results, it has contributed to the maintenance of an atmosphere of cooperation that has been favourable to trade expansion.\textsuperscript{31}

Another regional initiative of which New Zealand has been associated is the Asian Pacific Economic Co-operation meeting, APEC, which was first held at ministerial level in Canberra in 1989. However, with the future of APEC uncertain, New Zealand's closest political association with South-East Asia remains as a dialogue partner of ASEAN.

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, the Soviet Union emerged as the dominant aggressor in the Asia-Pacific region. Various events in this period contributed to more widespread perceptions of the Soviet threat. The Soviet-Vietnamese Treaty of Friendship signed in 1978, coupled with the Vietnamese incursion into Cambodia reflected such concerns. The advent to power of Michail Gorbachev in 1985 and his policy intentions in the region led to a decline in the

\textsuperscript{30} HAYBURN, R. New Zealand and the ASEAN Countries: the papers of the twentythird Foreign Policy School. Dunedin, University of Otago, 1988. 1p.

\textsuperscript{31} ibid, 2p.
perception of the Soviet threat.\textsuperscript{32}

New Zealand increased its search for new trading opportunities in the 1980s which led to the strengthening of its posts in Asia. One such example was the re-opening of the New Zealand High Commission in New Delhi in 1984. Since the commission re-opened, trade with India has increased significantly.\textsuperscript{33} A pattern of regular economic consultation with the main Asian trading partners intensified with a third of New Zealand's export receipts coming from the region in 1990.

Political contacts have also developed including diplomatic representation, exchange of visits and regular bilateral consultation.\textsuperscript{34} By the mid-1980s, representation had been established in five ASEAN countries as well as in Beijing, Hong Kong, Seoul, Osaka and New Delhi. Despite the increase in diplomatic representation, ASEAN remained as New Zealand's most important political relationship with Asia.\textsuperscript{35}

The considerable value attached to the relationship has often influenced New Zealand policies towards other South-East Asian issues, such as the problems in Cambodia. Rather than adopting independent initiatives, New Zealand closely followed the line of the ASEAN countries for most of the 1980s. For example New Zealand voted for the retention of the retention of the Cambodian seat at the United Nations by the successors of the Pol Pot regime.\textsuperscript{36}

\textsuperscript{32} ibid, 47p.


\textsuperscript{36} KENNAWAY, R. (1990) op.cit, 51p.
The member countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations have become an increasingly important market for New Zealand agricultural, forestry and manufactured exports, although dairy products account for over half of total exports to the region. New Zealand's total dairy exports to the ASEAN countries, $433 million in 1989 rivalled those to the United States and Britain combined.\textsuperscript{37}

Social contacts with Asia have also increased. Since the early 1980s there has been a major increase in tourism in both directions. In 1989 there were over 141 000 visitors from Asia including 95 000 from Japan. Although less significant, during 1988-89, about 52 000 New Zealand travellers listed East Asia as their main overseas destination of whom just over half were tourists.\textsuperscript{38}

As the 1990s approached, New Zealand foreign policy towards Asia had become dominated by economic considerations. While security remained important, the decrease in threat perceptions gave New Zealand greater opportunities to further its relationship with Asia in economic rather than defensive terms.

\textsuperscript{37} ibid, 59p.
\textsuperscript{38} ibid, 53p.
CHAPTER TWO:
The Developing Relationship In The 1990s

By the 1990s, Asia had been recognised as the main area where New Zealand could expand its trade. The countries of the region have been experiencing a period of economic tranquillity unmatched in recent decades. The continuing rapid growth of many Asian economies is providing greater opportunities for New Zealand companies to expand their business into the region.39

According to the ministers of External Relations and Trade and Trade Negotiations, such potential required the development of a strategic framework. The respective ministers, Don McKinnon and Philip Burdon believed the international reality for New Zealand was changing faster than most New Zealanders realised. While the countries and the kinds of people we had traditionally most to do with were no longer determining the pace of the world economy, the countries of Asia had become the engines of world growth. The subsequent need to develop Asian markets required careful attention as their cultures and business practices are different from our own.40

ASIA 2000

These factors led to the major government initiative, "ASIA 2000", designed to promote among New Zealanders a proper understanding of the nature of our interests in Asia.

40 ibid, 8p.
The initiative, launched in November 1991 by Don McKinnon and Philip Burdon had three principal objectives:

* It set out to create a broadly based awareness in New Zealand of the trends of developments in Asia, and how these may affect New Zealand's interests.

* It is intended to excite New Zealand businesses about the possibilities of involvement in Asia.

* It aims to help build in New Zealand the knowledge, structures and systems that will allow New Zealand to become fully and positively engaged with countries in the Asian region.41

In pursuit of these objectives, a number of programmes have been implemented under the umbrella of "Asia 2000". One such initiative has been the Asia 2000 Business Fellowships, established in 1993 to assist the business community to acquire Asian language skills and business experience. The Fellowships provide financial assistance for periods of work experience and language study in Asian locations. In connection with the Fellowship programme, Asia 2000 is also seeking to encourage business graduates to look towards Asia just before they start their careers. In 1994 Asia 2000 is funding the travel and language training costs of ten such graduates undertaking the AIESEC (International Association of Students in Economics and Commerce) exchange scheme with Asian countries.42

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The Asia 2000 Media Travel Awards aim to promote a wider understanding of developments in Asia by the New Zealand press and reading public. The awards provide 75% of travel and accommodation costs for visits of at least two weeks by media personnel with a demonstrated interest in the Asian region. 43 The awards will be discussed in detail in Chapter Seven.

Inward visits and trade and investment opportunities seminars (TIOS) are major elements of the Asia 2000 programme. Inward visits involve bringing influential Asian business people into New Zealand primarily to demonstrate their economic strengths. Through first hand experience, it is hoped that Asian traders and investors will correct any out of date images they may have of the New Zealand economy. To complement the inward visits, Asia 2000 encourages New Zealand exporters and investors to participate in TIOS held in target Asian locations. The objective is to bring New Zealand exporters to Asia, using the seminars to give and receive information. 44

A key component of the Asia 2000 philosophy is to encourage greater awareness and knowledge of Asian countries, their languages and cultures. The enhancement of these objectives was the motivation behind the various activities undertaken during Asia 2000 week held in July 1993. As part of the week a national symposium entitled "Educating For Asia" took place in Wellington. The seminar discussed the place of Asian studies in both secondary and tertiary education. The consensual view emphasised the need to persuade the community of the importance of such studies. The Ministry of Education is currently discussing ways in which the outcomes of the symposium might be progressed. 45

44 ibid, 2p.
45 Asia: Trade and Economic Prospects. op.cit, 2p.
Since the launch of Asia 2000 and its programmes, there is a growing awareness in New Zealand of the political and economic conditions in Asian countries. The focus for New Zealanders has now shifted towards the economic opportunities in places such as Korea, China and Japan, with 36% of New Zealand exports currently being bought by Asian countries.\(^\text{46}\)

The growing importance of Asia in the 1990s has been recognised by both the New Zealand government and the general public. The importance placed on the region by the government has been emphasised by the Asia 2000 initiative, which formally became the Asia 2000 Foundation of New Zealand in September 1994, (see chapter 8). Various comments expressed by the Prime Minister, Mr Jim Bolger also reflect the government commitment. This was illustrated by a statement made by Bolger before embarking on a ten day trip to Asia in May, 1993. "This is the fastest-growing part of the world and I cannot emphasise too strongly that we see ourselves as part of the region and part of that growth."\(^\text{47}\)

During his trip, aimed at reinforcing the message that New Zealand's growing export markets lie in Asia, the Prime Minister described himself as very comfortable in the role of an Asian leader.\(^\text{48}\)

The increase in public awareness of the region's importance was reflected in the findings of an international orientation survey undertaken by the National Research Bureau in March 1994. Focusing on attitudes towards Asia, the responses showed that in the minds of New Zealanders, Asian countries have displaced historical markets in the United Kingdom and Europe. Although North


\(^{48}\) ibid, 10p.
America and European countries outranked Asia in terms of intended travel destinations, Japanese was seen as the most useful language to learn while the Chinese dialects were ranked equal fourth as an option. Perhaps the most significant finding of the survey was that those with greater familiarity and information tend to feel more secure and less concerned about New Zealand's developing relationship with Asia.\(^49\)

**The New Zealand media and Asia 2000.**

As well as creating greater awareness and knowledge, a major Asia 2000 endeavour is the enhancement of favourable public attitudes towards the region, as awareness and attitudes in this context are significantly intertwined.

According to former Asia 2000 coordinator, Bruce Middleton, the success of these objectives is largely dependent on media coverage. With the news media representing the public's primary vehicle for the transmission of knowledge, Middleton suggests public awareness and attitudes towards Asia are to some extent shaped by media reports.\(^50\) Therefore, perhaps those with limited familiarity and information on New Zealand's relationship with Asia are inattentive to such reports. If not, perhaps the news media fail to present adequate coverage of the relationship.


Subsequently, the relationship has developed into one of primary importance in terms of New Zealand's current and future economic well-being. Since the advent of the 1990s, particular emphasis has been placed on the relationship. This was illustrated by the launching of the major Government initiative, Asia 2000. However, perhaps the New Zealand media have a major role to play in developing the relationship by enhancing public knowledge and awareness of the region. Section Two provides a theoretical framework through which the media's role in the developing relationship will be examined.
SECTION TWO:
The theoretical framework

Section Two provides a theoretical basis from which the media's role in New Zealand's developing relationship with Asia will be examined. The essence of Chapter Three focuses on five hypotheses developed by American Foreign Policy writers, Charles Kegley Jr and Eugene Wittkopf. They suggest the American Mass Media plays an insignificant role in shaping public attitudes toward foreign policy. Apart from requiring subtle changes, two of the hypotheses are relevant for the purposes of this research. Chapter Four adapts these for the purpose of examining the media's role in New Zealand's developing relationship with Asia. The validity or otherwise of the two amended versions form the basis of discussion associated with sections three and four.
CHAPTER THREE:
The Kegley and Wittkopf hypotheses

Kegley and Wittkopf add important considerations to the assumption that the mass media shape public attitudes toward foreign policy. They categorise such considerations into the following five hypotheses.

THE MASS MEDIA DO NOT DETERMINE PUBLIC ATTITUDES BECAUSE MOST PEOPLE ARE INATTENTIVE TO FOREIGN AFFAIRS. Repeated American studies suggest the public are more interested in weekly television series than a news reporter's observation of the state of the world. Subsequently, if the public fails to absorb such information, the media cannot influence opinion. However, Kegley and Wittkopf also suggest on the rare occasions when interest is shown, the media tell the public what to care about. Thus the media can create new issues simply by the attention given to them. For example, President Reagan's decision to visit a West German cemetery with Nazi war dead in 1985 may have been significantly less controversial, had the media given it minimal attention.51

With the general public showing limited interest, certain kinds of foreign news are pre-eminent. Such news, as in the above example, is usually negative, closely connected to significant leaders, and most importantly concerns potential threats to American diplomatic and economic interests. Conversely, geographical and especially cultural distance significantly reduce a country's projected newsworthiness.52


The media's role in setting the agenda of issues is more a process of reinforcing dominant social values and positions than creating new issues or advocating new values. By acting as gatekeepers, the media present legitimate issues to the public while filtering out new or radical perspectives.\(^{53}\) Subsequently, public disinterest coupled with the media desire to conform to familiar expectations reduces its ability to alter or influence public attitudes.

**THE MASS MEDIA, BY AND LARGE, ARE THEMSELVES RELATIVELY INATTENTIVE TO FOREIGN AFFAIRS.** If the media reflect the values and interests of their audience, this may explain the limited amount of foreign news presented. It was estimated in the United States that foreign news in peace time constituted eleven percent of all stories in American newspapers.\(^{54}\) A. J. Liebling suggests:

> The function of the press in society is to inform, but its role is to make money. The monopoly publisher's reaction, on being told that he ought to spend money on reporting distant events, is therefore exactly that of the proprietor of a large fat cow, who is told that he ought to enter her in a horse race.\(^{55}\)

Perhaps for these reasons, few reporters are paid to cover international affairs, as opposed to those of national and local significance. The outcome of this media neglect obviously minimises the potential to influence public attitudes towards foreign policy.\(^{56}\)

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THE INFLUENCE OF THE MASS MEDIA ON MASS FOREIGN POLICY ATTITUDES IS UNDERMINED BY THE DIVERSITY AND HETEROGENEITY OF THE MEDIA ESTABLISHMENT. The mass media are not inflexible and cohesive in their reporting of foreign affairs or consistent in their interpretation.\textsuperscript{57} In an environment with few opportunities to engage in original investigations, the pressures point towards the sharing of ideas and the convergence of story lines. However, despite the minimal content, this phenomenon, known as "pack journalism" is perhaps limited in foreign news coverage, with the American media offering a wide range of sources from a diversity of standpoints. Consequently, lack of consistency, coupled with media dissemination of a variety of opinions illustrate the absence of a single media voice.\textsuperscript{58} Subsequently, the ability to influence public attitudes or reinforce a particular set of values is reduced.

PUBLIC ATTITUDES ARE RELATIVELY IMPERVIOUS TO NEW INFORMATION PROVIDED BY NEWS SOURCES. The agenda-setting function of the media draws attention to the influence it can have on shaping public attitudes. Because the public often has no prior information about new international developments, the media play a critical role in shaping perceptions. With an absence of public preconceptions, media created preferences become accepted wisdom.

Television is perhaps the medium that elicits the most influence. For example, foreign policy officials may be required to frame their ideas into a thirty-second slot on the evening news. Such practises may shape preferences despite half-minute cliches failing to reflect any degree of ability or detail.\textsuperscript{59}

\textsuperscript{57} ibid, 318p.
\textsuperscript{58} ibid, 319p.
\textsuperscript{59} ibid, 320p.
However, when people do not begin with a complete absence of preconceptions, behavioural research suggests that beliefs are not changed easily. Selective perception suggests that people generally search for comfortable information which complements pre-existing beliefs. Information that does not fit such opinions is rejected. Selective perception (SP) can be conscious and subconscious. Subconsciously, SP stems from the need to maintain a stable image among conflictual and confusing information. On the conscious level, many people choose to read newspapers and watch news programmes that reinforce interpretations consistent with their biases. Thus most people with knowledge and interest in foreign policy are removed from media influenced attitude change.\(^{60}\).

THE CAPACITY OF THE MASS MEDIA TO INFLUENCE MASS FOREIGN POLICY ATTITUDES IS UNDERMINED BY THE MEDIA'S VULNERABILITY TO GOVERNMENT MANIPULATION. "To a considerable extent the media reflect, rather than balance, the attitudes of the Government. Collusion between the media and the government, conscious and unconscious, is a persistent condition."\(^{61}\) Journalists often follow foreign policy in selecting foreign news because of its efficiency. Dependence on government news releases and use of privileged briefings suggest the media are vulnerable to manipulation.\(^{62}\)

While journalists do not make story choices to minimise government criticism, unnecessary provocation can only be detrimental. Knowing their audience is not particularly interested in foreign news, the media is unlikely to elicit public support if the government chose to attack them for

\(^{60}\) ibid, 321p.

\(^{61}\) ibid, 321p.

\(^{62}\) ibid, 322p.
harming the national interest. Kegley and Wittkopf suggest that with foreign news often evolving from government sources, perhaps public opinion is influenced by the government through the media, rather than primarily through media control.

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CHAPTER FOUR:

The Kegley and Wittkopf hypotheses
and New Zealand's growing relationship with Asia

Two of the Kegley and Wittkopf hypotheses are perhaps relevant to the media's role in New Zealand's growing relationship with Asia. Although relevant, they must be slightly adapted to fit the correct context. The major need for their adaptation is the fact that New Zealand's growing relationship with Asia is not solely related to foreign policy. Despite foreign policy representing a major component, New Zealand's relationship with the region involves internal as well as external developments. For example, although the Asia 2000 programme was established by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, it targeted the New Zealand population rather than those of the thriving Asian nations.

Apart from contacts at the government level, the increase in private sector interests are also important elements in the growing relationship. Comparatively, Asian businesses in New Zealand are as significant as their New Zealand counterparts expressing interest in the countries of Asia. The increase in the immigrant Asian community in this country is another important element.

Subsequently, the following hypotheses will be amended to cover Asia and New Zealand's growing relationship with the region rather than the more specialised term, foreign policy.

The hypothesis:

The mass media do not determine public attitudes because most people are inattentive to foreign affairs, will be replaced with the following amended version.
The mass media do not determine public attitudes toward Asia and New Zealand's growing relationship with the region because most people are inattentive toward the subject.

The hypothesis:

The capacity of the mass media to influence mass foreign policy attitudes is undermined by the media's vulnerability to government manipulation, will be replaced with:

The capacity of the mass media to influence New Zealand's growing relationship with Asia is undermined by the media's vulnerability to government manipulation.

These changes reflect the distinction between New Zealand's relationship with the region and foreign policy. For the purposes of this research, an analysis of the validity of the two adapted versions will form the basis of sections three and four. Although the remaining Kegley and Wittkopf hypotheses may be relevant, this research is confined to the level and nature of Asian coverage and to what extent this may be influenced by government sources.
SECTION THREE:
The New Zealand Media and Asian coverage

Section three is primarily concerned with determining the validity of the amended hypothesis:

The media are by and large themselves relatively inattentive in covering Asia and New Zealand's relationship with the region.

Chapter Five contains a content analysis of five major New Zealand newspapers between 1990 and 1994. This was undertaken to determine trends in coverage as well as comparisons and contrasts between publications. The analysis is followed by the expression of various viewpoints as to the adequacy of Asian coverage presented through the New Zealand media.

While Chapter Five refers to the level of attention placed on Asian issues, chapter six outlines a number of recent media developments. These are presented as a series of case studies. The chapter begins with four recent New Zealand media responses to the developing relationship and concludes with a recent Australian response. This highlights the disparity in knowledge and coverage of Asia between the two Australasian nations.
CHAPTER FIVE:
The level and nature of coverage

Content analysis

As a means of determining the level, nature and trends of print media coverage relating to Asia and New Zealand's Asian community since the advent of the 1990s, a content analysis will be undertaken.

HYPOTHESIS

As New Zealand's relationship with Asia has grown, particularly since the impact of Asia 2000, launched in November 1991, press coverage of the region should also have grown.

UNITS OF ANALYSIS

The most highly circulated morning daily from each of New Zealand's four major centres. These include: The Otago Daily Times from Dunedin, The Press from Christchurch, The Dominion from Wellington and The New Zealand Herald from Auckland. The National Business Review (NBR), will also be examined.

The specific segments of content to be analysed will be "articles" which focus on one of the following categories. The articles will also be quantified by the measurement of their individual column centimetres.
CONTENT CATEGORIES

EDITORIALS: Editorials related to any of the following issues will be considered a separate category and subsequently will not enter any of the following.

SECURITY: Articles related to military threats directed against Asian countries, whether real or perceived. Such threats may be either internal or external, historical or contemporary. Articles referring to security-oriented regional organisations also fit this category.

ECONOMIC: Articles related to business and trade, whether between New Zealand and Asia, or primarily with Asia. The articles can focus on either the macro or micro level, historical or contemporary. The economic section excludes the Tourism sector, which enters the next category.

TRAVEL: Articles related to holiday destinations, whether Asians travelling to New Zealand or New Zealanders travelling to Asia. The category also includes articles referring to the Tourism sector more specifically. However, travel such as trade missions and business trips enter the economic category.

ASIANS IN NEW ZEALAND: This category refers to Asians living in the New Zealand community. It includes articles involving lifestyles, racism and biographical type features. However, it excludes students, tourists and business people who enter other categories.
EDUCATION/CULTURE: Articles referring to distinguishing features of the way of life in Asian countries. The category also includes issues related to educational institutions. These may focus on Asian students in either New Zealand or Asia as well as any New Zealand links with Asian institutions.

OTHER: Articles focusing on Asia or New Zealand's relationship with the region that do not fit any of the above categories.

