



Conflict, Custom & Conscience

Photojournalism and
the Pacific Media Centre
2007-2017

Edited by Jim Marbrook, Del Abcede, Natalie Robertson and David Robie

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Preface

Professor Berrin Yanikkaya

Lord, said David, since you do not need us, why did you create these two worlds?

Reality replied: O prisoner of time, I was a secret treasure of kindness and generosity, and I wished this treasure to be known, so I created a mirror: its shining face, the heart; its darkened back, the world; The back would please you if you've never seen the face. (...)

Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi, from the poem 'Be Lost in a Call' in *Love is a Stranger* (translated by Kabir Helminski), Threshold Books, 1993.

It is my pleasure and honour to write a preface to this book prepared as part of the series of publications celebrating 10 years of the Pacific Media Centre (PMC). Before taking up my current role as Head of the School of Communication Studies at Auckland University of Technology, I had been writing on alternative media for some time. My new role has allowed me to witness first-hand the dedication, labour and passion that a journalist-academic, David Robie, and his colleagues have put into practice to create a channel for the voiceless to have a voice, a platform for the unseen to be seen, and an arena for the 'others' to deliberate their ideas.

Corporate media is pervasive all over the world, and especially in countries where the ruling parties or leaders are authoritarian, both commercial and public media are controlled and censored or even owned by those who have not only economic but also political power. This situation makes us turn our face to other sources for information to understand and make sense of the world.

Investigative journalism has been an important branch of journalism since Ida Tarbell and her peers first started writing about the corruption of people in power in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Uncovering what is important but hidden from the public,

advocating for social, political, economic, cultural changes, and dreaming and working for a better, equal and just world are part of the day-to-day operations of investigative journalists. The range of some of the best investigative photojournalism is demonstrated in this book by the Centre.

The technology behind the very first cameras relied on a reflecting mirror principle, but the mirror itself is more than just a technology, it is the essence of seeing the self through a 'darkened back', the world. Since the 'moment' was first captured in the early 1800s, to *The Decisive Moment* in 1952 (Cartier-Bresson) and to the digital era of today, many things have changed in the world, from social organisations to the relations of media, politics and economics, but one thing that remains significant is the power of a single image. An image is able to speak to our hearts as well as our minds; an image can change the way we see things and hence change the world; an image is the witness of life; an image can tell more than words can possibly say. This book, in its four parts: Culture; Environment; Politics, protest, conflict; and Women speaks to our hearts, and looks into our eyes in its pure reality and calls us to see the unseen and hear the unheard. It is a great work reflecting accomplished and devoted human rights and environment advocacy and activism in the

region highlighted by co-editors, Jim Marbrook, Del Abcede, Natalie Robertson and David Robie.

Professor Berrin Yanikkaya

Head of the School of Communication Studies
Auckland University of Technology
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Conflict, Custom & Conscience

Photojournalism and the Pacific Media Centre

Jim Marbrook

A group of Melanesian women march behind an anti-mining 'No BCL No Mining' banner, across a small field in the now-autonomous region of Bougainville. Their protest is ostensibly unseen by the rest of the world. Their protest efforts are local, gender-specific, indigenous, and part of a wider movement to stop any production on the Panguna copper mine. This conflict claimed an estimated 10,000 lives in the 1990s civil war. This photograph is one of the many that we have selected to mark the 10th anniversary of the Pacific Media Centre in Auckland University of Technology's School of Communication Studies.

The photographers and the images collected in this volume all have connections to the Pacific Media Centre. The process of finding photographs for the book involved exploring a large image archive and revisiting a wide variety of journalistic work, photo essays, and images collected during documentary projects. Giving further context to this was work from those associated with the PMC that extended back to the 1970s (John Miller) and to Pacific conflicts and demonstrations in the 1980s (David Robie and Gil Hanly). Thematic strands emerged as we looked through the archive. The overarching theme of human rights is one such central concern. The relationship between people and the land (and the sea) is also at

the forefront of many of the images. The role of women, of culture, and of tangata whenua are also fundamental and recurring themes. We've classified this work into categories but, in many photographs, there is an overlap and amalgamation of themes. The women's protest march against the BCL mine earlier in 2017 is one such image.

The publication of this volume also presents us with an opportunity to not only celebrate the work presented here but to give it some context. Co-incidentally, we share our 10th anniversary with that of Apple's iPhone, the device that catalysed a move towards citizen journalism and one that has (along with its android variants) democratised the process of image-making. The role of the citizen journalist has changed the way that photographs are captured, edited and distributed and has also changed the terrain in which the photojournalist works. In response to this, the *Chicago Sun-Times* eliminated its entire photojournalism department in 2013 as part of 'firm commitment to professional convergence'. (Geurrero Garcia & Palomo, 2015). In their 2015 study, Virginia Geurrero Garcia and Bella Palomo canvassed Spanish photographers on the future of their profession. Citing Glaser, they highlighted the fact that photojournalists play an important role as 'they are needed "for crusading work,

the work that takes time and dedication"' (p.35). While acknowledging the importance of citizen photojournalists 'witnessing' key events such as the Arab Spring protests, the Boston marathon bombing, the death of Saddam Hussein, they also underline Anden-Papadoupulos's main characteristics of crowd-sourced footage: 'hypermobility, opacity, non-narrativity'. (p. 38).