THE SAMPLE

With the universe of relevant material representing an overwhelmingly large amount of newspaper publications and editions, the hypothesis must be evaluated through sample selections. The sample will be selected from the above newspapers as the four morning dailies are the most widely circulated. The NBR will also be analysed as it is the most widely circulated paper with a specific economic focus.

American Author, G. H, Stempel in 1952, drew samples of 6, 12, 18, 24, and 48 issues of a newspaper and, compared the average content for a single subject matter category against the average for the entire year. The data indicated that each of the five samples was adequate, with an increase in sample size failing to produce significantly more accurate results.65

Subsequently, for the purposes of this research, 6 editions of each of the five publications under analysis will be evaluated during each of the five years from 1990 until 1994. The following system will be used while exploring the morning dailies. During even numbered years, odd numbered months will be

examined, while even numbered months will be explored in odd numbered years.

In the course of each year, the first Monday of the first month under analysis will be examined, the second Tuesday of the second month, the third Wednesday of the third month and the fourth Thursday of the fourth month. In situations where a fifth Friday exists in the fifth month, this edition will be used, followed by the first Saturday of the sixth month. However, if a fifth Friday does not exist, the first Friday of the following month under analysis will be examined, preceding the second Saturday of the sixth and final month of the yearly analysis.

This system will be undertaken to prevent any bias associated with regular variations within the week. For example, business news may be more prominent in Saturday editions as opposed to those issued early in the week.

A similar system of analysis will be undertaken with the NBR. During even numbered years, odd numbered months will be examined and vis-a-vis. With the NBR having become a weekly during September 1991, the analysis will be focused on Friday editions throughout the period. The first month under examination will be represented by that month's first Friday edition, while the second Friday edition of the second month will be explored. In situations where a month under analysis does not have a corresponding Friday edition, the first issue of that month will be used, followed by the second edition of the subsequent month. For example, with monthly fifth editions generally not existing, a fifth month under analysis may be evaluated by its first Friday edition.
Results

The National Business Review

As anticipated, the majority of Asian coverage published in the NBR was economically focused. However, more significant was the domination of articles related to the Japanese economy. The first year under analysis, 1990 uncovered 34 articles accounting for 1981 column centimetres. Of these, 30 entered the economic category while 20 were focused on the Japanese economy, totalling 1625 column centimetres. The level of coverage was enhanced by the first edition under analysis, published on Friday 19 January. The NBR Weekend review section included a seven-page supplement focusing specifically on Japan. This included six articles and 870 column centimetres, which perhaps distorted the 1990 analysis to some extent.

Of the 34 articles, 22 were written by overseas reporters and 12 by New Zealand-based journalists. Japan was the focal point for items presenting New Zealand perspectives, while those produced by overseas journalists were generally concerned with the present and future state of the Asian economies. Once again, Japan featured most prominently. Although the majority of articles dealt with macro economics, micro economic issues such as Japanese business practises were also evident.

The strong Japanese focus eased somewhat in 1991. Of the 19 articles, seven were related to the Japanese economy comprising 454 of the 922 column centimetres. The reduction in Japanese-related articles was matched by a corresponding increase in coverage of other Asian economies. The countries to feature included Singapore, Taiwan, Malaysia, China, Hong Kong and Cambodia. Despite the NBR having become a weekly in September 1991, and subsequently comprising a larger amount of news per edition, there was not a
significant corresponding increase in Asian articles.

Fourteen of the 19 were economically focused, of which economic potential was the major theme. The articles all referred to individual countries rather than Asia as a whole. For example, an item published on Friday 13 December focused on China as a growing market, while another discussed the future of Cambodia under capitalism.

Articles with New Zealand perspectives decreased significantly from the previous year. Of the 19, only four were produced by New Zealand journalists. Nevertheless, although such perspectives can be important, material written by overseas reporters often has an element of significance to New Zealand. For example, the state of the Chinese economy is of extreme importance to many New Zealand business people, especially importers and exporters. A New Zealand angle in this instance would perhaps not add to the significance of such an article.

The most distinguishing feature of the coverage examined in 1992 was a further shift away from the Japanese dominance. During the period of analysis, six of the 24 articles focused on Japan accounting for 242 of the 854 column centimetres. Whereas there was a slight decrease in total column centimetres, coverage of the Japanese economy almost halved. This reversal was matched by a slight change in the nature of Japanese coverage. Rather than focusing on economic success and potential, signs began to emerge of a Japanese recession. For example, a substantial article published on Friday 24 July referred to the likelihood of Japanese investment halving as a result.

The other Asian economies began to feature more prominently in 1992. Coverage of Hong Kong was one example, with a number of articles
referring to its present economic situation and potential after the Chinese takeover in 1997. Signs also emerged of an increase in Asian business interests in New Zealand. An article published on Friday 13 November illustrated this. It referred to a Chinese business interested in attracting subscribers for a new Chinese Radio Station.

Of the 24 articles, eight were written by New Zealand-based journalists, twice the amount of the previous year. All but one entered the economic category, which accounted for 21 of the 24 articles. Nevertheless, the most notable feature of the year was the decrease in Japanese dominance.

The NBR publications examined in 1993 showed a significant increase in Asian coverage. Items focusing on Japan increased from the previous year, accounting for 11 of the 30 articles and 855 of the 1491 column centimetres. All articles entered the economic category.

The Japanese recession was a major subject area, leading on from the previous year. However, signs began to emerge of a recovery. An item published on Friday 18 June entitled, "Economic signs of slump reversal" was one such example. The increase in Asian coverage was enhanced by the occasional use of specific pages such as "Asia Focus". Although not used consistently, these pages increased the region's significance as well as increasing the level of column centimetres.

There was also a significant expansion of material written by New Zealand-based journalists-17 of the 30 published articles. This was perhaps responsible for the movement away from those focusing specifically on Asian economies, toward those referring to their interests and affect on New Zealand business. For example, an item published on Friday 29 October focused on how Chinese trade talks could help New Zealand, rather than merely referring to the
talks.

Another change from the previous years were articles focusing on New Zealand business interests in the Asian region. Although material had previously been written about the affluent nature of the Asian economies, few had mentioned any New Zealand business presence in the region. One example of this change was an article published on Friday 5 December, referring to New Zealand's role in the Taejon Business Expo in South Korea.

The 1994 period of analysis showed a dramatic increase in coverage of Asia and New Zealand's relationship with the region. Column centimetres reached 2628 which was made up of 46 articles and one editorial. The economic category accounted for all but one article. A major reason for the shift was the increase in detail and analysis, with 16 articles being greater than 70 column centimetres in depth.

While coverage increased dramatically, articles focusing on Japan dropped to eight and from 855 to 543 column centimetres. In relative terms, this was a significant reduction. However, it allowed for greater emphasis to be placed on other Asian economies such as Indonesia, China and Taiwan.

With the number of total articles increasing substantially, there were greater numbers written by both foreign and New Zealand journalists. Those produced by overseas reporters increased from 13 to 28. Although these were generally not of direct relevance to New Zealand, they were significant as the Asian economies are of increasing importance to this country. For example, an article focusing on the success of the Chinese economy may be of benefit to current and potential New Zealand exporters.
These articles were matched by others focusing specifically on New Zealand's relationship with the region. For example, one published on Friday September 30 referred to Taiwan Airlines having made New Zealand its 24th destination. However, the most notable feature of the 1994 analysis was the dramatic increase in both article numbers and column centimetres.

As a business publication, the NBR coverage examined during the five year period of was dominated by economic material. As shown in fig two, there was no sign of a systematic trend in the level of coverage beginning in 1990. However, the 1992 coverage represented the beginning of an upward movement, culminating in 1994 which contained 2628 column centimetres of material. The Japanese economy featured most predominantly, although the 1994 coverage contained material from a greater variety of countries and their relationship with New Zealand. Although foreign journalists produced more material than their New Zealand counterparts, the coverage was generally detailed and of international significance. The articles produced by New Zealand journalists were also normally detailed and of national rather than international significance.

Figure Two: NBR coverage of Asia and NZ's relationship with the region
The major contrast between the NBR and the dailies was in the nature of coverage. Rather than concentrating specifically on economic issues, the dailies produced a greater range of articles. The Press was no exception in 1990, with only eight of the 25 articles and 159 of the 866 column centimetres entering the economic category. As was the case with the NBR, Japan was the country to feature most frequently. However, in contrast to the NBR, four of the eight articles were extremely limited in detail, accounting for less than 10 column centimetres each.

Security issues were generally more detailed in 1990 with five articles and one editorial covering 267 column centimetres. The editorial focused on the hope of a peace settlement in Cambodia, while the articles ranged from South-East Asian pirates to Asian evacuations from the Gulf War. Five articles were related to Asian culture and travel while the remaining six were not compatible with any specific category. As with the following years, the majority of these were focused on sport. The most common involved either the Indian, Pakistani or Sri Lankan cricket teams.

There was an even balance between articles written by New Zealand-based and overseas journalists, with the former accounting for 12 and the latter 13. However, the most significant factor in the 1990 analysis was the diverse range of items.

The analysis of 1991 uncovered 36 articles, accounting for 1065 column centimetres. The major shift from the previous year was an increase in economic articles from eight in 1990 to 16 in 1991. These accounted for 547 column centimetres and tended to cover a greater number of New Zealand perspectives. For example, an article published on Tuesday 9 April focused on
the Indonesian desire to enhance economic ties with New Zealand. The articles also generally increased in depth.

There was also an increase in travel articles published in 1991. Although these were all components of the "Travellers World" section published on Thursday 22 August, a number of countries were mentioned as favourable holiday destinations. These included, Singapore, Thailand, South Korea, India and Malaysia.

While these articles increased in both numbers and column centimetres, there was a corresponding decrease in items focusing on security and culture. These two categories combined to entail six articles accounting for 82 column centimetres, which was well down from the previous year. The reduction in column centimetres entering the "other" category coupled with the 16 articles presenting New Zealand perspectives, reflected the greater coverage of significant subject areas.

The coverage analysed in 1992 once again showed a slight increase from the previous year, producing 29 articles covering 1280 column centimetres. However, the nature of the articles varied considerably from 1991. Economic items dropped to seven, accounting for 243 column centimetres, while articles focusing on security rose dramatically to incorporate 312 column centimetres. Countries to feature here included Indonesia, Cambodia, China and Vietnam. Perhaps the most significant were two articles and one editorial referring to an anti-Government demonstration in Bangkok. These had added significance as a New Zealander was killed during the demonstration by the Thai military. The Reuter article published on Wednesday 20 May focusing on the demonstration was adapted by New Zealand-based journalist, Peter Luke. Luke added the New Zealand perspective to the Reuters article which initially focused specifically on the demonstration.
Articles entering the culture/education category also increased dramatically in 1992. Although only three such items were uncovered, these accounted for 574 column centimetres. The most significant was an article focusing on the success and culture of Ho Chi Minh City. Of the 29 articles uncovered, only seven were written by New Zealand-based journalists. Nevertheless, six of these accounted for 848 of the 1370 column centimetres. One example was an article written by Brendon Burns from South Korea as a guest of the South Korean Government. The article of 150 column centimetres in depth, referred to the economic success of the South Korean economy and the potential it offers New Zealand.

Although the nature of articles varied from the previous year, the most significant feature of the 1992 analysis was the increase in detailed coverage of New Zealand perspectives. Despite the number of these articles decreasing, those produced were both interesting and detailed.

The level of coverage decreased in the 1993 analysis to account for 27 articles and 974 column centimetres. A major reason for the decline was the total absence of security related items. However, more significant was the increase in economic coverage with the 12 articles accounting for 309 column centimetres. Although New Zealand perspectives were limited, signs began to emerge of Asian interest in the New Zealand economy. For example, an item appearing on Monday 1 February referred to Japanese interests in developing a golf course near the Christchurch Groynes.

Despite the economic articles generally lacking New Zealand perspectives, such angles were apparent in other categories. The three travel articles all included a New Zealand context. For example, one focused on an increase in summer flights between Singapore and Christchurch due to the South Island's popularity as a holiday destination.
Of the 27 articles, 11 were produced by New Zealand-based journalists. However, those focusing on New Zealand's economic relationship with Asia were lacking. Although economic articles were prominent, the majority were written by overseas reporters.

The 1994 analysis showed a significant increase in coverage with the 40 articles and one editorial accounting for 1435 column centimetres. The economic category increased from 309 to 426 column centimetres, despite a slight reduction in total articles. The majority of these were once again produced by overseas correspondents. Nevertheless, although lacking New Zealand perspectives, they were generally detailed and analytical. One example was an article of 110 column centimetres examining China's spectacular rise to economic power.

Ten articles and one editorial entered the security category. These 273 column centimetres included a number of countries and disputes. The problems in East Timor, China's objection to peacekeeping forces and a possible North Korean nuclear capability were all mentioned. The increase in this category was a major contrast between the 1993 and 1994 analysis.

The number of articles written by New Zealand journalists also increased in 1994. Of the 41 published during the period of analysis, 18 were produced by New Zealanders. Nevertheless, although this is a significant increase, the remaining 23 and generally the more comprehensive articles were written by overseas correspondents.

The analysis of the Press between 1990 and 1994 did show an increase in coverage of Asia and the Asian community in New Zealand. As reflected by fig three, with the exception of 1993, the increase was systematic. Although a significant portion of the coverage was produced by New Zealand-
based journalists, the majority of articles were written by overseas correspondents. These were generally sourced from the major international wire services or magazines with whom the Press have clipping rights.

*Figure Three: Press coverage of Asia and NZs relationship with the region.*

![Graph showing column centimetres over years 1990 to 1994](image)

**Otago Daily Times (ODT)**

The ODT produced marginally less Asian coverage than its major south island counterpart in the 1990 period of analysis. It produced 20 articles which accounted for 697 column centimetres. Of these, the culture/education category included four articles and 296 column centimetres. Two of the articles focused on the status of Japanese and Pakistani women while another referred to Dunedin’s sister-city relationship with Japan’s Otarn.
Security and economic articles formed the basis of the remaining coverage. Countries to feature in the security section included Cambodia, India and Burma while the economic category was dominated by an article discussing the purchase of a New Zealand forest by Singapore and Malaysian interests.

Of the 20 articles, 13 and often the most analytical were written by foreign journalists. Although two written by New Zealand reporters were both interesting and detailed, the remainder generally lacked analysis.

Total coverage in the 1991 period of analysis decreased from 20 to 19 articles and from 697 to 631 column centimetres. Economic articles increased from two to five and from 120 to 172 column centimetres. Three were written by New Zealand journalists and all referred to Asian interests in this country. They ranged in nature from New Zealand support for Japanese investment to an arranged visit by the Japanese Ambassador to the Otago Chamber of Commerce.

Security coverage also increased in 1991. Although there were again five articles, they accounted for 254 column centimetres. Perhaps the most significant was an article suggesting the United States viewed the Gulf War through the prism of Vietnam. Other countries to feature included Japan, South Korea and India. The increase in coverage of security issues was at the expense of articles focusing on culture and education which decreased significantly from the previous year.

Of the 19 articles, eight were written by New Zealand journalists. The most notable of these centred on education and economics. Despite only two articles focusing on education, they were both written by New Zealanders and referred to Asian interests in New Zealand universities. The remainder were generally focused on sport.
The 1992 period of analysis showed an increase in articles from 19 to 26 and column centimetres from 631 to 875. Two editorials were also published. Eight articles and one editorial accounting for 319 column centimetres entered the security category. Two articles and the editorial focused on a pro-democracy demonstration in Bangkok where a New Zealander was killed by the Thai military. Other countries to feature included Japan, Burma, Indonesia and Cambodia.

Economic articles increased marginally from five to seven and from 172 to 197 column centimetres. Although the increase was not dramatic, the articles tended to reflect a developing relationship between New Zealand and Asian countries. They ranged in nature from a Chinese trading ship making its first visit to Port Chalmers to a Malaysian market focus seminar held in Dunedin.

Perhaps the most significant feature of the 1992 period of analysis was the increase in New Zealand perspectives. These were apparent in 13 of the 28 articles and editorials, generally focusing on Asian interests in this country rather than New Zealand interests in Asia.

The 1993 period of analysis showed a decrease in coverage of Asian issues. Total articles dropped to 18 while column centimetres decreased from 875 to 670. The economic category accounted for 411 column centimetres, a substantial increase from the previous year. Two of these articles which both referred to Asian car industries, accounted for 360 of the category's column centimetres.

The security category included four articles and 87 column centimetres, a significant decrease from 1992. The only article with any substance focused on the possible build-up of United States forces in South
Korea. All other categories were almost totally unrepresented including the travel section which had one article accounting for four column centimetres.

Of the 18 articles published, six were produced by New Zealand journalists. The only one of any significance focused on Asia as a potential growth area for Air New Zealand. However, the articles written by New Zealand journalists generally lacked substance and detail.

The 1994 analysis perhaps represented the year with the greatest balance between categories. The 23 articles and one editorial covered 810 column centimetres, the greatest level of coverage of the five years under examination.

The five economic articles accounted for 186 column centimetres. Three of these were written by New Zealand journalists with two referring to the Prime Minister's recent trip to Indonesia. Other issues included a record Japanese trade surplus, popularity of New Zealand organic food in Japan and future trade talks between Japan and the United States.

The five security articles and one editorial were mixed between the East Timor dispute in light of the Prime Minister's recent visit to Indonesia and other issues of international significance. These included developments in North Korea, Cambodia and China. The travel and culture/education categories both contained interesting articles. Perhaps the most interesting was a feature written by Robin Charteris during a trip through central Asia.

Another major feature of the 1994 coverage were the eight articles incompatible with any of the major categories. Although each yearly analysis uncovered between six and eight such articles, in 1994 these accounted for 299 column centimetres. This was a significant increase for the previous years which
ranged between 94 and 172.

The number of articles written by New Zealanders doubled from 1993 to reach 12. They were generally more detailed and analytical than the previous year. The Robin Charteris article and those focusing on the Prime Minister's visit to Indonesia were perhaps the most noteworthy.

The ODT coverage of Asian issues throughout the period of analysis was substantially less than its major South Island counterpart, the Christchurch Press. As shown in fig four, although total column centimetres in the final year of analysis were greater than any previous year, there were no signs of a systematic increase in coverage. This was emphasised by the 1991 and 1993 analysis which contained less column centimetres than the 1990 figure. The coverage was again dominated by foreign sources, although a number of articles were also produced by New Zealand-based journalists. These generally focused on Asian interests in New Zealand rather than New Zealand interests in the Asian region.

Figure Four: ODT coverage of Asia and NZs relationship with the region.
The New Zealand Herald (NZH)

The 1990 period of analysis uncovered 32 articles accounting for 508 column centimetres. Although this seems a substantial amount of articles, they generally lacked any depth or analysis, with only two being greater than 30 column centimetres in depth. The economic category contained 11 articles and 210 column centimetres. India appeared twice with one article focusing on the Indian economic climate and another referring to the uncompetitive nature of Indian banks.

The five security-based articles accounted for 72 column centimetres, lacking any degree of depth or analysis. However, although only one item appeared in the "Asians in New Zealand" category, the article with a depth of 57 column centimetres was the lead story focusing on Asian migration. Another article which failed to enter a specific category referred to racial tension among Asian groups in New York. These articles about Asian groups are perhaps more relevant to The New Zealand Herald with a significant Asian population living in the Auckland region.

Of the 32 articles, only seven were produced by New Zealand-based journalists. Nevertheless, those written by their foreign counterparts failed to present a greater level of depth or analysis.

The 1991 period of analysis showed an increase in articles from 32 to 40 and one editorial while column centimetres moved from 508 to 595. Those of an economic nature were most common with the 16 articles accounting for 271 column centimetres. Once again, India appeared in the section with an article entitled, "Economic problems first on Indian Government agenda." However, as in the 1990 period of analysis, the majority of articles lacked detail with only three of the 16 being greater than 25 column centimetres in depth.
Of the remaining 25 items, only four articles and the editorial entered specific categories. One of these was cultural while the remaining four were all security-based. This left 20 articles and 222 column centimetres of Asian coverage in the "other" category. These also lacked detail with 12 of the 20 articles consisting of less than 10 column centimetres each.

A major reason for the large number of articles failing to enter a specific category was perhaps the limited amount written by New Zealand journalists. These accounted for just four of the 41 items. This was the lowest level of all publications throughout the five year analysis.

The 1992 period of analysis showed a dramatic increase in coverage of Asian issues. Although the number of items dropped to 27 articles and three editorials, column centimetres increased from 595 to 1797. All categories were represented, with the security section containing 10 articles and one editorial, accounting for 807 column centimetres. There was a significant increase in detail with the articles ranging in depth from 20 to 216 column centimetres. The largest and perhaps most significant focused on the Asian arms market and high military budgets.

While column centimetres in the economic category remained constant at 276, items fell from 16 to seven articles and two editorials. However, the level of depth and significance per item had improved from the previous year. For example, an editorial published on Friday 4 September focused on Asia 2000 and the benefits Asia offers New Zealand.

Although the remaining categories contained between one and two articles, they were all detailed and analytical, ranging from 34 to 160 column centimetres. The articles which entered the "other" category were also generally interesting and detailed.
Perhaps the most noteworthy change from the 1991 period of analysis was the increase in articles written by New Zealand journalists. These accounted for 14 of the 30 items.

While the number of articles remained similar to the 1992 analysis, column centimetres in 1993 had dropped from 1797 to 947. Eleven of the 28 articles entered the economic category which accounted for 314 column centimetres. Of these, five were greater than 35 column centimetres in depth, and were generally focused on the success of the Asian economies. One article referred to the flood of overseas money into the region, while another suggested New Zealand businesses should be more patient when courting Asian trade.

The majority of the remaining coverage focused on security and "Asians in New Zealand." While only two articles appeared in the "Asians in New Zealand" category, they accounted for 244 column centimetres. The most notable was a feature focusing on the funeral of Indian shopkeeper, Navin Govind. The other referred to Japanese anglers at the Bay of Islands Swordfish club competition.

The 1993 analysis showed a significant reduction in the number of articles written by New Zealand journalists. While those written by foreign journalists rose from 16 to 21, material produced by New Zealanders dropped from 14 to seven. Nevertheless, these were generally detailed items of significant issues.

The 1994 and final year of analysis revealed an increase in both items and column centimetres. The 36 articles and one editorial accounted for 1226 column centimetres, 505 of which entered the economic category. The majority of the 16 economically-based articles and one editorial focused specifically on individual Asian economies, rather than their relationships with
New Zealand. Countries to feature included China, Malaysia, Indonesia and Japan.

The security section contained nine articles, accounting for 264 column centimetres. A variety of issues were mentioned including the East Timor dispute, Chinese labour camps and New Zealand's policy toward Myanmar. However, articles focusing on East Timor were most prevalent with four items addressing the issue from different perspectives. Two substantial articles focused on Asians in New Zealand, including an Indian family who avoided deportation and a Chinese-New Zealand artist, Yuk King Tan.

There was a substantial increase in articles written by New Zealand journalists. These moved from seven to 15 while those produced by foreign journalists increased marginally from 21 to 22. However, once again, those produced by New Zealanders generally focused on Asian interests in this country rather than New Zealand interests in the Asian region.

Although the New Zealand Herald's Asian coverage did not consistently increase annually, fig five shows a significant increase in coverage over the final three years. Despite the 1990 and 1991 period of examination revealing large numbers of items, they generally lacked depth and analysis which was reflected in the annual column centimetre totals represented in fig five. The depth and detail improved from 1992 despite the reduction in article numbers. Items written by New Zealand journalists were greatest in 1992 and 1994 with only 11 out of 73 items in the first two years of analysis being produced by New Zealanders. However, the majority of articles written by New Zealanders throughout the five years focused on Asian interests in this country rather than New Zealand interests in the countries of Asia.
Figure Five: NZ Herald coverage of Asia and NZ's relationship with the region.

**The Dominion**

Dominion coverage of Asian issues in the 1990 period of analysis contained 15 items and 297 column centimetres. This was the lowest level of all publications throughout the year analysis. The security category contained six articles which accounted for 135 column centimetres. The countries to feature included Japan, Cambodia and the two Korea's. The most significant was perhaps an editorial published on Thursday 26 July which focused on the Cambodian peace talks.

The remaining categories contained between one and two articles,
most of which lacked any degree of depth or analysis. Of these eight articles, seven consisted of less than 25 column centimetres. The only item of any substance focused on the Japanese pizza market.

One significant feature of the 1990 analysis was the fact that items written by New Zealand journalists outweighed those produced by their foreign counterparts. However, rather than an evident increase in New Zealand perspectives, this was perhaps due to the limited level of total coverage revealed in the 1990 analysis. The nine items were also limited in depth and detail.

Coverage in the 1991 period of analysis increased to 21 articles and 521 column centimetres. The economic category contained eight articles accounting for 114 column centimetres. The items were all limited in detail and generally written by foreign journalists. The two most prominent articles focused on Japanese trade barriers to United States goods and the economic reforms being implemented by the Indian Congress Party.

The four security-based articles accounted for 171 column centimetres. Of these, perhaps the two most significant referred to the thaw in the Korean cold war and Japanese prisoners of war arguing for compensation at the United Nations. The remaining categories were either totally unrepresented or contained one article, with seven Asian items failing to enter a specific category.

While total items increased from the previous year, those written by New Zealand journalists fell from nine to four. The remaining 17 and generally those possessing greater detail were written by foreign reporters.

The number of detailed items increased in 1992 with the 21 articles
and one editorial accounting for 732 column centimetres. The security section contained nine items, five of which comprised more than 25 column centimetres. The most significant issue was the killing of a New Zealander by the Thai military during a pro-democracy demonstration in Bangkok. This was the focus of three articles and the editorial.

The economic category contained three articles, accounting for 167 column centimetres. However, the only article of substance focused on Petrocorp's search for oil in China. Of the remaining 10 articles, eight were incompatible with a specific category while the travel and culture\education sections were unrepresented.

Of the 22 items, 14 were written by foreign journalists, while the remaining eight were produced by New Zealanders. In contrast to the 1991 analysis, the items written by New Zealand journalists generally possessed the greatest detail with five of the eight containing more than 50 column centimetres each.

The 1993 analysis showed a marginal decrease in the number of items from 21 to 19 while column centimetres increased from 732 to 914. The security category contained five items, accounting for 372 column centimetres. These were perhaps exaggerated by an article with a depth of 240 column centimetres focusing on Chinese chain gangs worked by 10 million prisoners. Another detailed article focused on the hunger strike of a prisoner of the Burmese Military Junta.

The economic category contained nine articles accounting for 280 column centimetres. The largest and perhaps most significant was an item focusing on the investments of New Zealand company, Jardine Fleming in China, South Korea, Taiwan and Hong Kong. This was one of very few articles
to focus on the activities of New Zealanders in Asia throughout the period of
analysis.

However, the majority of items were written by foreign journalists
with only six of the 19 being produced by New Zealanders. Nevertheless, the
1993 analysis revealed a further increase in detail, with 12 of the 19 items
having depths greater than 25 column centimetres.

The 1994 analysis revealed 20 articles, and a decrease in column
centimetres from 914 to 683. The security category contained the most coverage
with the six articles accounting for 299 column centimetres. The most
significant focused on the visit of a group of New Zealand members of
parliament to East Timor. Of these, the article with the greatest substance
suggested they may be fooled by the Indonesian authorities. Other articles
featured China and North Korea.

The economic category contained seven articles covering 237
column centimetres. All items were written by foreign journalists and generally
referred to the economic climate of individual countries. The growth of the
Singapore economy was the focus of two such articles. Japan, Indonesia and
Malaysia were also mentioned.

Of the remaining seven items, six were incompatible with specific
categories. Sport was a major focal point while one item referred to the increase
in cases of an Indian plague. The solitary education-based article referred to the
increase in Asian children entering New Zealand secondary schools.

Of the 20 articles, five were written by New Zealand journalists.
These were either focused on sporting issues and the visit of the New Zealand
members of parliament to East Timor.
Between the 1990 and 1993 periods of analysis, Dominion coverage of Asian issues systematically increased. However, fig six shows a significant reduction in the 1994 analysis, containing less material than each of the two previous years. Throughout the period, economic and security-based items formed the essence of coverage with only 10 articles entering other specific categories. The majority of material was written by foreign journalists with only 32 of the 97 items being produced by New Zealand reporters. Nevertheless, these items often contained greater detail than those produced by their foreign counterparts.

Figure Six: The Dominion coverage of Asia and NZ's relationship with the region.
Conclusions

The analysis uncovered a number of significant characteristics regarding the level and nature of coverage over the five year period. These included a number of comparisons between publications as well as various individual features. Fig seven shows the level of space allocated to Asian issues during the period of analysis. The NBR produced the greatest level, accounting for almost 8000 column centimetres of coverage. As a business publication, this was perhaps due to New Zealand’s relationship with Asia being dominated by economic considerations. Of the metropolitan dailies examined, the Press produced the greatest level with close to 6000 column centimetres. This was followed by the NZ Herald, the ODT and the Dominion with just over 3500 column centimetres.

Fig eight shows the level of coverage in terms of the number of published items. The most significant feature of the graph shows the NZ Herald ahead of both the NBR and the Press. This illustrates the limited amount of depth and detail associated with its Asian material, as the number of published items are not reflected by the five year column centimetre total. However, fig eight reflects the reverse regarding the number of items published by the NBR. While the NBR published less items than both the NZ Herald and the Press, its column centimetre total in fig seven suggests that the items that were published generally contained greater detail than its daily counterparts. Fig eight places the ODT and the Dominion behind the remaining three publications in terms of item numbers, similar to their positions in fig seven. This suggests that in comparison to the other papers, their column centimetre totals were not outweighed by item numbers. In other words, the detail contained in their items was greater than that published in the NZ Herald and less than that associated with the NBR.
Another significant feature illustrated in fig eight is the ratio of items written by New Zealand journalists and their foreign counterparts. As shown by the green section, the majority of coverage focusing on Asian issues was written by foreign journalists. These stories are mainly sourced by the dailies through the New Zealand Press Association (NZPA), whose Asian material is received through three major news wires.

The first of these is a Reuters news feed put together in Hong Kong which contains the majority of Reuters main daily international news. Being put together in Hong Kong, the wire is called Reuters World Service Asia and may contain a greater Asian content than those put together in other regions. Nevertheless, it is still a general international wire with a mixture of news analysis, issues of the day, personalities and background features. 66

Another wire is received via the Australian Associated Press (AAP), which contains a mixture of Reuters material coupled with material from other wire services they buy. These include the Associated Press (AP), Asions France Press (AFP) and the American chain, Night Ridder. Former NZPA news editor, Mr Tom Bridgman believes this service is extremely effective as AP are strong in North Asia, AFP in South-East Asia and Reuters in the old Commonwealth areas of Asia. 67

The third and least significant of feeds received by the NZPA includes a mixture of Australian financial news such as information on Asian stock exchanges. This wire is of particular interest to market traders. 68

67 ibid.
68 ibid.
Once the material has entered the NZPA in the form of electronic news wires, it is monitored and checked by editors before being despatched to its subscribers which include the four dailies under analysis. As stated by Mr Bridgman, this generally includes about 90% of the information received. "The aim of NZPA is to provide a broad range of news for papers to make their own selections from."\(^69\) The situations in which news is withheld are generally where two wires produce similar stories or when it is known that an early morning story will soon be updated. Subsequently, the NZPA is not a significant gatekeeper.

Although the wires from which Asian stories are sourced do not possess Asian material exclusively, they do include a significant number. For example, the following number of items emerged from the specified Asian countries during September 1994.

154 from China  
58 from Japan  
51 from Indonesia  
63 from Korea  
68 from India  
14 from Sri Lanka  
30 from the Philippines  
15 from Vietnam\(^70\)

Although, as stated by Mr Bridgman, not all would be relevant to New Zealand, it could not be said there is a shortage of Asian material emerging from the NZPA.

\(^69\) ibid.  
\(^70\) NEW ZEALAND PRESS ASSOCIATION RECORDS.
In addition to the NZPA material, the four dailies all have other syndicated sources from which Asian content may be extracted. The ODT has arrangements with the London Observer News Service while the Press has clipping rights to the Economist, the Daily Telegraph, the Los Angeles Times, the Washington Post and the Independent. Of the North Island dailies the New Zealand Herald uses material from the Economist, Newsweek and the Observer while the Dominion has arrangements with the Telegraph, the London Times and the Murdoch owned Australian newspapers.\textsuperscript{71} Nevertheless, the NZPA material forms the essence of Asian content received from foreign sources.

While the NBR does not receive material from the NZPA, it has a number of arrangements with a number of other foreign sources. The AP Dow Jones and Wall Street Journal news services supply the greatest level of coverage. The Asian Wall Street Journal provides the majority of this material with the NBR having on-line access to its news and feature coverage. The Forbes Magazine and Financial Times from London are also used as are occasional freelance contributions.\textsuperscript{72}

With fig eight showing the majority of coverage emerging from foreign sources, the publication's ratio of items written by New Zealand journalists ranged from the NZ Herald's 29% to the ODTs 42%. These included editorials as well as articles focusing on New Zealand's relationship with Asia. However, with an absence of a New Zealand media presence in the region, the majority of articles focused on Asian interests in this country rather than the inverse. The minority which referred to New Zealand's interests in the countries

\textsuperscript{71} This information was received through correspondence with the Newspapers concerned. See bibliography.

\textsuperscript{72} Interview. Neville Gibson, 17/1/1995.
of Asia were generally produced by journalists on sponsored missions to the region, or through the use of material offered by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade and the New Zealand Trade Development Board (TRADENZ).

The daily editors willing to comment on the merits of stationing an NZPA correspondent in Asia raised various issues. Editor of the New Zealand Herald, Mr P. Scherer stated,

We would probably increase coverage of Asia if a fulltime NZPA staff correspondent were restationed there. But nationalistic New Zealand perspectives are not particularly important. We believe our readers are intelligent enough to form their own considered views, given the basis of facts supplemented by some analysis or informed comment, on foreign material at large, not excluding Asia. News is news-with or without a specific New Zealand connection or perspective.

Editor of the ODT, Mr G. Adams referred to space.

The difficulty is that even with a larger or better service on Asian news there is only space for a certain amount of international/overseas news in the newspaper and a selection process would take place. So an enlarged service would not guarantee that more articles would be published.

Editor of the Press, Mr D. Wilson reflected these points. Although he would like more frequent coverage from a New Zealand correspondent, he believes the present level and nature of coverage for a general newspaper is adequate. "There is only so much space available and those desiring more can receive it from specialist sources." Editor of the Dominion, Mr R. Long was unwilling to comment.

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73 Letter from Peter Scherer, 13/12/1994.
75 Interview. David Wilson, 7/12/1994
The NBR coverage possessing New Zealand angles is generally written by former NZPA correspondent in Asia, Mr David Barber. This content involves items such as trade reviews and other issues of significance to New Zealand business. The NBR also occasionally publishes material written by academic specialists. However, as stated by Mr Gibson, New Zealand angles are not fundamentally important. "We publish material of interest and assistance to New Zealand businesses. This does not necessarily require an authentic New Zealand perspective."  

Subsequently, the editors are not overly concerned by the ratio of foreign items to those produced by New Zealand journalists. If an NZPA correspondent were stationed in Asia, the level of coverage published in the dailies would perhaps remain similar to the current level. However, the blue section in fig eight may penetrate the green areas to some minor extent.

Fig nine shows the yearly coverage of all five publications contained in the analysis. It illustrates the annual contributions of each publication with the NBR dominating, closely followed by the Press. It also shows the differences in the level of coverage between these two publications and their three remaining counterparts. The Press and the NBR account for more column centimetres than the three remaining newspapers combined. Although fig eight shows a decline in total coverage between 1992 and 1993, the last three years of the analysis do show a significant increase in coverage from the first two years.

Fig 10 gives a more accurate picture of the trends in coverage and comparisons between publications. Not one paper showed an annual systematic trend upward between 1990 and 1994. However, as shown in fig nine, the last

76 op. cit. interview Gibson.
three years of the analysis show an increase, despite this not being through a systematic yearly progression. All publications also produced more coverage in the last two years of the analysis than in the first two years. This is shown in fig 10 by adding the 1990 and 1991 totals of each paper and comparing this to the totals of the 1993 and 1994 figures. Subsequently, there seems to have been a moderate increase in the level of Asian coverage over the last few years as the region has become of increased importance to New Zealand.

While the level of coverage is an important element in the analysis, just as significant is the nature of the coverage. Figs 11 to 15 illustrate the nature of Asian coverage contained in the five publications over the period of analysis. Fig 11 shows that the NBR coverage was dominated by economic items which accounted for 91.8% of the five year column centimetre total. This is to be expected from a business publication.

In contrast, fig 12 shows the variety of coverage published in the Press during the period of analysis. Economic issues dominated, accounting for 30% of material, while the culture/education, security and travel categories also featured prominently.

Fig 13 shows that economic issues were also the most abundant published in the ODT, accounting for 29.5% of coverage. The security and culture/education categories were prominent. However Asian items incompatible with any specific category accounted for 25% of coverage, second only to economic material.

Economic coverage was also the most abundant in the NZ Herald, accounting for 30.3% of material. Fig 14 shows that coverage of security issues and those incompatible with any of the major categories were also prominent. However, perhaps the most significant feature of the NZ Herald material was the
11.9% which focused on Asians living in the New Zealand community. This point was raised by Mr Scherer who stated, "It may be that our coverage of the Asian community in New Zealand, and particularly in Auckland, is superior to our coverage of Asia per se." This is perhaps due to the majority of New Zealand's Asian community living in Auckland. At the last census, over half of New Zealand's Chinese and Indian population lived in the Auckland region. These groups accounted for more than 75% of New Zealand's Asian community.

The most significant feature of the Dominion's coverage was the level of space allocated to security issues, accounting for 37.6% of total column centimetres. This outweighed economic coverage which stood at 26.1%. Material focusing on New Zealand's Asian community accounted for 7.3% while editorial comment covered 5.9% of coverage, more than all other publications. This was perhaps due to the political nature of the Dominion, as the leading morning daily in the nation's capital.

The content analysis uncovered a number of features associated with the level and nature of Asian coverage in the five publications under analysis. The NBR outweighed its daily counterparts with its level of coverage, despite focusing almost solely on economic issues. Nevertheless, these issues proved to be the most abundant throughout the dailies, with the exception of the Dominion. This was perhaps predictable as New Zealand's developing relationship with Asia has a strong emphasis toward economic considerations.

The majority of coverage was produced by foreign sources. However, this was generally of little concern to the editors who believe New Zealand perspectives are not necessarily required. The editors were also generally satisfied with both the level and nature of their Asian coverage. However, these viewpoints are not universally shared.
Figure Seven: Total Asian coverage 1990 - 1994

Figure Eight: Total Asian articles and editorials.
Figure Nine: Yearly coverage of publication.

Figure Ten: Trends in Asian coverage.
Figure Eleven: NBR nature of coverage.

Figure Twelve: Press.nature of coverage.
Figure Thirteen: ODT, nature of coverage.

Figure Fourteen: NZ Herald, nature of coverage.
Figure Fifteen: Dominion, nature of coverage.
An Asian perspective.

The New Zealand media recently has been under intense scrutiny regarding the level of coverage allocated to Asian issues and developments. Such discussion has been generally confined to high ranking New Zealand Government officials and their media counterparts. However, Asian diplomats from the various embassies and high commissions in Wellington also have opinions on how well their respective countries are reported.

According to the Indonesian Ambassador, Her Excellency, Mrs Tengku Dahlia Soemolang, coverage of Indonesia is very much determined by the degree of interest expressed by the viewing population. She came to this conclusion while Consul-General in the southern part of America. Coverage of Indonesia and the other ASEAN countries was extremely limited, except that relating to the Philippines. The Ambassador believed these stories were published and broadcast because of the interest generated from the historical relationship that exists between the United States and the Philippines. No such interest was directed toward the other ASEAN countries.

She sees the New Zealand media in a similar light to that of America where there is minimal coverage of Indonesia due to the lack of public interest. The coverage that is published and broadcast is essentially negative in focus. She believes that every country including Indonesia has shortcomings which are all justifiable news. However, this coverage should be balanced with positive issues such as the success of the Indonesian economy. The Ambassador believes this approach is also adopted by the New Zealand media when covering other ASEAN countries such as Malaysia.

She sees the Asia 2000 initiative as a vital starting point in developing media awareness of the Asian countries. While she believes the
media reflect public interest, they are also a major determinant in shaping these interests. The Asia 2000 programme is subsequently important in enhancing both public and media awareness which should complement one another.

The ambassador mentioned the East Timor dispute as an example of the media's limited awareness of the country. While the political situation is important, she said other factors must be understood to present an accurate picture of the dispute. The country's philosophy and cultural background are important elements which are often overlooked and subsequently distort the nature of coverage.

She believes the absence of a New Zealand media presence in the Asian region is a major problem. With the coverage generally emerging from western news agencies, material focusing on New Zealand's relationship with Asia generally, and Indonesia specifically, is extremely limited.

The Ambassador stressed the good relationship between the governments of the two countries, though this had not become evident through the New Zealand media. However, her major criticism was the lack of balance presented by both the print and broadcasting media.  

A number of these arguments were reflected by the Malaysian High Commissioner, Her Excellency, Tunku Dato' Nazihad bte. Tunku Mohd. Rus. She believes the New Zealand media is very Eurocentric with foreign news being dictated by the views of the big powers. Rather than concentrating primarily on these countries, the high commissioner thinks the media should be more concerned with New Zealand's backyard including the South Pacific and Asia.

She agreed with her Indonesian counterpart, believing both the press and broadcasting media were insensitive to the efforts of MFAT with which Malaysia has a good relationship. Whereas the New Zealand Government has recognised the economic development of the ASEAN members, this has not been reflected throughout the media.

The high commissioner referred to a number of examples. In a broadcasting context, she believes programmes such as Fraser should interview Asian officials as they do leaders from Europe and America. Other current affairs programmes could also present Asian perspectives in detail from time to time. Officials such as ambassadors could comment on various designated topics to balance opinion and create a broader awareness of issues. According to the high commissioner, such comment is extremely rare and often fails to take other factors such as cultural differences into account.

She referred to the Television New Zealand programme, Asia Dynamic, as one positive aspect of television coverage of Asia. However, although the programme is very educational, it fails to create public awareness due to its time of broadcast. If it was presented closer to prime time viewing, a far greater number of viewers may watch, in contrast to its present time of 8.30 am on Sunday. This is another example of the media's failure to reflect the importance of the region, she says.

The high commissioner believes the print media are slightly better than their broadcasting counterparts, although the coverage is still essentially limited and predominantly negative. When Malaysia is the focus of articles, they tend to be inconsequential snippets, giving the impression they are merely published to fill in space rather than to enhance public knowledge and awareness.
She believes a designated Asian section would be an effective way of presenting news from the region, such as the "Asia Focus" page which often appears in the National Business Review (NBR). Although the NBR has a limited focus, this approach could also be taken by the mainstream papers.

The high commissioner has been posted in a number of other countries before moving to New Zealand. A number of these had various forms of media control which were often more responsible and balanced in their Asian reporting than those with self-regulatory systems such as New Zealand. Rather than distinguishing between free and controlled media systems, she prefers to categorise into responsible versus irresponsible. Of the free systems she believes America is extremely irresponsible in covering Asia, with the European countries following close behind. In contrast to the New Zealand, American and European medias', she also believes controlled systems tend to support and cover government initiatives as a responsibility.

The absence of New Zealand media personnel in the region was a major concern expressed by the high commissioner. Apart from the lack of New Zealand perspectives, she believes the stationing of correspondents in Asia would greatly increase the accuracy and depth of articles. The High Commissioner believes the Asia 2000 media travel awards are a good idea, although an exchange of journalists between New Zealand and Asian news organisations may also increase media awareness.

The Second Secretary of the Indian Embassy, Mr M. P. Gavai, believes the limited amount of Indian coverage is a direct result of the lack of public interest. Although geographical distance may play a part in the limited coverage, he believes New Zealanders lack interest because they don't see India

or the Indian economy affecting them as they may with regions such as the ASEAN nations. This is despite growing New Zealand business interests and tourism to India.

The lack of interest is perhaps more surprising with India because of the historical commonwealth relationship it shares with New Zealand. Nevertheless, the lack of public interest also seems responsible for the negative focus of the items that do appear. Mr Gavai believes such a focus does have a place in the New Zealand media. He referred to the plague sweeping through India during September and October as one example. However, such coverage should be balanced with positive issues such as the opening up of the Indian economy and the technological advances in science.

Before coming to New Zealand, Mr Gavai was stationed in Warsaw where media coverage of India was greater in terms of both understanding and depth. He believes this is due to the close relationship that exists between Poland and India who were both close allies of the Soviet Union and the Eastern Block during the Cold War. The second secretary believes the Polish reporting of India is significantly enhanced by the stationing of Polish correspondents in India. News organisations between the two countries also have close affiliations with each other and often exchange information.

Although New Zealand's relationship with India is insignificant compared to Poland's, Mr Gavai believes the stationing of a New Zealand correspondent in Asia is imperative. He based this assumption on the example of a BBC (British Broadcasting Company) correspondent who has been stationed in India for the last 25 years. Based in Delhi, Mark Tully has gained respect for his reporting due to his understanding of the Indian culture and way of life. For these reasons his reporting is accepted as objective, despite it sometimes being of a critical nature. Although a New Zealander would cover the entire Asian
region, the second secretary believes it would enhance the coverage to some extent.

The Indian migrant community in New Zealand totals about 33,000 or 0.81% of the entire population. According to the second secretary, such a significant portion deserves more representation in the New Zealand media. He believes the marginal coverage which does exist generally focuses on issues such as attacks on Indian citizens, rather than items of a culture nature such as religious festivals. Although cultural issues are of great importance to the Indian community, the mainstream media do not place the same degree of importance on such issues.

This was a major factor in the development of two weekly newspapers aimed specifically toward New Zealand’s Indian population. Run by the migrant community, the "Indian Times" and the "Indian Star" are designed to meet the needs of the Indian community. Mr Gavai believes the development of these papers reflects the limited level and negative nature of the media in covering positive developments in both India and New Zealand’s Indian population. If this was adequate, perhaps the papers would not have been necessary.  

According to the First Secretary of the Japanese Embassy, Mr Hyosuku Yasui, coverage of Japan in the New Zealand media is also inadequate. He believes it is inferior to the Australian and American medias', partly due to the absence of a New Zealand media presence in Asia. "The articles emerging from the international agencies which form the essence of Japanese coverage, tend to comprise pre-judgements aimed at a designated target audience."  

79 Interview. Second Secretary of the Indian High Commission, Mr M. P. Gavai, 30/9/1994.  
80 Interview. First Secretary of the Japanese
Yasui referred to the recent American criticism of Japanese trade policy. Although articles focusing on this issue may be of interest to American readers, New Zealand and Japan enjoy a successful economic relationship. Subsequently, he believes criticism of Japanese trade policy has been apparent in the New Zealand media, primarily because of American rather than New Zealand dissatisfaction.

This coupled with the growth of the economic relationship, are the reason the first secretary sees a New Zealand media presence in the region as of fundamental importance. He believes the exchange of journalists between the two countries through the New Zealand-Japan Foundation programme is a step in the right direction. However, a great deal more is required before the coverage could be considered adequate.

Mr Yasui also believes the articles are generally essentially negative in focus. He referred to Japanese environmental issues as a good example.

Areas of the New Zealand media criticise issues such as Japanese forest policy and air pollution. However, the aggressive Japanese research and commitment to addressing global environmental problems, is never mentioned. This is also a good example of the lack of balance associated with Japanese coverage.  

The first secretary suggested a few possibilities to enhance the level and nature of Japanese and Asian coverage. These were mainly aimed toward newspapers as he believes television has greater problems due to costs and the direct nature of the medium. Although the costs may be to extreme to place a full-time correspondent in Asia, Mr Yasui suggested a number of other options. One was the forming of special freelance contracts with expatriate New Zealand journalists living in the region. He believes there must be a fair number of these


81 ibid.
working for various international news agencies and organisations operating out of Asia. Mr Yasui also suggested the possibility of New Zealand newspapers arranging clipping rights with various Japanese newspapers and magazines. This could be done in a similar manner to the relationship that exists between the Christchurch Press and the Financial Times. At the very least, such relationships would present the media with an Asian perspective of controversial events, rather than solely a European or American one. This lack of balance was the area of greatest concern expressed by the first secretary.  

The First Secretary of the Chinese Embassy basically reflected the thoughts of his counterparts from the other high commissions and embassies. Mr Qiu Bingjun is concerned at New Zealanders lack of understanding of China. He mentioned a recent trip made by a New Zealander to write a school text book on China. The book concentrated on issues of little relevance to the Chinese way of life which he saw as a good example of the lack of knowledge. However, he was more concerned that such knowledge would be passed on to the next generation through the New Zealand school system.

Mr Bingjun sees the limited amount of media coverage of China as a contributing factor to the lack of knowledge and awareness. Of the coverage that is presented, he believes it is generally negative, focusing on issues such as natural disasters rather than more important ones which include the success of the Chinese economy. However, Mr Bingjun believes the coverage is more effective in New Zealand than in Nigeria where he was last posted. Nevertheless, this is entirely due to the backward nature of the Nigerian economy which has an extremely under-developed communication network.

\[\text{ibid.}\]
The first secretary would welcome any New Zealand reporters interested in travelling to China. Although a visa is required to embark on such a visit, he pointed out that this system is no different from foreign journalists interested in travelling to New Zealand. Mr Bingjun sees this as an effective way of increasing New Zealanders' knowledge and awareness of China, the Asian economy with the greatest potential.\footnote{Interview. First Secretary of the Chinese Embassy, Mr Qiu Bingjun, 5/10/1994.}

Another Asian diplomat based in Wellington emphasised the inadequacy of the New Zealand medias' coverage of Asia. He who did not wish to be named believes that if New Zealand is to become part of Asia rather than part of Europe, the media have an enormous role to play in conducting the shift. This includes concentration on cultural aspects of the region rather than primarily economic ones. In contrast to a number of other countries, he believes New Zealand would not undergo a major culture shock in order to enhance the relationship.

The diplomat has spent time in the western United States where the American medias' coverage of Asia was similar to its New Zealand counterpart. A major similarity was the print medias' concentration on regional events at the expense of a number of significant international developments. "When Asian nations were the focus of articles, they were presented from a regional perspective which often overlooked a number of important issues."\footnote{These were the comments expressed in an interview by a credible Asian diplomat who did not wish to be named, 7/10/1994.} Likewise, he saw the coverage as straight reporting with an absence of any detailed analysis. However, in the New Zealand context, he believes the limited analysis may in part be due to the transformation in the political system. In other words, the present political situation in New Zealand may have contributed to media...
concentration on internal rather than external developments.

The diplomat also referred to a number of internal issues involving Asians in the New Zealand community. He believes the recent anti-Asian sentiment may to some extent be media-driven.

The media have a responsibility to emphasise the economic relationship between New Zealand and Asia works both ways. This means Asian initiatives such as the purchase of golf courses should be seen as enhancing the relationship as well as New Zealand's economic growth, rather an 'Asian invasion'. This is the case in most Asian countries where New Zealand investment is welcomed. However, the New Zealand media tend to concentrate on the more controversial-type angles.\(^5\)

After hearing the views of the six diplomats representing Asian countries, a number of significant features became evident. The most striking element was the similarity of the views expressed. They all believed the media coverage of their countries is essentially limited and negative in focus. Although they believed a negative element was justified, their major complaint was the lack of balance. Each diplomat referred to the success of their respective economies as an adequate topic to balance events such as natural disasters and human rights issues. Likewise, they all agreed that a New Zealand media presence in Asia would be an effective first step in enhancing coverage in terms of both depth and understanding.

\(^5\) Ibid.
Other Viewpoints

Although these editorial and Asian diplomatic perspectives are perhaps the most significant, a number of other New Zealanders have also expressed viewpoints regarding the level and nature of Asian coverage. Listener columnist, Paul Smith accentuates the need to re-establish a New Zealand media presence in Asia. He explains that news outlets appoint and keep correspondents abroad to interpret news for their audiences rather than to process the bulk of news.

What usually happens next is an identification by media consumers with correspondents. Gradually we come to rely on that familiar name above the international story for new insight. He or she is there for us, interpreting a largely foreign place. On radio or television, a correspondent's voice becomes not just familiar, but trustworthy.  

Although he also sees a place for other international news sources, Smith believes for these reasons, the value of correspondents writing or speaking for a New Zealand audience rather than an undifferentiated mass cannot be overestimated.

Smith believes that if Asia is the new frontier, the New Zealand media should be on the patch. "Other countries that have not switched identities have their media present and in some numbers. Interestingly, their presence is paralleled in some cases by trade volumes." He believes that if the media reflect society, the turnaround to Asia has been slow and sometimes painful. Smith suggests this stems from New Zealand's European background and explains the presence of correspondents in London but not Tokyo.  

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87 ibid.
88 ibid.
Director of New Zealand's Centre for Strategic Studies, Mr Terence O'Brien believes changes within the direct control of the print media are required for New Zealand to improve its capacity to think for itself. He sees too much reliance on commentaries and analysis from Britain, America and Australia which fail to present an authentic New Zealand perspective. O'Brien sees the Asia-Pacific region as a major area where coverage of New Zealand's security interests should be home grown.

Firstly, he believes there needs to be direct encouragement of greater specialisation by our journalists in external relations. "The foundations for greater specialisation need to be commenced at the stage where the basic elements and craft of the journalistic profession are being laid." However, O'Brien also emphasises the need for opportunities and encouragement to specialise to be provided for the qualified journalist in the work-place.

Secondly, he suggests that greater use should be made of the pool of expertise that does exist in the New Zealand community in the area of external relations. Although aware of the constraints that exist in fostering home grown commentary about external issues, O'Brien suggests that such expertise can for the most part be found in the academic community. "It is axiomatic that the strategic interests of a country cannot be defined or indeed readily explained by those from another country and background, no matter how qualified such outsiders may be."  

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90 ibid, 2p.
Thirdly, Mr O'Brien believes a renewed effort must be made to restore the capacity for the New Zealand print media to gather at first hand, information in and from the outside world. He referred to the recent closing down of the New Zealand Press Association (NZPA) office in Hong Kong. Although aware of the economic constraints, O'Brien believes the re-establishment of a NZPA presence in the Asia-Pacific is a fundamental requirement. With such a move undoubtedly posing financial burdens, especially on smaller ownership companies, he suggests the larger companies would perhaps initially have to bear the heaviest load in such a restoration.  

This point was also emphasised by a former NZPA Asian correspondent, Mr David Barber who was based in Singapore from 1969 to 1973. While he accepts that much news about Asia can be received from New Zealand via foreign sources, it is heavily filtered before its arrival which generally eliminates any potential New Zealand perspective. He believes from his own experiences that such perspectives can only be adequately reported by a New Zealand journalist based in the region. "It is essential to be on the ground, talking to diplomats and reading the local newspapers. It is important to know what people there are talking about rather than merely what is written back here."  

He also emphasised the need for such journalists to establish themselves in the region, rather than embarking on short visits. "It takes time to gain a cultural understanding and to recover from the initial culture shock. Those who work in the region for short periods lack such understanding which can show through in their subsequent stories."  

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91 ibid, 3p.
93 ibid.
financial constraints, Barber believes the closing down of the NZPA office in Hong Kong has seriously hindered New Zealand print coverage of the region.

He believes Asia is under-represented in the New Zealand media. He mentioned the Malaysian Straits Times as an example of a paper adequately covering external issues. It contains a World news page, an ASEAN page as well as an Asia-Pacific news page. In a similar manner, Barber would like to see an Asia news page in New Zealand newspapers rather than a general international section which in his opinion focuses to strongly on Europe.\(^\text{94}\)

Executive Director of the newly formed Asia 2000 foundation, Mr Peter Harris also believes Asia is under-represented by the New Zealand media. "Its absence is more noticeable here than in any other country in the region. It is very hard to be well informed about regional developments by reading New Zealand newspapers."\(^\text{95}\) Mr Harris emphasises that dealing with Asia means more than giving the latest stock market prices or the latest news about New Zealand business. "It also requires systematic coverage which allows people to gain an accurate picture of the regions social and cultural affairs."\(^\text{96}\)

He believes that while New Zealand rightly saw itself as having special ties with Britain, even the Economist and the Financial Times has excellent coverage of Asian affairs. "Although the Economist is a British-based publication, about three years ago it began an Asian section which apart from editorial comment now precedes all other segments."\(^\text{97}\) Mr Harris believes this

\(^{94}\) ibid.


\(^{96}\) Interview, Peter Harris. 30/9/1994.

\(^{97}\) ibid.
is an indication of what good editors are thinking.

He also explained that the main reasons given for the current level of Asian coverage was the lack of public interest. However, Mr Harris disputes this by referring to regularly reported issues. "I am sure there is no systematic knowledge as to how popular other issues such as the civil wars in the former Yugoslavia are."98 Subsequently, he believes such editorial opinion may not perhaps always translate into public interest.

These opinions highlight the number of elements associated with New Zealand media coverage of Asia and its complexities. However, a number of recent initiatives perhaps indicate a growing New Zealand media awareness of the increasing prominence of the region.

98 ibid.
CHAPTER SIX:
Recent media developments

The New Zealand Press Association: a re-evaluation

The New Zealand Press Association (NZPA) currently has overseas correspondents in Britain and Australia to report specifically on news of relevance from those areas to New Zealand. The maintenance of these posts reflects not only New Zealand reader interest in events in those areas, but also historic commonalities of interest and heritage. 99

The posts, based in Sydney and London respectively, both employ two correspondents who cover general news, finance and sport. Their reports supplement the bulk of the international news file provided by Reuter and through the Australian Associated Press (AAP). Between 1966 and 1989 the NZPA also employed a full-time correspondent in Asia. However, economic reasons led to the closing of the office based in Hong Kong in 1989. 100

With New Zealand now having stronger and growing trade links in the widespread Asian area, NZPA has undertaken a re-evaluation of news emerging from the region. It has recognised Asia’s economic importance to New Zealand into the next century and as such the importance to ensure that political and other developments of relevance are properly reported and analysed for a New Zealand audience. This would include analysis of issues not necessarily

100 ibid, 4p.
significant to an American or European audience and subsequently not covered by the major international news organisations.\footnote{101}

However, as suggested by News Editor, Mr Tom Bridgman, it can also be argued there is no particular New Zealand angle or analysis required. Events are international in nature and explanation and can just as easily and often more authoritatively be explained by an outside correspondent or observer. In fact an international perspective is required, not a parochial New Zealand one.\footnote{102}

Nevertheless, on balance, NZPA believe it would be of added value to the news industry to have supplementary cover from the Asian area provided on a regular basis by a New Zealand reporter or reporters. International dynamics could be presented as well as an authentic New Zealand perspective.

A number of reasons supporting this view were covered in a report presented to the NZPA board in early 1994. The report examined the possibility of stationing a correspondent in Asia. The major suggested benefit would be the ability to pick up on points of commonality or interest that would particularly spark the interest of New Zealand readers. These would not necessarily be stories about New Zealand or New Zealanders.\footnote{103}

Another suggested benefit was the fact that having such a correspondent would position the newspaper industry as a newsleader in the country. It would demonstrate that it was looking to the future and place it one step ahead of its electronic competitors with competitive and different

\footnote{101 op.cit, interview Bridgman.}
\footnote{102 ibid.}
\footnote{103 ibid.}
The extra material gathered by such a correspondent would also add value to the newswire, making it more marketable for new services either already being sold or in the future. Corporate clients looking to Asia may be more interested in purchasing information from a company committed to and providing extra material from the region. This was seen as a major benefit as the added revenue from potentially high value clients would help keep down the costs of the NZPA services to newspapers in the years ahead.  

A directly appointed correspondent would allow for regular editorial direction, consistency of copy, greater understanding of New Zealanders' interests and the ability to establish an authoritative profile. However, the success of the venture would be largely dependant on the ability of the correspondent. The reporter would need a solid understanding of Asian issues, preferably a key Asian language, a keen appreciation of newspaper requirements, be a confident self-starter and above all a knowledgeable and interesting writer. According to Mr Bridgman, very few New Zealand journalists would fit this criteria.

Another important factor examined as part of the re-evaluation was the potential location of such a correspondent. This would be determined by job role and largely by cost. A number of areas were looked at including Beijing, Seoul, Tokyo, Hong Kong, Singapore and Bangkok. A number of factors suggested Singapore would be the most desirable base. It was seen as an effective staging area for covering Asia, has satisfactory living conditions and good communication facilities.

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104 NZPA, May 1994, op.cit. 5p.
105 ibid, 5p.
106 ibid, 6p.
A number of these deductions were made with the help of the Australian Fairfax group which has a correspondent based in Singapore. According to its executive editor, Mr Mike Smith, having the right person in a place like Singapore is like having two or three correspondents. The Fairfax example is a useful parallel to what the NZPA may need to look for.\(^{108}\)

However, as emphasised by Mr Bridgman, the bottom line comes down to whether the placement of such a correspondent is economically viable. With Singapore representing the preferred base, the potential annual cost of stationing a reporter there may be compared to the Fairfax budget for the next financial year which amounts to $A400,000 ($NZ500,000).

This comprises:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Cost</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Correspondents salary</td>
<td>$A100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locals wages</td>
<td>10,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>On costs (payroll tax etc)</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel/Accommodation</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent (old colonial house)</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reuter Wire</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telecoms</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sundries</td>
<td>3,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utilities</td>
<td>13,000(^{109})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{107}\) op.cit, Interview Bridgman

\(^{109}\) ibid.

\(^{109}\) NZPA. May 1994, op.cit, 8p.
Although the NZPA has recognised the importance of Asia to New Zealand and seriously considered the possibility of stationing a correspondent in the region, economic reasons led to the NZPA board rejecting the proposal. However, a number of other options are presently being considered to enhance the level of coverage aimed specifically at a New Zealand audience.

The most significant of these is the possibility of employing journalists already working in the region on a contractual basis.

Mr Bridgman is currently looking for these so-called stringers who could write regular articles from Asian locations about areas of interest to a New Zealand audience. He has recently spoken to Mr Peter Sainsbury, one of three New Zealanders who have set up a small news agency based in Phnom Penh.\(^\text{110}\)

Mr Bridgman believes the use of stringers would not be as effective as employing a full-time correspondent. However, if such a reporter cannot be sustained, the next best alternatives must be considered. "The secret is finding the right people as their material will compete against good copy coming in on the international wire. To be a worthwhile practise, their work must be considered worthy of publication by New Zealand newspaper editors."\(^\text{111}\)

The NZPA re-evaluation is another response to New Zealand's growing relationship with Asia. Although a full-time correspondent is not viable in the current economic climate, Mr Bridgman believes such a position is likely to be filled sometime in the future. However, the possibility of employing stringers in the region and the fact that the issue is currently under analysis may

\(^{110}\) op.cit, Interview Bridgman.

\(^{111}\) ibid.
lead to a greater level of material aimed specifically at a New Zealand audience.

**Radio New Zealand International Asia-Pacific Bulletin**

Another major media initiative has been the launching of the Asia-Pacific Bulletin, produced by Radio New Zealand International (RNZI). Inaugurated in early 1990, the bulletin was a by-product of a major RNZI restructure.

Between 1945 and 1981, RNZI broadcast to the Pacific, its primary role, through the use of two 7.5 kilowatt short wave transmitters left behind by the Americans after World War Two. The service was mainly funded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. However, with the advent to power of the Muldoon-led National Government in 1981 came a reduction to various areas of government spending. This led to the closing of the RNZI pacific service between 1981 and 1990, apart from occasional relays of national radio.

The relaunching of the service in early 1990 was due to the Labour Government investing three million dollars in a new short-wave transmitter installed in the central North Island. The initiative was undertaken to mark the 150 year anniversary of the Treaty of Waitangi and to re-establish a prominent New Zealand presence in the Pacific.

The prime function of the revamped service is to give hourly bulletins of World and Pacific news to the Pacific audience as well as occasional Radio New Zealand reports. As the South Pacific's primary radio news service, RNZI spend one million dollars annually on employing stringers living in most South Pacific countries. As it was not initially possible to transmit reports back to the region, such stringers were not employed.
The remaining sources used by the station are feeds from international news agencies which include a number of items focusing on Asian issues. 112

With RNZI employing stringers in the Pacific as sources to transmit news back to the region, it was believed that segments of such material could be used to present a daily bulletin on National Radio. It was also believed that incoming material from the international agencies would allow for an Asian content to the proposed bulletin. This was a direct response to the growing prominence of Asia and its increasing importance to New Zealand. As stated by RNZIs founding manager, Mr Ian Johnstone, "although RNZI was aimed specifically at the Pacific, enough sources were available to present an Asia-Pacific bulletin to a New Zealand audience."113

This led to the launching of the Asia-Pacific bulletin as a by-product of the restructuring. It was initially a seven minute bulletin presented at 6.50 am during morning report. However, in June 1993 during a revamp of morning report, two bulletins were presented at 6.45 am and 7.55 am respectively. The sources used included the following:

Pacific stringers

International news agency material including, Reuters, Associated Press, Asions France-Presse.

113 ibid.
Transcripts of early morning British Broadcasting Corporation bulletins.

Soundbites from CNN(Cable News Network).

Material from PACNEWS, a cooperative arrangement between all Pacific broadcasting organisations apart from French ones.

All sources are among the body of information from which material is selected for broadcast to the Pacific. However, the body of information also includes items that may be of interest to a New Zealand audience as opposed to its Pacific counterpart. The sources are used in a variety of ways. For example a CNN soundbite may be backed up by information received from Reuters, or an authentic New Zealand perspective may be added to a story focusing on a relevant Asian or Pacific issue.

Current editor of the bulletin, Mr Walter Zweifel tries to strike a balance between Asian and Pacific stories. "I try to include the most relevant political story from each area as well as an important economic or business item. I also try to include a people story such as the impact Government decisions or economic development may have on the population."\textsuperscript{114} He also endeavours to vary material on a geographical basis. "Over a week I like to cover a number of stories and countries rather than concentrate on a few. However, stories focusing on the Indian sub-continent have to be of greater significance to appear on the bulletin. Otherwise I would be scattering the net to far."\textsuperscript{115}

\textsuperscript{114} Interview. Walter Zweifel. 15/11/1994.

\textsuperscript{115} ibid.
Mr Zweifel emphasises that stories aimed at a New Zealand audience do not necessarily have to mention New Zealand. He referred to a recent item appearing on the bulletin which focused on the re-opening of a dairy factory in the Marshall Islands. Although the item lacked a New Zealand angle, it was included primarily due to the importance of the dairy industry to the New Zealand economy. Nevertheless, stories are often amended to increase their national significance. One such example was an item focusing on the recent APEC meeting in Bogor. Although the story referred to the meeting itself, Mr Zweifel amended it to mention that the New Zealand Prime Minister was present.\footnote{116}

The growing importance of Asia to New Zealand both economically and politically was a major reason for the launching of the Asia-Pacific Bulletin. Although only a by-product of the RNZI restructure, without Asia's growing prominence, the bulletin would have perhaps concentrated primarily on Pacific news. Nevertheless, Mr Johnstone believes this would have been a more effective approach. He believes the growing prominence and importance of Asia should be reflected by greater coverage in general news reports, rather than an independent bulletin.\footnote{117}

\footnote{116 ibid.}

\footnote{117 op.cit, interview. Johnstone.}
Focus on Asia "The Dominion"

Although the content analysis suggested the Dominion produced the least amount of Asian-related material, it does publish a three-monthly instalment entitled, "Focus on Asia." Initiated in mid-1992, it contains between three to four pages focusing on New Zealand's relationship with Asia. Politics and business form the essence of coverage, with occasional culturally focused items.

A major contrast can be drawn between material appearing in the focus on Asia section and general Asian coverage. With the section having to be prepared in advance, the international wire services cannot be used. The wires are used to develop ideas, but unlike the general international news pages, are not used as primary sources. Furthermore, the international wires lack New Zealand perspectives which render them unsuitable for the section.

Subsequently, all articles are written by New Zealand-based journalists. Current editor of the quarterly instalment, Cathie Bell produces a number of articles, while freelance journalists such as Gerard Hindmarsh also contribute. While the majority of stories are written in New Zealand, some are written by journalists travelling in Asia. These are generally through government funded visits.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade and the New Zealand Trade Development Board (TRADENZ) are the most common sources as well as government ministers and officials involved with Asian-related issues.  

\footnote{\textit{Interview. Cathie Bell. 6/10/1994.}}
Perhaps the most significant feature of the "Focus on Asia" instalment is the fact that it is fundamentally concerned with New Zealand perspectives.

**New Zealand Asia News**

New Zealand Asia News is a monthly publication written and printed in New Zealand for the Asian market. As a Christchurch Star initiative, the paper evolved from the recognition that there was growing interest being expressed in New Zealand and particularly in Canterbury by Asian interests. The primary aim of the publication is to present a window of opportunity as to current and potential investment possibilities. Factors affecting the formation of business arrangements are also common focal points, with a strong emphasis on the Canterbury region.  

While the paper is directed toward the Asian market, it also gives New Zealand businesses the opportunity to market offshore in an Asian newspaper produced locally. As stated by Managing Editor, Mr Michael Fletcher, "We are saying to New Zealand people and establishments-here is a vehicle to get your message across in Asia."  

A number of areas involved with the Government and private sectors are covered. These include the following:  

- Business development in New Zealand;  
- Immigration and Property market;  
- Commercial and domestic tourism ventures and tourism spots;  
- Education for Asian students in New Zealand.  

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120 ibid.  
121 NEW ZEALAND ASIA NEWS. Background Paper.
As a monthly publication, it attempts to distil a wide pool of information, before presenting a sample of the scene and opportunities that exist in New Zealand. The paper is not designed to be read from front to back, but for individuals to glance at areas of specific interest to them. For example, a Taiwanese businessman may read an article focusing on the Canterbury economy, while a Japanese student may be interested in reading about compatriots studying at Lincoln University. A major reason for this approach is the fact that Asia covers such a diverse range of cultures and ethnic groupings.

The paper relies heavily on contributed material. It does not receive stories from the New Zealand Press Association (NZPA). This is primarily due to it being a monthly rather than a daily publication. As explained by Mr Fletcher, "The NZPA material specialises on the news of the day. What is news today will not be when our next edition is published." \(^{122}\)

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT) and the New Zealand Trade Development Board (TRADENZ) are the most prominent and available sources. However, a variety of other sources emerging from both New Zealand and Asia are also used. The Asia 2000 Foundation is becoming a useful source, while material emerging from individual New Zealand businesses is often edited and published. An example of copy emanating from Asia was a recent article produced by the Hong Kong Chamber of Commerce.

When the paper was launched in November 1993, 5000 copies were printed with the vast majority being distributed free. These were circulated through more than 10 Asian countries and territories in more than 80 outlets. However, as explained by Mr Fletcher, 5000 was clearly not enough. The level

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\(^{122}\) op.cit, interview. Michael Fletcher.
was systematically increased until it reached its current level of 6500. Freightig costs and the desire to be in demand were the reasons for keeping the distribution at its current level.

New Zealand Asia News is currently pursuing the possibility of widening its base. As a Christchurch Star initiative, the Canterbury region was initially to be its home base. However, the target for 1995 is to widen its horizon to include Wellington and Auckland. For this reason, it is currently employing sales staff and journalists to assess the potential of these regions as secondary bases.\textsuperscript{123}

Mr Fletcher believes there is great potential for the paper as Asian interests in New Zealand develop. He believes the increase in the paper's circulation at this early stage is an indication of this growing interest.

\textbf{AN AUSTRALIAN MEDIA RESPONSE}

In November 1994, the Australian Associated Press (AAP), initiated a conference of Asian, Australian and Pacific media executives. The aim of the conference was for the AAP to consolidate its place in the Asian region and reinforce its role as a national news agency rather than as part of an international conglomerate. Also stressed was the need for the Asian and Pacific media's to take charge of their own regions. As stated by Manager of Corporate Affairs, Mr Les Murphy, "The time is right for national news agencies to develop their own Asian regional news services, rather than leave the field to European and American-based global information news vendors."\textsuperscript{124}

\textsuperscript{123} ibid.

\textsuperscript{124} Interview. Les Murphy. 17/1/1995
The comments expressed by various presenters highlighted the problems associated with the Australian media's relationship with Asia. However, perhaps more significant was the fact that such comments suggest the Australian media is well ahead of its New Zealand counterpart in terms of both its knowledge and coverage of the region. While there is a complete absence of New Zealand media personnel in Asia, the conference focused on the problems encountered by the Australian media presence in the region.

A number of points were raised by the Australian Prime Minister, Paul Keating. "Not surprisingly, the reportage of Australian journalists has sometimes created difficulties in our relations with some regional countries. This is particularly so where the views and policies of the Australian media are seen by some as interchangeable with the views and policies of the Australian government." Mr Keating believes the major problem is the nature rather than the level of coverage. "When our media go to the region-to the extent that they are 'our media'- they should be responsible and sensitive to the circumstances of different nations." 126

The Australian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Gareth Evans also raised a number of issues at the conference. He believes media executives will have to reassess the habits that most have got away with in the past of placing correspondents in just one or two hub locations like Singapore or Hong Kong to cover large amounts of territory. "While some of this has, of course, just been budget driven, there has also perhaps been an insufficient appreciation of the extent to which Asia is utterly non-monolithic in character." 127 He emphasised

126 ibid.
the need for executives to expand their on-the-ground networks to guarantee better informed, knowledgeable, insightful and culturally aware coverage.

Mr Evans also referred to the sensitivity issue raised by Mr Keating.

Whereas commercial information services, and the products of the financial and business media are generally lapped up by all countries in the region because of their factual nature, the products of the mainstream news media, both electronic and print, do periodically encounter criticism. Such instances are inevitable when, within this region, we have news-by its very nature not always showing the best sides of other countries in the region-crossing physical, political and culturally boundaries.  

Censorship problems in various Asian countries were also addressed during the conference. Jolyon Bone, from the marketing communications consulting service, Marketing Directions, illustrated the problems encountered by his business in the Asia/Pacific region.

Censorship is a problem for both media within a country and also for foreign media that are imported or broadcast into a country. For example, Singapore decides how many copies of a foreign publication are allowed into the country. All television broadcasts are censored and Singapore is one of the few Asian countries where the Cable News Network 'live' is actually delayed several minutes before broadcast for local consumption.

China, Vietnam, Cambodia and Indonesia also censor foreign publications to various degrees.

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128 ibid.

Although censorship in these countries may not seriously damage coverage presented to an Australian or New Zealand audience, Mr Bone emphasises the need to develop good relations with the media in these countries. He believes that such relations are strained in situations where journalists feel unduly restrained from pressures that hinder their ability to work in the interests of their audience.\(^{130}\)

While a number of other issues were also discussed at the conference, these points illustrate the disparity between the New Zealand and Australian medias' in terms of their approach, knowledge and coverage of Asia. Whereas debate in New Zealand centres around the level and nature of coverage, Australia is more concerned with addressing the problems encountered by their media operating in the region. Similar problems would perhaps emerge if a New Zealand media presence were established in Asia. However, this seems unlikely, at least in the short term.

Section Three uncovers a number of significant factors associated with the New Zealand media's coverage of Asia and New Zealand's relationship with the region. The content analysis highlights various comparisons and contrasts between publications. However, it is perhaps impossible to confidently prove or disprove the hypothesis without question. As highlighted by chapter four, opinions regarding the adequacy of coverage depend on individual circumstances. This was emphasised by the contrasting opinions between the newspaper editors and the Asian diplomats.

Nevertheless, as shown in Chapter Six, recent developments suggest the New Zealand media is becoming more aware of the importance of Asia.

\(^{130}\) ibid.
Despite this, its Australian counterpart seems to be well ahead in coming to terms with the region. This factor has been recognised by the New Zealand Government which has undertaken various initiatives in pursuit of enhancing coverage of the region. These are addressed in Section Four.
SECTION FOUR:
The government, the media and New Zealand's relationship with Asia

Section four is concerned with determining the validity of the amended hypothesis:

The capacity of the media to influence New Zealand's developing relationship with Asia is undermined by the media's vulnerability to Government manipulation.

Chapter Seven examines areas where the New Zealand government has played a direct role in enhancing coverage of Asia. This involves Asian media briefings as well as visiting journalist programmes administered under both the New Zealand Japan Foundation and the Asia 2000 initiative.

Chapter Eight on the other hand focuses on areas of indirect government influence. This includes the launching of Asia 2000 week in June 1993 as well as various activities undertaken by the government funded New Zealand Trade Development Board (TRADENZ). However, the most significant segment of Chapter Seven focuses on the newly established Asia 2000 Foundation of New Zealand which was established to build on the achievements of the initial Asia 2000 programme. This enters chapter seven as the Foundation is shifting from the public toward the private sector. Although its activities are conducted outside government circles, the fact that the Foundation currently receives government funding suggests its activities are as open to indirect government influences as those undertaken by TRADENZ.
CHAPTER SEVEN:
Direct government influences

Media briefings

A number of Government sources are made available to the New Zealand news media. Formal media briefings are one major avenue open to journalists. Between January 1990 and July 1994, thirteen briefings focusing specifically on New Zealand's relationship with Asia were conducted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, (MFAT).

The briefings are designed to offer the media basic guidance on topical issues in the pursuit of enhancing Asian coverage. While Asia 2000 has become a major briefing topic, other Asian issues such as New Zealand peacekeeping in Cambodia, have also been prominent among discussion topics. They present the media with the opportunity to explore the issues at hand with the specialists. The presenters are generally senior members of the Ministry as well as those dealing directly with the issues under discussion. Representatives from outside the Ministry may also be invited to discuss the issues from a different perspective. For example, these may include personnel from TRADENZ (The New Zealand Trade Development Board) or the New Zealand Tourism Board. This is entirely dependant on the issues at hand.¹³¹

The ministry conduct similar briefings focusing on countries outside the Asian region. However, the number of Asian briefings has increased significantly since the onset of the 1990s and New Zealand's growing

¹³¹ Interview, Warwick Hawker. 29/9/1994
relationship with the region. According to Director of Public Affairs, Gerald McGuie, the Asian briefings also have added importance due to the media's failure to adequately reflect the potential the region offers New Zealand. Subsequently, the importance of presenting the media with suitable subjects for publication and broadcast is enhanced.\textsuperscript{132}

The briefings are all organised at various levels, ranging from those specifically arranged for editors to others aimed toward journalists with interests in specific areas. Once the briefings have been arranged, the Ministry formally invite various areas of the media to attend. Those enticed to attend is entirely dependent on the issues to be discussed and the most likely to reach the desired target audience.\textsuperscript{133}

For example, a seminar for editors focusing on foreign policy issues was held on Wednesday 4 May 1994. Presented at the Ministry in Wellington, the seminar related to North Korean nuclear developments as well as the Asia-Pacific regional security dialogue process. This was in response to the first meeting of the new Asian Regional Forum at the end of July. Invitations were sent to a wide range of media personnel. Those invited were as follows:

Peter Scherer, Editor, The New Zealand Herald.
Cathie Bell, The Independent.
Glenn Pettit, Editor, Bay of Plenty Times.
Sue Carty, Editor, Waikato Times.
James Morgan, Editor, The Hawkes Bay Herald Tribune.
Murray Goston, Editor, The Daily News.
John Harvey, Editor, Manawatu Evening Standard.

\textsuperscript{132} Interview. Gerald McGuie. 12/5/1994
\textsuperscript{133} ibid.
Richard Long, Editor, The Dominion.
Paul Cavanagh, Editor, The Evening Post.
David Mitchell, Editor, Nelson Evening Mail.
David Wilson, Editor, The Press.
Clive Lind, Editor, The Southland Times.
Tom Bridgman, News Editor, New Zealand Press Association Ltd.
Mark Boyd, Director of News and Current Affairs, Television New Zealand.
Max Hayton, Foreign Editor, Television Three.
Terry Snow, Editor, The Listener.
Ian Templeton, Sunday Star/Times.
Trevor Henry, Editor, Checkpoint, Radio New Zealand.134

This list is a typical example of the types of personnel invited to such briefings. However, notable exceptions were a number of publications with specific focuses on business and trade. These include among others, the National Business Review, New Zealand Business and the New Zealand Farmer. These publications are consistently on the invitation list for briefings covering business and trade with the Asian region, the most common of briefing topics.135

The success of the briefings and degree of Government influence must be determined by the level of briefing material appearing throughout the publications and broadcasts of the media organisations in attendance. However, as stated by Warwick Hawker, the level is difficult to formally monitor. With

135 op. cit, interview. Warwick Hawker.
the presentation of background material representing a major component of the
briefings, journalists often store away such information to use when writing
related articles in the future. The briefings are an important component in the
relationship between the government and the media. However, a number of
other elements are also involved.

**Asia 2000 Journalist Travel Awards.**

Under the Asia 2000 initiative, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and
Trade established a visiting journalists programme, to assist New Zealand
journalists to visit Asian countries. The main focus of the awards is the
promotion of a wider understanding in New Zealand of developments in Asia.
The intention is for the journalists to come to grips with the political, economic
and social issues facing Asian countries today. The reports are intended to
inform New Zealanders of the opportunities that exist for our business and other
sectors, and encourage understanding of the conditions that have created the
regions' rapid momentum toward economic development. The activities of New
Zealanders working in various Asian countries are also intended to be
significant subject areas.  

The awards represent another area of government influence over
media coverage, as 75 percent of each successful journalist's visit is government
funded. However, although the trips would not take place without the funding,
foreign affairs does not influence the nature of the subsequent stories. In other
words, government influences the coverage by making it possible, rather than by
affecting its content. The eligibility requirements for applicants are as follows:

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136 Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. Asia 2000
· Experienced in print, television or radio journalism, including international, political, economic and social issues.

· Minimum of three years experience as a working journalist.

· Proven competence - e.g. three major features last year.

· Work published to a substantial and/or influential "readership".

· Demonstrated interest in a country or countries of the Asian region.

· New Zealand citizen or permanent resident.

· Appreciation of the wider context of New Zealand's relations with Asian countries and economies.

DESI RABLE ATTRIBUTES

· previous experience of, or travel in, Asia.

· Working knowledge of an Asian language and/or culture.

VALUE OF AWARD

The awards cover 75 percent of the total cost of the following items
of expenditure.

- Air fares (return economy).

- Travel and medical insurance.

- Per diem to cover accommodation, meals, incidentals, local
taxes and service charges.

- Other travel costs.

- Visas.

- Airport taxes.

CONDITIONS OF APPLICATION

- Letter of support from a recognised New Zealand-based news organisation.

- Submission of a draft programme and budget for a visit of at least two weeks to a country or countries in Asia, excluding Japan to which an alternative programme applies. The budget to be accompanied by evidence of the 25 percent funding not covered by the award.

- Submission of a report on the visit to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade within four weeks of return to New Zealand, with copies of stories/news items etc subsequently published.
During the first round of awards, eight journalists received funding for proposed visits to the region. All award recipients were from the print media, representing a wide range of publications. A number of freelance writers have also received awards. The journalists have subsequently written stories from a variety of Asian locations.

Deputy Editor of the Evening Post, Mr Tim Pankhurst received an award for a proposed visit to Hong Kong and China in May 1994. A major reason for receiving the award was perhaps his two previous trips to the region. These included a working visit to Japan through the New Zealand-Japan Foundation and another to Taiwan as a guest of the Taiwanese Government.

Mr Pankhurst was initially concerned the award may carry various government conditions such as guidelines related to the nature of his stories. However, no signs of this emerged. "The government approach was basically to get on with it. Obviously there was some risk in the system, but to their credit no formal conditions were applied."138

The formal proposal presented to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade(MFAT) included four days in Hong Kong and ten in China. The visit was to cover trade and political issues as well as some focusing on social matters. As a senior journalist, Mr Pankhurst organised his own brief, although the editor of the Evening Post, Mr Paul Cavanagh, had some input. Before his departure, he had a briefing with Foreign Affairs to familiarise himself with the trade and political issues of the two countries.


Mr Pankhurst encountered major problems while attempting to enter China as a working journalist. He was told by the Chinese Embassy he required sponsorship from a Chinese organisation which he acquired from the All China Journalist Association, a propaganda arm of government. The sponsorship was to cost $260 US a day as well as airfares for a minder. The day before departure, Mr Pankhurst was informed he had incorrect authorisation from his sponsor. Foreign Affairs suggested he continue to Hong Kong where the New Zealand High Commission could deal with the problem.

Subsequently, he proceeded to Hong Kong as planned. While there, he spoke to a number of sources as a means of generating story angles. These included New Zealand Embassy officials, the Hong Kong Governor's press secretary as well as others with a knowledge of trade and political issues. However, Mr Pankhurst was still having trouble gaining access to China which was to be the most important destination of his two-week trip.

Eventually after spending another two weeks in Hong Kong, one through delays and another on leave, Mr Pankhurst received word from the New Zealand Embassy in Beijing that his Chinese visit could proceed. This was only after intense lobbying between the New Zealand Embassy and Chinese authorities. Mr Pankhurst believed the Television New Zealand programme, Foreign Correspondent broadcast the previous week may have played a part in the tight restrictions encountered. The programme focused on Chinese labour camps, produced by a British journalist posing as a tourist. He believed the showing of the documentary may have enhanced paranoia among Chinese authorities.
Nevertheless, after the lobbying by the New Zealand Embassy, a number of restrictions were relaxed. While he had to meet with Chinese Foreign Affairs officials, Mr Pankhurst was able to travel independently from Beijing to Shanghai to Xiamen. While in Beijing, he spoke to a New Zealand company involved in the development of an enormous golf complex. He produced a story on this due to it possessing a New Zealand angle as well as evidence of the Chinese shift towards capitalism. He also met senior editors at the Xinhua news agency, another propaganda arm of the Chinese Government to learn more about the Chinese press.

After meeting various officials involved in the country's economic development, Mr Pankhurst proceeded to Shanghai which he found less bureaucratic than the capital. The New Zealand High Commission introduced him to a west coast man with information on New Zealand businesses, which included the builder of a Danish dairy factory. He focused on these New Zealand business stories as they possessed New Zealand angles as well as some insight into Chinese business practices.

With the benefit of hindsight, Mr Pankhurst believes he would be more prepared for a future visit. The problem encountered in gaining access to China was obviously the major drawback. He emphasised the importance of teaming up with someone familiar with the region, preferably with an insight into language and culture. This was one area where the services of a Chinese guide would have been helpful. Despite these factors, Mr Pankhurst was satisfied with his visit. He believes the travel awards are a good idea, and will become increasingly successful as future recipients learn from the experiences of their predecessors.\textsuperscript{139}

\textsuperscript{139} ibid.
Another senior Evening Post journalist, Mr John Goulter has also received an Asia 2000 travel award. Although Mr Goulter had never been to Asia, his experience in the areas of trade and foreign affairs was perhaps the main factor in his successful application. He is also highly experienced as a travelling journalist. His reporting in the field includes coverage of the 1986 trade mission to Latin America. After a 1988 visit to Chile he prepared a three-part feature series on the trade and investment relations with that country. Mr Goulter also covered the 1985 Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Nassau.

The original proposal submitted and accepted by MFAT included stops in Seattle, Mexico and Korea. The Seattle leg was to cover the November 1993 meeting of the Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC) group, to be attended by Prime Minister, Mr Bolger. A short stopover in Mexico was proposed as a highly worthwhile opportunity to report on the trade and investment relationship with economies on the other side of the Pacific from the Asian focus. This was to be followed by a more extended visit to Korea. The acceptance of this proposal was significant as the first two legs of the visit were to non-Asian destinations. Nevertheless, they were still to focus on Asia and New Zealand's relationship with the region.

However, the trip never eventuated due to the outcome of the New Zealand general election held on November 5, 1993. The uncertainty as to whether the National party was able to form a government led to Mr Goulter cancelling his plans. As the Evening Post's political editor, the political climate demanded he remain in Wellington. There was also doubt as to whether the Prime Minister would attend the Seattle meeting.

After cancelling his trip, Mr Goulter successfully re-applied for Asia 2000 funding with a proposed visit to South-East Asia and South Korea in May
1994. The South-East Asian section of his trip involved following the Prime Minister on his visit through Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore. His brief for this leg of the journey was straight news reporting, focusing specifically on the movements of the Prime Minister. This generally involved two to three stories a day which were immediately dispatched to the Evening Post in Wellington.

Before his departure, Mr Goulter was supplied by MFAT with country papers outlining the economic and political climates in the three South-East Asian nations. Information was also supplied on aspects of culture. This was provided to limit the possibility of unintentionally offending anyone. Issues such as appropriate clothing and protocol were addressed.

The second week and focal point of Mr Goulter's trip was in South Korea. Whereas the first week entailed staying at each destination for a night, the South Korean leg enabled more time to gain insight into the country and way of life. Mr Goulter was also able to write analytical indepth stories, rather than solely summarising the Prime Minister's comments and movements.

The assistance provided by the New Zealand Embassy in Seoul was an important factor in the Korean section of Mr Goulter's trip. Embassy officials provided background papers on the country as well as material on issues he was interested in focusing on. Mr Goulter was consistently accompanied to interviews by an embassy official. This was fundamental in relieving a number of cultural pressures. Those accompanying him were able to help with language as well as aspects of South Korean protocol. He believed had it not been for the embassy officials, he would not have seen as many important sources such as chief executives.

A major difference between the two sections of the trip was the pressure of deadlines. Whereas the South-East Asian section required the
immediate dispatching of reports, the South Korean leg was primarily an
information seeking process. While material was gathered in South Korea, it
was not translated into story form until Mr Goulter's return. The subsequent
stories ranged in nature from the South Korean education system to the tense
relationship between North and South Korea.

Looking back on his two week visit, Mr Goulter believes it would
perhaps have been more effective to have concentrated solely on South Korea.
Although he gained valuable insight into South Korea, the first leg of the trip
provided few opportunities to produce analytical articles focusing on aspects of
South-East Asia. He also suggested Asia 2000 may have received less value for
money on this leg. Nevertheless, Mr Goulter was satisfied with his visit which
gave him a greater appreciation of what Asia means to New Zealand,
particularly South Korea. 140

Perhaps the most noteworthy of award winners to date are former
Dominion journalists, Mr Peter Sainsbury and Mr Matthew Grainger. Six
months before hearing about the awards, Messrs Sainsbury and Grainger had
planned to work in Asia as freelance reporters. Their successful combined
application for Asia 2000 funding allowed them to travel through Asia
immediately, which would not have been possible so early in their new role as
freelance journalists. Their original plan was to establish themselves in Phnom
Penh, Cambodia, before writing from other Asian locations.

Their original proposal and the actual itinerary differed slightly as
Mr Sainsbury was evacuated from Hanoi to Bangkok half way through the six-
week trip due to ill health. They departed Wellington on 27 May 1994 and
reported from Vietnam, Thailand and Cambodia.

As freelance reporters, Messrs Sainsbury and Grainger ensured they covered a wide range of subjects. In Vietnam these ranged from a travel piece on a day at the Saigon races to a family run fireworks factory which utilised unexploded bombs from the war for their raw materials. Once in Hanoi they registered with the Foreign Ministry's press division which arranged interviews with government ministers and officials. While at the ministry, they were told they were the first New Zealand journalists to visit the country. Ministry officials were co-operative and obliging though expensive. The interviews conducted through them cost US$350. However, the only alternative was to try and lift official comment from other newspapers or quote other reporting. A number of other Vietnamese were spoken to more informally during the trip.

Messrs Sainsbury and Grainger were surprised at the depth of knowledge there was about New Zealand among decision makers. Much of this was attributable to the Colombo Plan and subsequent study awards. From the visa clerk at the Vietnamese Embassy in Phnom Penh who granted a visa in half an hour and who had studied English at Victoria University to the head of the Ho Chi Minh city People's Committee, a Colombo plan graduate, there was a warm welcome for New Zealanders.

The visit to Thailand was different to those to Vietnam and Cambodia. The aim was to concentrate on two specific stories. The first was the completion of one relating to United States servicemen missing in Vietnam since the war. United States military personnel are stationed in Vietnam with additional staff rotated through from Hawaii. The United States Government are trying to establish the whereabouts and repatriate the remains of all United States service personnel killed during war whose bodies remain there. The US
army allowed visits to the excavations site of one crashed aircraft and access to all documentation back in Bangkok.

The second story related to child sex tours by New Zealand nationals. Background information was readily available including numbers of children involved and action being undertaken to counter the problem. However, they could not get information on specific incidences of New Zealanders on the tours, despite constantly being told they were occurring. Messrs Sainsbury and Grainger are continuing to work on this story.

After spending two weeks in Bangkok, they travelled to Phnom Penh where they set up their small agency. The stories covered in Cambodia under the travel award were also wide ranging. They tried to avoid simply following the civil unrest or hostage drama type stories. They interviewed a number of people including those working in aid agencies such as Volunteer Service Abroad (VSA). Travel features were also a prominent subject area. One of the most common complaints by Khmers was that the only news to come out of Cambodia is about negative aspects of the country. They have not ignored that but tried to get a sense of proportion into the material they sent out.

Messrs Sainsbury and Grainger believe there is no quick way to gain an understanding of Asia. Although they have not yet got inside a culture, they have gained a thirst to learn more about the region. As freelance reporters, they became acutely aware of the unlimited level of potential stories. However, as freelance reporters they also have no control over who buys their work. The Dominion offered $150 a feature- about half the minimum rate and the other metropolitan papers were little better. They sold their stories at these rates to fulfil their obligations to the Asia 2000 fund. If they had not received the Asia 2000 funding, they would not have bothered selling to any New Zealand metropolitan papers.
At this early stage of setting up their agency in Phnom Penh, their material is all destined for overseas markets or the pages of travel magazines. Although they would like to write for New Zealand papers, Australian and American publications seem more together on Asian affairs and prepared to pay reasonable prices. Messrs Sainsbury and Grainger are convinced of the potential of Asia, particularly Indochina. The long term benefits of gaining experience and expertise in the region is a major factor in their decision to remain.\textsuperscript{141}

Another freelancer to have received an award is Christchurch based journalist, photographer and artist, Ms Adrienne Rewi. Her visit to Asia consisted of a week in Seoul followed by another in Saigon. The reasons for receiving the award were perhaps more to do with the nature of her proposal than previous experience. Although Ms Rewi is a very capable and experienced journalist, she had little experience of Asia or an Asian language.

However, as mentioned in her formal proposal, travel and cultural stories were to be the focus of her two-week trip. MFAT was happy with these angles as they could balance the more common type proposals which generally focused on trade and economic issues. Travelling with Christchurch businesswoman, Bridgit Blair may also have contributed to the successful application. As anticipated, her companion's business contacts, particularly in Seoul were of great assistance.

Ms Rewi was unable to be briefed by foreign affairs before her departure on 31, March, 1994 as confirmation of the award was received only

\textsuperscript{141} Interview. Peter Sainsbury. 5/10/1994.
three days beforehand. Nevertheless, travelling with a businesswoman who works in both Seoul and Saigon on a regular basis was perhaps a more than adequate substitute.

This became apparent in Seoul where her travelling companion's business contacts had prepared a comprehensive itinerary. This included among others, most of the main sights plus visits to antique trading markets, designer stores, palaces and Buddhist temples. While her original intention had been to focus on people, places and culture, she became fascinated by the ramifications of business dealings she had access to and the incredible rate of economic development. Perhaps Ms Rewi's most significant comment was the apparent contradiction between what appears to be a massive, neon-flashing, westernised metropolis and the close links to traditional culture, beliefs and philosophy.

After the visible progress and wealth of Seoul, the poverty of Saigon was a bit of a shock. Her itinerary in Saigon was less fixed which allowed for more flexibility in investigating the city. Interviews with Peter Hassler, acting general manager of the Saigon Floating Hotel and George Neilans, manager of an export development trading company provided useful insight into the Hotel and Tourism industries.

Other highlights of Ms Rewi's trip included visits to lacquerware factories, old French buildings, museums and local restaurants. She also believed an all-day trip to Vinh Long in the heart of the Mekong Delta was extremely worthwhile.

Whereas staff-writers generally have guaranteed publishing, freelance journalists do not. Due to this, she proposed a number of potential story angles before receiving the go-ahead from the publications she had planned to sell to. These included the Christchurch Press and 14 magazines ranging from North and South to the New Zealand Gardiner. The nature of her
stories also varied. Among others they focused on economic, travel and cultural areas of both Saigon and Seoul. One drawback Ms Rewi found was a lack of understanding of the freelance concept. A number of her contacts were interested in who she worked for and could not understand the nature of her situation.

However, cultural barriers never affected her reporting. Although the status of women may have inhibited her in some situations such as big business, the nature of her brief generally kept her away from these areas. Ms Rewi was surprised at the low level of English language spoken in Seoul which reinforced her impression that there is more to the westernisation of Seoul than meets the eye. The level of English and ability to communicate was greater in Vietnam.

On a personal and business level, Ms Rewi believes the trip was an incredibly valuable experience. As a forerunner to future trips, it showed her there is a world of information out there waiting to be reported and has encouraged her to prepare even more vigorously for future visits. "Having contacts and dates organised prior to leaving the country is a definite benefit and saves masses of time and frustrating numbers of unproductive telephone calls to people who often don't speak English well." 142

She also benefited enormously from the insight into two cultures remarkably different from our own. She plans to venture further into Asia on future visits with the greater confidence and awareness gathered from her first visit to the region. Her increased enthusiasm can also be reflected by her enrolment in an introductory course to Asian languages at the Asian Languages Institute in Christchurch. 143

Another Christchurch journalist, Ms Judith Hughey received Asia 2000 funding for a visit to Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. Her formal proposal consisted of 5 weeks in Vietnam, 2 weeks in Cambodia and just over 2 weeks in Laos. The stories to be covered were to focus on 2 major areas. The first of these was to involve meeting foreign business-people with the subsequent stories focusing on how they set up their businesses in the region and the problems they encountered. These stories were to be complemented by others focusing on how the market changes, particularly in Vietnam have impacted on the population.

Once her proposal was accepted, she received a letter from MFAT stating they wanted an indepth analysis of the economic and political situation in Vietnam. Believing this could not be achieved in 5 weeks, Ms Hughey refused these terms. MFAT then allowed her to proceed under the initial proposal. A major factor in Ms Hughey's successful application was perhaps her 2 previous visits to the region. One of these included backpacking throughout Asia while another involved living in Butarn, north of India for a period of 2 years.

Ms Hughey's departed in early February 1994. Her first stop was Bangkok where the New Zealand Embassy issued her with a tourist visa for Vietnam as applying for a journalist visa would have delayed proceedings. Tourist visas for both Cambodia and Laos were issued from Saigon. Receiving one for Laos was perhaps surprising as they are generally only issued to tourists on organised travel tours. Ms Hughey believes MFAT could have been more helpful in this area and perhaps have organised journalist visas for the entire trip.

Apart from the Embassy in Bangkok which provided background on ibid.
Vietnam, her only initial contact was the Volunteer Services Abroad (VSA) co-ordinator in Cambodia. However, she made a number of contacts on arrival, arranging meetings with foreign companies and interviewing people in the street. Communication problems made it difficult to form contacts, especially the inefficiency of the telephone system and the limited amount of English speakers. These problems often led to meeting delays, especially in Cambodia where a number of streets have recently been renamed. This led to confusion, with potential interviewees and taxi drivers often referring to the same destination with different names.

However, according to Ms Hughey, the main drawback from the trip was the amount of space the Press allocated her stories. Although she embarked on the trip as a freelance journalist, the Press agreed to publish her work. Nevertheless, a major feature focusing on the experiences of foreign businesses in Vietnam was cut by two-thirds while the Press refused to publish a three part series of stories covering different aspects of Vietnamese life. After refusing the three part series, Ms Hughey sold it to the Manawatu Evening Standard who published the entire series. She was also disappointed at the placement of a Cambodian story which was perhaps the most significant of her trip. Entitled, "New Zealand misses boat in Cambodia", the article focused on the thoughts of VSA co-ordinator, Pete Cresswell who believes New Zealand lacks aggression and prominence in the region. Ms Hughey believes the story deserved front page status as it contradicts the general view of New Zealand business relations with Asia. However, it appeared on a life page deep inside the June 1 edition of the Press.

Although Ms Hughey enjoyed her travel award, she believes the money would be better spent to place a journalist somewhere in Asia for a longer duration. "Rather than sending 10 journalists a year for limited periods, perhaps two journalists a year for longer periods would allow more time to
understand the culture and way of life, which cannot be learnt in 6 weeks."144

The most experienced of the award recipients was free-lance journalist, Mr Gerard Hindmarsh who had been to Asia seven times in the two years preceding his visit. His experience was reflected by being named the Cathay Pacific travelling journalist of the year in 1992. The accolade included four funded trips, which he used to focus on Asian business stories with Hong Kong as his base. Mr Hindmarsh has also received funding through the New Zealand Japan Foundation.

His proposal submitted to Asia 2000 and the actual visit differed as it became split into two trips. The first section included 18 days in Vietnam and Cambodia where business stories dominated his work. He left New Zealand in late February 1994, timing the trip to coincide with the Inaugural Meeting of the Vietnam/New Zealand Business Council in Hanoi. Mr Hindmarsh moved from Hanoi to Saigon where he focused on New Zealand business opportunities. "Many of my introductions came from Embassy and TRADENZ connections. The Business Council introductions in Hanoi put me in touch with not only New Zealand and Vietnamese business leaders, but senior Government officials such as planners and economists."145

From Vietnam, Mr Hindmarsh travelled to Cambodia where investment opportunities and the political climate were his major subject areas. While in Cambodia, he took a two day boat trip up the Tonle Sap River to the great temples of Angkor Wat during which time the boat was attacked by Government bandits. Having become exhausted while in Cambodia, Mr Hindmarsh decided to return home with the intention of completing his Asia 2000 obligations at a later date, which included a visit to Laos.

As intended, he returned to Laos to complete his obligations to Asia 2000. However, with generous assistance from Thai Airways, Mr Hindmarsh was able to included Thailand on this second visit, leaving New Zealand in early May 1994. While in Thailand, he focused on investment stories, including interviewing Dr Chira, Professor of Human Resources at Thammasat University. With Thailand’s child prostitution problems having caused recent concern in New Zealand, Mr Hindmarsh examined the New Zealand Embassy’s response and interviewed its Police Liaison Officer in Bangkok.

The remainder of his 10 day trip was spent in Laos where he met a number of business contacts. Mr Hindmarsh also produced a story focusing on the American search for MIAs from the Vietnam war. This had added significance as Helicopters New Zealand have a substantial contract in assisting the American search.

As a freelance journalist, Mr Hindmarsh sold his stories to a number of New Zealand publications. These included regular contributions to the Press and the Dominion, while the Evening Post, the New Zealand Herald and the Listener to a lesser extent also published his material. These stories were complimented by four interviews with Kim Hill on Radio New Zealand, one in each country. He believes the awards are a marvellous way of enhancing understanding of Asia and has successfully re-applied for another visit. He is to visit India, Burma and Thailand in mid-February 1995.\textsuperscript{146}

Another freelance journalist, Ms Caroll du Chateau received funding for a visit to Vietnam in early April 1994. Ms du Chateau's former employer, Metro, were initially to fund the additional 25\% of costs. However, after submitting her proposal, she left Metro to become a freelancer before

\begin{footnote}{146}HINDMARSH, G. \textit{Asia 2000 Travel Award report}. June, 1994.\end{footnote}
beginning in her new position at Profile Publishers. Subsequently, Ms du Chateau had to personally subsidise the additional funds not covered by the award.

Although Ms du Chateau had not travelled to Asia as a working journalist before, she had been to Hong Kong, Malaysia, Bangkok and Penang as a tourist. During the three and a half week visit to Vietnam, she travelled extensively throughout the country as well as interviewing people from all layers of society and several races. These included Vietnamese, New Zealanders, Australians and Englishmen.

Ms du Chateau had an extremely busy schedule. During the first week she contacted some women from the Vietnam Womens’ Union and travelled to their headquarters in Hai Hong province. This gave her some insight into steps being taken to combat health problems such as anaemia and vitamin A deficiency. Ms du Chateau then travelled to Ho Chi Minh City to interview Bill Doak of TELENZ which was paid for by the company as Mr Doak was unable to see her in Hanoi.

She also saw a number of other people in Hanoi. These included among others, John Seton, deputy chairman of the New Zealand-Vietnam Business Council, Maria McElwee, a lawyer specialising in helping companies get established in Vietnam and Madame Chi Lan, secretary general of the Vietnam Chamber of Commerce and Industry. She also met a number of other business people who had contacts with New Zealand.

From Hanoi, Ms du Chateau flew to Hue, the ancient capital, with John Seaton and Maria McElwee who were of great assistance. This gave them an insight into the impact the French had on Vietnam. From there, they hired a car and driver to take them to the Laos boarder and to Da Nang before returning
to Ho Chi Minh City where Ms du Chateau met many more contacts. Among others, these include Scott Armstrong of the ANZ Bank, Tran Huu Chinh, director of the foreign trade development and investment corporation of Ho Chi Minh City and Arama Johnston, second secretary at the New Zealand Embassy in Bangkok.

Ms du Chateau did not use all of her interviews in her subsequent stories. However, she believes the research undertaken before the visit was as important as the interviews themselves. "Although it was a daunting task to work out an itinerary, it was extremely important to organise it before my departure." Ms du Chateau would love to return to Vietnam to see the changes since her visit.

Perhaps the most original Asia 2000 funded visit was undertaken by award recipient, Ms Hillary Watson. During her two week visit to Wellington's Chinese sister-city, Xiamen, in December 1994, Ms Watson played more of an editorial rather than a journalistic role. The stories were actually written by 13 students from Wellington Girls College who accompanied Ms Watson. They were a mixture of fourth, fifth and sixth formers, all learning the Chinese language. Ms Watson's initial proposal was to assist the girls produce stories about aspects of their trip to be published on the youth focus pages of the Evening Post and the Dominion. Ms Watson was also to disseminate the visit into an extended article to appear on the Prime Time page, targeted toward younger children. Having taught in China 20 years ago reflected her experience of the country and ability to manage a group of students.

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While Ms Watson's trip was funded by an Asia 2000 journalist award, the students received assistance from the Chinese Exchange Programme (CHEP). This was established to stimulate new contacts between New Zealand and China. The programme supports teacher and student exchanges and provides grants for a range of projects. The CHEP contributed $5000 toward the girls visit. Ms Watson was impressed how Asia 2000 supported her proposal, despite her role differing from the other award recipients.

Ms Watson was advised to apply for her visa as an adult accompanying the girls rather than a journalist. The problems encountered by Mr Pankhurst illustrate the reasons for this approach. Apart from the writing aspect of the trip, it also gave the girls the opportunity to speak more of the language in its correct context. It also created the opportunity to educate readers about the sister-city relationship and spread the understanding between cities.

The most worthwhile and helpful source once the group arrived in Xiamen was the city's Municipal Government. The major reasons for their complete cooperation was the importance they place on the sister-city relationship as well as the fact that they run the entire education system. The Foreign Languages School that hosted the group were also extremely helpful and hospitable. Ms Watson and the girls spent every morning at the school and sat in on some of the classes. Some special Chinese history and geography classes were also put on for the group.

The stories were to deal with issues of interest to young people, written from the perspective of young people. The group visited homes, a dance school, shops and observed lifestyles and culture. As it turned out, each girl wrote stories on separate issues. Each story required interviews which was one area where Ms Watson contributed.
I sat down with them and helped with ideas about who they may need to talk to. The fact that they had to write about their trip for a newspaper added value to it. They were forced to interview and ask questions. If it were merely a school project, they may have just looked and listened.\textsuperscript{148}

This point was reflected by Jennifer Quin, one of the girls who accompanied Ms Watson. "Having to write stories made us more alert. We were always looking out for new ideas as we had to make the most of our opportunities."\textsuperscript{149} She also emphasised the support offered by Mrs Watson. "With so much information to interpret in the two weeks, Hillary was of great assistance with her journalistic experience and as a sounding board for ideas."\textsuperscript{150}

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the visit was its ability to show an Asian city to a New Zealand audience through the eyes of New Zealand teenagers. As stated by Jennifer Quin, "perhaps we were more concerned with lifestyles and social issues than adults who may be more interested in political and economic issues."\textsuperscript{151}

The award recipients were generally satisfied with the programme. Although a number of problems emerged, these were perhaps due to the fact that the award programme was in its early stages. All recipients emphasised that there was a complete absence of government pressure both prior and during their visits. Subsequently, the only area of government influence seems to have been its creation of the programme and financial assistance. Since this initial round of

\textsuperscript{148} Interview. Hillary Watson. 20/1/1995.

\textsuperscript{149} Interview. Jennifer Quin. 26/1/1995.

\textsuperscript{150} ibid.

\textsuperscript{151} ibid.
awards, the newly created Asia 2000 Foundation of New Zealand has become responsible for their administration.

**New Zealand Japan Foundation-Media Visits Programme**

The New Zealand Japan Foundation was established in 1980 with the aim of enhancing the bilateral relationship between the two countries. Since its inauguration, a number of programmes have been initiated. In 1992, a media visits programme was established to send New Zealand journalists to Japan. Similar to the Asia 2000 media travel awards, the objective of the scheme was to encourage more informed reporting and public debate in New Zealand about Japan and Japan-related issues. The programme, which ended with the closure of the foundation in September 1994, provided the opportunity for journalists to become familiar with Japan and important aspects of the bilateral relationship.\(^{152}\)

The foundation was managed by a desk officer from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade in Wellington who was responsible for putting together the media visits programme. The first step in the process involved writing letters to New Zealand media organisations, inviting them to nominate suitable employees who met the following criteria.\(^{153}\)

- a minimum of five years experience as a working journalist;
- proven competence (e.g. three major stories in the last year);
- experience in international, political, economic and social affairs;

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\(^{152}\) MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND TRADE. New Zealand Japan Foundation Media visits programme, background paper. Wellington. 1p

-an interest in the Asian region, and an appreciation of some of the wider issues in the New Zealand-Japan relationship;

-New Zealand residency and a current New Zealand passport.\footnote{154}

Once the nominees had been assessed by the foundation, the successful journalists were asked which general fields they were interested in covering as well as any more specific areas. Subsequently, the trips were fully organised by the New Zealand Japan Foundation's representative in Japan and by Tokyo Embassy staff who also provided assistance and briefings during the visits.

Up to six awards were made each year with the foundation covering return airfares. Each journalist also received a travel advance to cover expenses such as travel insurance, accommodation and internal travel. Journalists were required to account for all expenditure and return any unused portion of their travel advance to the foundation.\footnote{155}

According to Mr Tim Pankhurst who received funding for a media visit in 1993, the programme was extremely well structured with his entire two week visit having being organised before his arrival. He was also impressed by its flexibility which allowed him to leave the programme for two days in order to cover a visit to Japan by the New Zealand Prime Minister. All programmes had a two week duration and were received in pairs. Mr Pankhurst, who was accompanied by Andrew Stone of the New Zealand Herald supported this idea which allowed the journalists to work in tandem. "We each developed new angles and were able to bounce ideas off each other. It was also good to have a

\footnote{154}{Media Visits Programme, background paper. op.cit., 2p.}
\footnote{155}{ibid.}
The programmes have included a combination of the following activities:

- orientation and briefing on Embassy and other New Zealand agency activities, (including trade promotion, tourism and investment);

- traditional cultural activities, visiting department stores, sightseeing;

- visits to New Zealand producer boards;

- visits to Japanese Ministries (e.g. Ministry of international Trade and Industry, Foreign Ministry, and Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries Agencies);

- visits to Japan External Trade Organisation, the Diet (parliament), Keidanren, the Stock Exchange;

- homestays outside Tokyo;

- time spent visiting Japanese newspapers.\textsuperscript{157}

The homestay concept was devised as a means of familiarising the journalists with Japanese culture and the family structure. They involved each journalist living with a typical Japanese family for a two day period. Mr Pankhurst stayed with a Japanese apple farmer in Takayama, two hours by train from Kyoto in the Japanese mountains. "This was perfect as New Zealand had just gained access to the Japanese apple market. He was able to give a Japanese point of view, believing New Zealand apples would bring in disease."\textsuperscript{158}

Mr Pankhurst was extremely impressed with the organisation of his

\textsuperscript{156} op.cit, interview. Pankhurst.

\textsuperscript{157} Media Visits Programme, background paper. op.cit, 1p.

\textsuperscript{158} op.cit, interview. Pankhurst.
visit. "We had good quality accommodation with superb facilities and the Embassy staff were of great assistance." As a receiver of awards from both Asia 2000 and the New Zealand Japan Foundation, Mr Pankhurst was able to compare the programmes. He believes the major difference was in the applications. "Applying for Asia 2000 funding involved presenting a detailed proposal, while the New Zealand Japan Foundation were solely interested in credentials and areas of interest. They then structured the entire visits of the successful journalists."\textsuperscript{159}

Mr Pankhurst believes the Asia 2000 awards could involve more input from political people such as New Zealand Embassy staff in the countries visited. "Unless you do a lot of legwork before arriving, a great deal of time can be wasted. This was never a problem with the Japan awards as the leg work had been done by others."\textsuperscript{160} Although not overly critical of the Asia 2000 awards, he believes the structure of the New Zealand Japan Foundation programme was superior. With the launching of the Asia 2000 Foundation in September 1994, the New Zealand Japan Foundation was terminated. Its activities, including the media visits programme have since come under the auspices of the new Asia 2000 Foundation.

\textsuperscript{159} ibid.

\textsuperscript{160} ibid.
CHAPTER EIGHT:  
Indirect government influences

Asia 2000 week (12-18 July 1993)

The New Zealand Government can also affect Asian coverage without dealing directly with the media. The launching of Government initiatives presents the media with new sources without Ministers or officials necessarily becoming the focal point in the subsequent coverage.

One such example was Asia 2000 week which commenced on Monday 12 July 1993. This was one of the most significant initiatives of the Asia 2000 programme. The two major objectives of the week were: to encourage all New Zealanders to learn more about Asia and its peoples; and to review the progress of the Asia 2000 programme to date and identify directions for the future. 161

A number of activities were organised throughout the country to meet the first objective. These activities included food festivals, parades, street fairs, musical performances, seminars and art exhibitions.

The activities were also inherent in meeting the week's second objective. The widespread sectoral interest expressed indicated the depth of analysis that had been undertaken to strengthen New Zealand's ties with Asia. The business community examined trade opportunities and the factors affecting market entry, while the education sector concentrated on issues such as the place of Asian studies and languages in our educational institutions. 162

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Two media releases were circulated in March and June as an introduction to the event. As the week began, the news media had an increased number of sources from which to report. According to the Minister of External Relations and Trade, Don McKinnon, the week also increased public awareness of the Asia 2000 concept. 163

Although press coverage of the weeks activities could not be described as direct government influence, the fact that the event was a major government initiative suggests an indirect correlation. This assumption is also dependent on the level and nature of press coverage throughout the week.

The level of coverage varied between publications and regions, as did the nature of the stories. One common element throughout the country was stories explaining the Asia 2000 programme, particularly the significance of the week's activities.

The Christchurch Press was the newspaper with the most stories either directly or indirectly related to Asia 2000 Week. Of the fourteen articles published, six focused on economic issues mainly regarding the enormous potential Asia offered Canterbury businesses. Assistant Editor, A. J. Petre explained the reasons for the coverage. "We do try to focus more attention on an area during something like Asia Week." 164 Petre also referred to news sources. "During Asia Week there would inevitably be more news releases and news events than usual." 165

162 ibid.
165 ibid.
The other major Canterbury publication, The Christchurch Star also focused on the economic potential of the region. Despite being a bi-weekly, the Star published nine stories during the week, a greater number than many national dailies.

The other major South Island paper, the Otago Daily Times (ODT) published seven stories related to Asia 2000 during the week. However, rather than focusing on economic opportunities, the ODT concentrated on articles involving Asians in the Dunedin community. One such story referred to racism towards Asians while the remaining three were human-interest type features discussing the lives of various Asian groups in the community.

The reasons for running such stories were explained by Deputy Editor, R. L. Charteris. "The aim of promoting Asia 2000 Week played a far lesser role in our consideration of news and feature coverage than did our desire simply to cover community news events. The ODT puts great store on local community news."166

This angle also dominated stories published in the New Zealand Herald, the country's most widely circulated newspaper. Of its ten articles, half were related to Asians living in the New Zealand community. However, in contrast to the ODT, the stories were all essentially negative in focus. Apart from those referring directly to racism, other themes included, the fatal shooting of a Japanese teenager in Louisiana and a street brawl directed against the Asian community. Nevertheless, the Herald also ran stories focusing on economic and cultural aspects of the week's activities.

The New Zealand Herald's rationale for focusing half of its articles

166 Letter from R Charteris. 29/7/1994.
on Asians living in the Auckland community was answered by Editor, P. J. Scherer.

We would regard any article related to people living in the community as having a special quality of news value and reader interest. For most of our readers, the reality of Asia is its influence upon us, right here. And I need hardly add, of course, that Asians living in the wider Auckland community is a conspicuous, indeed now almost ubiquitous, phenomenon not nearly matched in any other community in New Zealand.  

The two daily newspapers in the capital, the Dominion and the Evening Post were perhaps the two publications with the most variety of Asia 2000-related stories throughout the week. The Dominion published eight stories with themes including: Asians in New Zealand, economic opportunities, and education without a particular theme dominating the coverage. The Dominion Editor, Richard Long emphasised the reasons for the wide ranging coverage. "A variety of issues were covered in an attempt to gain as much readership interest as possible. This is more realistic for a Wellington publication, especially during Asia 2000 Week."  

The Evening Post was also well balanced with its nine stories representing a variety of issues, perhaps to a greater extent than its Wellington counterpart. One such article referred to New Zealand's future being tied to Asia in defensive as well as economic terms. This was the sole story throughout the entire country during the week which mentioned security in the context of Asia 2000. Deputy Editor, Tim Pankhurst, outlined the Evening Post's policy. "Our overall editorial policy is to increase coverage of Asian matters in line with the region's increasing economic and cultural importance to New Zealand."  

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Newspaper coverage outside the four main centres varied in both level and nature. The Hawkes Bay Herald Tribune and the Marlborough Express were the two papers with the greatest level of coverage. The Hastings publication contained eleven articles throughout the week, of which seven were economically focused. Editor, James Morgan stressed the Tribune's long recognition of Asia as an area of growing economic importance to New Zealand. "The Asia 2000 promotion attracted our attention early in the planning stages and we used the focus it created at the time as a vehicle to publish more articles expanding on the theme."170 Morgan referred to Hawkes Bay's sister city relationship with the Chinese city of Guilin as another example of the region's recognition of Asia and the subsequent coverage allocated by the Tribune.

The Marlborough Express ran thirteen stories covering a variety of issues. However, the most significant were four stories focusing on sister-city relationships between the District of Marlborough and the Japanese Village of Otari and the Borough of Blenheim's relationship with the Japanese city of Tendo. All four stories were written by the mayors of the respective regions. As stated by Editor, Reg Spowart,

The express encourages as much as possible a greater public awareness of Asia as a trading partner and closer economic ally because we believe New Zealand's future lies in that region. Asia 2000 Week had an impact on that perspective and we believe we played our part in emphasising this country's closeness to Asia. 171

Although this level of coverage suggests parity with major centre publications, the stories generally lacked the depth associated with the larger centre editions.

The remaining New Zealand dailies generally ran between one and five related stories during Asia 2000 week. However, a large number published editorials which were a great deal more interesting and original than those produced in the major cities. The Christchurch Press, the Dominion and the Evening Post were the only metropolitan dailies to run editorials during the week. The Press article entitled, "Knowing about Asia" was extremely similar to that published in the Dominion, "NZ destiny as part of Asia". Both editorials centred on the need to develop into Asia as well as the need to learn Asian languages. As was the case with these two papers, the Evening Post ran a solitary editorial regarding Asia during the week. Such editorial comment was absent in both the Otago Daily Times and the New Zealand Herald during the week.

Perhaps the most interesting and original editorial appeared in the Wanganui Chronicle on Saturday 17 July 1993. As well as mentioning Wanganui's sister city relationship with Nagaizumi-cho, the article touched on the medias' role in enhancing New Zealand's relationship with Asia. It stated "The news media has an important part to play in opening windows to Asia. Press coverage of Asia does not rate highly, nor does the New Zealand media presence in the region. The media may feel it reflects reader interest, but it has a role in leading public opinion."\(^{172}\)

As explained by its writer, Mr David Scoullar, the editorial was published primarily because of the week's significance. "It also gave the opportunity to draw together and comment on two issues which were topical at the time- the learning of Asian languages by New Zealanders and coverage by

\(^{172}\) EDITORIAL. Asia and us. Wanganui Chronicle, 17/7/1993. 6p.
our media of news events in Asia."\textsuperscript{173}

The Nelson Evening Mail, the Waikato Times, the Marlborough Express and the Manawatu Evening Standard all produced interesting editorials during the week. Rather than merely adding comment to common topics, these papers diversified or created new issues. One example was an editorial published in the Manawatu paper on 17 July entitled, 'International Pacific College leads way in understanding'. Rather than simply repeating the need for New Zealanders to understand Asians, the article suggested that just as important is the need for Asians to understand New Zealanders.

The Nelson Evening Mail also published an interesting Editorial on Monday, July 12 entitled, "Understanding Asia 2000." It centred on the participation in the week's activities of the Asian migrant population, giving Nelson a taste of the ancient and highly developed cultures they have bought to the region. The editorial also denounced racist attitudes, referring to both historical as well as contemporary anti-Asian sentiment. Deputy Editor and writer of the editorial, Bill Moore, expressed the special interest associated with such issues.

Here at the Mail we have perhaps a special feeling for subjects relating to Asia and the Asian community because both the editor and I have lived and worked in Asian countries. In my own case this is heightened by the fact that I am married to an Asian and have considerable contact with the Asian community in my daily life.\textsuperscript{174} This interest perhaps added a new dimension to the editorial, with the writer's personal experiences representing an important, and in

\textsuperscript{173} Letter from David Scoullar. 29/7/1994.

national terms, perhaps scarce source.

After analysing the print media coverage of Asia 2000 week a number of characteristics became evident. Undoubtedly, the major centre publications produced the most material, generally in terms of both story numbers and depth. Regional variations became apparent when examining the nature of the content. For example, economic issues dominated the Canterbury papers in contrast to their Dunedin and Auckland counterparts, who concentrated on stories involving Asians in their respective communities.

The reasons for the variations in coverage throughout the country seem to have been answered by the respective editors. Although the majority placed a high priority on community news, the papers who felt an obligation to enhance New Zealand's relationship with Asia, tended to publish a wider range of articles. However, this did not necessarily convert into greater coverage or detail. Although daily publications outside the major centres were generally limited in detail, there was an abundance of editorial comment with far greater originality. Rather than merely discussing common issues, the editors diversified topics or created new ones.

However, the major finding of the week was the dramatic increase in print media coverage of New Zealand's relationship with Asia. The dramatic increase in available sources coupled with the event generating topical Asian issues were perhaps the main factors. Subsequently, the Government played an indirect part in the week's coverage by launching the initiative rather than by being the primary source.
The New Zealand Trade Development Board (TRADENZ) 175

The New Zealand Trade Development Board (TRADENZ) plays a part in enhancing media coverage of New Zealand's relationship with Asia. The overall role of TRADENZ is to help New Zealand businesses increase export earnings through a wide range of services and products in New Zealand and overseas markets. Placed uniquely between the public and private sectors, TRADENZ also aims to promote conditions which will help business compete internationally. While TRADENZ works independently, its dependence on government funding renders it to some extent accountable for the use of such funds. Consequently, its role in enhancing media coverage of New Zealand's relationship with Asia includes an element of government assistance and subsequent influence.

A major role of TRADENZ is creating a climate of awareness in which New Zealand exporters are more likely to be responsive to opportunities that present themselves. The New Zealand media are one source from which such information can be acquired. For this reason, TRADENZ undertake various steps to encourage and assist the media's coverage of trading aspects of New Zealand's relationship with Asia.

As part of their programme, TRADENZ organise market focus seminars, similar to those conducted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. However, these are directed specifically toward New Zealand exporters rather than journalists. Nevertheless, the media do have a role in the seminars, whether of a direct or indirect nature. Manager of Food Asia and Project Manager of the Taejon Expo, Mr Michael Pattison explained that steps are often

175 The TRADENZ material was all gathered during an interview with TRADENZ Manager of Food Asia, Michael Pattison. 7/10/1994.
taken to encourage journalists to write articles focusing on seminars or those attending prior to the event. For example, if a trade commissioner from Asia was to attend, the Communications Division of TRADENZ may encourage journalists to interview the official before departing Asia. This approach would be undertaken as a means of creating added interest. For example, if a company potentially interested in exporting to the region reads the article, a representative is more likely to attend the briefing. Although the seminars are designed for exporters, journalists are also invited as a more direct means of enhancing awareness of export opportunities.

TRADENZ can also influence coverage for the very reason that they are a major media source. This is essentially because they have people in Asia who have access to market information and knowledge which is not readily obtainable in New Zealand except through similar organisations. These people are generally Trade Commissioners as well as locally hired expatriates. TRADENZ officials stationed in New Zealand are also important media sources. Such officials often assist the media, whether as primary sources or through their international contacts.

Trade missions are an area where TRADENZ play a major role. Whereas the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT) are responsible for trade policy which in particular relates to questions of access, TRADENZ are responsible for export earnings. With these elements often overlapping, both MFAT and TRADENZ are both important participants in the organisation and development of trade missions.

One such example was the Taejon Expo held in South Korea in 1993. The theme of the New Zealand Pavilion was the development of environmentally sustainable technology. This applied to the products and services of the companies and organisations who sponsored the pavilion. These
ranged from representatives of the forestry, horticulture and fishing industries to those representing tourism, telecommunications and educational services.

As the Expo progressed, TRADENZ both encouraged and assisted the New Zealand media in covering aspects of the New Zealand pavilion, particularly during New Zealand day on 24 August. Television New Zealand was approached about covering the day and while they were not prepared to send anyone, they were interested in buying a feed from a Korean network. However, TVNZ and TV3 were unable to come up with $3000 between them, believing such a feed would lack newsworthiness. Subsequently, Mr Pattison sent TVNZ a 30 minute Korean network feed summarising New Zealand day compliments of TRADENZ. Despite this, the programme was never broadcast.

The New Zealand Press Association (NZPA) was also approached about the possibility of sending a correspondent to cover the Expo. Although TRADENZ would have funded the visit, NZPA refuses external financing of such trips and believed it would be insufficiently newsworthy to warrant the expense. However, evidence of the Expo could be found in the print media, despite the minimal level of coverage. Once again, this appeared as a direct result of TRADENZ assistance. Mr Pattison sent various updated reports to a TRADENZ staffer in Auckland who converted them into press releases. These were then sent to news organisations such as NZPA.

According to Mr Pattison, radio was the best New Zealand medium in covering the Expo. Throughout the event, he participated in six radio interviews as well as several others upon his return. These were conducted in a number of programmes including Morning Report, Business programmes as well as talkback type contexts.
Mr Pattison emphasised the difficulty of attracting journalists to cover trade missions. He believes the main reason is the fact that missions themselves are not newsworthy events. However, he suggested that events and developments during the missions form the essence of the newsworthy material. Nevertheless, these are not always apparent before the mission departs. When TRADENZ are successful in attracting journalists, various employees still assist in the search for stories. These are then passed on to the accompanying journalists.

Although TRADENZ place a strong emphasis on enhancing media coverage in New Zealand, according to Mr Pattison the coverage that appears in the market is of greater significance. The importance placed on this is illustrated by the fact that local public relations companies are often used as a means of generating media interest. For example, during the Taejon Expo, the public relations company, 'Communications Korea' was employed to create Korean media interest in the New Zealand Pavilion. The company attracted interest by taking steps such as contacting reporters in charge of the food and travel industries, arranging interviews with members of the New Zealand mission, and providing the media with general information on New Zealand. This was often in the form of ready made stories in either English or Korean, depending on the nature of the publication.

The subsequent coverage allocated to New Zealand's participation in the Expo seemed to justify the use of the company. The Korean Television networks broadcast 14 different items on New Zealand's role in the Expo, while about 75 articles were published in the print media. The majority of interest was directed toward the Maori performers who appeared throughout the event.
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With the maximisation of export earnings representing the major function of TRADENZ, the increase in awareness of trading opportunities is fundamental. For this reason, they see media coverage of such opportunities as an important factor in creating a climate of awareness. This applies to the New Zealand media as well as its many counterparts in the thriving economies of Asia. Although the use of public relations companies in Asia suggest the media's in New Zealand's markets receive greater priority, steps are also taken to enhance coverage in this country. These include levels of both encouragement and assistance which range from making information available for media dissemination to the offering of financial assistance for journalists to accompany trade missions. Subsequently, TRADENZ influence media coverage of business aspects of New Zealand's relationship with Asia. As a recipient of government funding, this influence is indirectly government initiated. However, this is perhaps both worthwhile and necessary.

**Asia 2000 Foundation of New Zealand**

Perhaps the most significant development in New Zealand's developing relationship with Asia is the newly established Asia 2000 Foundation of New Zealand. Formally opened in September 1994, the Foundation's origins lie in the Government initiated Asia 2000 programme. It was established to build on the achievements and initiatives undertaken under the Asia 2000 programme, and to become the focal point for its further development.\(^{176}\)

The most significant feature of the Foundation's formation is perhaps the movement of its activities away from the public sector. As stated by

\(^{176}\) ASIA 2000 FOUNDATION OF NEW ZEALAND. Role and function background paper. Wellington, September, 1994. 1p.
its Executive Director, Mr Peter Harris, "the point of a foundation is to engender an interest in an important field and then make grants to direct activities toward an identified end."177

Mr Harris believes Foundations to be immensely effective vehicles for promoting social and economic change.

This is especially true in societies where Government wants to step back, and enough space has opened up for other institutions to take on creative roles. Perhaps because of this, foundations and other non-governmental organisations have been playing a particularly useful role in the last few years, as the limits of government have been re-defined.178

Although operating outside the public sector, the foundation enjoys clear support from the Government, which has provided start-up funds of almost three million dollars. However, the Foundation intends to move quickly away from this Government dependence, with its future survival resting with private sector financial support.179 With its activities and initiatives now being developed and administered outside the government sector, it may be argued that their vulnerability to Government manipulation is significantly lessened.

The desire to enhance media awareness and coverage of New Zealand's developing relationship with Asia is a major aim of the foundation. Although this was a major factor inherent in the original Asia 2000 programme, the foundation is able to devote a greater level of time and resources. This is illustrated by the recent appointment of Ms Jennifer King to the newly created


178 ibid.

position of Programme Officer Media, who's major objective is to increase New Zealand media coverage of Asia.

**Visiting Journalists Programme**

The first major assignment of the foundation's media programme is the restructuring of the Visiting Journalists Programme. The programme will amalgamate the initial Asia 2000 awards with those initially granted through the New Zealand-Japan Foundation. Although the nature of the award scheme has not been fully determined, a number of changes will be introduced.

As stated by Ms King, the awards are likely to cover all expenses, in contrast to the initial programme which financed 75% of total costs. However, a ceiling is likely to be attached to daily expenses, depending on the required budget for individual countries. The awards will finance trips of up to one month's duration.\(^{180}\)

The successful journalists will have an obligation to produce indepth, analytical coverage of Asian issues that will give a New Zealand audience a context of image. This will require stimulating, well thought out, well researched proposals. "In the past, some journalists have only known vaguely what they will be writing. This way, they will require greater detail so they know in advance what they will be writing."\(^{181}\)

Although the proposals will need to contain greater detail, they will not resemble the New Zealand-Japan Foundation scheme where the trip was fully organised for the journalists. Ms King believes they should still come up

\(^{180}\) ibid.

\(^{181}\) ibid.
with their own proposals. "There are cases where journalists can do their own legwork. They do not need to be spoonfed."\textsuperscript{182}

The awards are likely to cover three separate regions including North-East Asia, South-East Asia and South Asia. The awards will probably be advertised three times a year, one for each of the three regions which would guarantee geographical variation. The proposed system would include two journalists in each region.

Subsequently, perhaps more time and thought has gone into the new structure of the Visiting Journalists Programme. The need for more detailed proposals coupled with the new geographical variation may produce more indepth coverage of a greater cross-section of Asian issues and culture.

\textbf{Media Seminar}

Another media initiative in the pipeline is the organisation of a seminar focusing on Asian news coverage. Although only in the formative phase, the seminar expected to be held in mid-1995 will aim to attract as many New Zealand journalists as possible. These will include Deputy Editors, chief sub-editors, chief reporters and news editors. These will include representatives from the electronic media.

The aim of the seminar is to bring different perspectives regarding the level and nature of coverage into the open. This will include speakers from Asia who are able to present an Asian perspective. This may include representatives from major news agencies to talk about what Asia means in terms of their global and regional strategy.\textsuperscript{183}

\textsuperscript{182} ibid.

\textsuperscript{183} ibid.
Representatives from the Australian media will also be invited to present their view of the importance of Asian coverage. Ms King sees this of particular significance as Australia has a close relationship with the region and has been through a similar process of strengthening relations with Asia as New Zealand has.184

The seminar is intended to be the first step in the foundation's pursuit of enhancing Asian coverage in the New Zealand media. With the foundation barely six months old, the changes to the Visiting Journalists Programme and the proposed mid-year seminar form the essence of the media programme to date. However, further developments and initiatives will follow the seminar, the nature of which will depend on its outcome.

Section Four highlights a number of areas where the New Zealand government has had an influence over media coverage of New Zealand's relationship with Asia. As shown in Chapter Seven, a number of direct influences existed in the early 1990s. However, with the visiting journalist programmes now coming under the auspices of the Asia 2000 Foundation, the only remaining direct influences are the media briefings presented by MFAT. While the hypothesis upon which the section is based may have initially been extreme, perhaps the development of the Asia 2000 Foundation increases its invalidity. Although the government has the potential to influence aspects of the coverage, it is perhaps incorrect to suggest it has the ability to undermine the media in influencing the developing relationship.

184 ibid.
CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study has been to determine how the New Zealand media has responded to the developing relationship with Asia. The study has been based upon two amended hypotheses. The first dealt with the attention given to Asian issues:

The media are by and large themselves relatively inattentive in covering Asia and New Zealand's relationship with the region.

The content analysis illustrated various comparisons and contrasts between publications. Perhaps the domination of the economic category was the most significant result. Opinions regarding the validity of the hypothesis vary according to individual circumstances. This was emphasised by the contrasting opinions between the newspaper editors and the Asian diplomats.

Despite this, recent developments suggest the New Zealand media is becoming more aware of the importance of Asia. However, the government sector has initiated the movement towards Asia. It has also placed emphasis on enhancing media coverage of the region. This formed the essence of discussion associated with the second hypothesis:
The capacity of the media to influence New Zealand's relationship with Asia is undermined by the media's vulnerability to government manipulation.

Various government influences on Asian coverage suggest a correlation between media coverage and government manipulation. However, with the launching of the Asia 2000 Foundation, such influences are generally of an indirect nature. The influence is perhaps both minimal and worthwhile with the government enhancing the coverage through funding and as a primary source.

FUTURE PROSPECTS

Although the level of coverage is a major factor in attention given to Asian issues, perhaps the media's main influence is associated with the nature of coverage. As suggested in the content analysis, economic material was the most abundant. This may be responsible for the results of the NRB survey discussed in Chapter Two. The survey found that New Zealanders were generally aware of Asian countries as our major trading partners. This suggests the nature of coverage does have an affect on public knowledge and awareness of the region.

Change of focus

Although New Zealanders are aware of Asian economies, there is still a degree of scepticism associated with the region. This is perhaps because of a lack of understanding. Knowing a country is economically successful does not
create an understanding of its culture and way of life. Awareness of the cultures of our allies and major trading partners is fundamental in the development of close international associations.

Subsequently, an increase in media attention to Asian cultures should strengthen the relationship by enhancing understanding and perhaps acceptance. Although cultural issues were not ignored in the results of the content analysis, there is still perhaps an insufficient level. More attention should be given to these issues, even at the expense of economic material. While economic material would not be ignored, those with specific interests in economic and business issues could receive detailed information from specialist sources such as the National Business Review.

* A New Zealand media presence in Asia

As shown in the content analysis, the majority of articles were written by foreign journalists. This raises the question of whether the presence of New Zealand journalists in the region would enhance the nature of coverage. This may not be so as material destined for a New Zealand audience need not necessarily carry an authentic New Zealand perspective. This factor is illustrated by the need for more coverage of cultural issues. Such issues could perhaps be covered more comprehensively by foreign journalists with valuable insight into Asian cultures. These stories would be of value to a New Zealand audience despite the absence of an authentic New Zealand perspective.
Despite this, a New Zealand media presence in Asia would provide another dimension to the coverage. However, with Asia being absolutely non-monolithic both politically and culturally, it would be insufficient to place one journalist in a hub location to cover large amounts of territory. The use of syndicated sources with a knowledge of individual countries and cultures may be a more successful option.

Government participation

Government sources and funding are an important element of Asian coverage. Such sources are significant as they generally focus specifically on New Zealand's relationship with the region. This is one area where New Zealand perspectives are both necessary and available. The government provides the media with valuable assistance. However, it would be incorrect to suggest the media are vulnerable to government manipulation.

The New Zealand Context

The New Zealand environment is quite different from its American counterpart. New Zealanders are perhaps more outward looking because of the country's size and geographical isolation. Subsequently, it may be argued they are more interested and attentive to external issues and cultures. This suggests the media have the potential to play a major role in New Zealand's developing relationship with Asia. However, the various views expressed and results of the content analysis suggest it is currently playing an insignificant role. The fact that there is only so much space available reinforces the need to improve
the nature of coverage.

More attention to cultural issues is necessary. Such a change may in fact reduce the validity of both hypotheses upon which this research has been based. Firstly, it would reflect an increase in media attentiveness towards Asia and acknowledgement of the importance of such issues. Secondly, it would result in less dependence on government sources. This is because such sources are generally focused on economic and political issues.

While the media currently has an affect on public attitudes towards Asia, it perhaps has the potential and responsibility to play a greater role through enhancing and more importantly diversifying its attention to Asian issues.
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