In many ways, the photographs in this book are manifestations of opposite tendencies: process, transparency, a sense of story, and an ethical approach to subjects. The photographers interviewed in Geurrero Garcia and Palomo's paper are also concerned about: the 'manipulation in editing of the image, the lack of ethical values in professionals in establishing their moral limits; daily saturation to which the public is subjected; lack of respect for the right to honour the image of the people photographed; and the ideological position of the news media'. (p. 44).

It is my belief that work of the photographers in this volume speaks directly to the concerns outlined above. John Miller's long career documenting Te Ao Māori, Vlad Sokhin's nuanced, in-depth report on violence against women in Papua New Guinea, and Ben Bohane's engagement with the political and *kastom* worlds of the 'black islands'

of Melanesia, are but three examples of a long-standing commitment to the subject, to the belief in the power of the image to communicate, and to the sustained sense of a wider story that is set out beyond the snapshot of the image that citizen witnesses and simpler iPhone-style technology can communicate. The best work doesn't just show us what is there. The best work translates the event, showing it to us from the unique perspective of the photographer. The work of the camera, seen within this context, exhibits what Susan Sontag described as 'the ideal arm of consciousness in its inquisitive mood' (Sontag, 2005, p. 2).

The Pacific Media Centre's focus has expanded over the past 10 years. The news service has moved on from being *Pacific Scoop* (founded in 2009) to its new incarnation: the *Asia Pacific Report* (2016). Visits from international journalists such as Max Stahl, Kunda Dixit and Robert Fisk have widened the scope of the Centre's engagement with issues in Asia as well as the Pacific. This collection of photos mirrors these wider concerns. Kunda Dixit's work highlights an underreported and often misunderstood political conflict zone in Nepal. David Robie's work in New Caledonia during the political chaos of the 1980s, and my own recent work on mining and land rights in this territory, focus on an area that has been absent from the anglophone news sphere, largely

as a result of the opacity of the francophone Pacific for anglophone news organisations. Most tellingly, however, areas like West Papua have been shamefully ignored by mainstream news media. Radio New Zealand's reports have been an exception to this: 'According to Radio New Zealand International news editor Walter Zweifel, the international community regards the West Papua situation as "largely settled" and that the problems were an internal affair for Indonesian authorities to resolve. The main reason for the lack of interest, Zweifel believed, is "the absence of First World protagonists, most notably Anglo-Saxons"' (Robie, 2013, p. 152).

Herein lies the paradox for a photojournalist in the Pacific region and in other underreported areas. A non-commercial public broadcaster like Radio New Zealand International can explore areas like West Papua but it still relies on getting 'newsworthy developments mostly through email,' Zweifel explains. 'Human rights groups, pressure groups, and churches, tend to alert us to what is happening' (ibid, p. 152). A photographer, however, must be 'on the ground'. Giving these issues deeper context, approaching them ethically, requires a more sustained presence, a deeper consideration of culture and custom and an understanding of the complexity of each specific local situation.

In the case of West Papua, this can involve personal risk and also (more importantly, in my view) can place informants and subjects at risk. Areas like the Pacific also have their own specific challenges. Transport is expensive and difficult to organise. In many areas journalists will encounter health and personal safety issues (malaria and dengue fever are but two of these). However, when one looks at the breadth of work here, the continued examination and exploration of issues that are difficult to report, and the specific funding challenges that had to be surmounted for each project, it is clear that there are other drivers to this commitment to story. What I see in all of these works is a shared sense of social conscience.

With newsrooms decommissioning photojournalism departments, it is timely to look at the future of photojournalism in our region and at the future of the Pacific Media Centre and of universities as organisations that can support this practice. The varied work of all the photographers also illustrates possible future pathways for photojournalistic practice. Vlad Sokhin's work is a wonderful demonstration of a long-term commitment to the Pacific. Warm Waters, a Pacific-wide climate change project (Sokhin, 2017) demonstrates a significant and sustained engagement with perhaps our most salient

environmental issue. It is a clear example of conscience guiding practice. However, it is also an example of the shift photographers are having to make away from standard newsroom environments. Increasingly, projects are also running parallel to work that supports NGOs and governmental organisations.

In the age of 'fake news' the balance between advocacy and objectivity has never been more important. But the work of advocacy groups and NGOs, as seen in a case study of the NGO La'o Hamutuk in Timor-Leste (Robie, 2015), highlights how communication-focused NGOs can take key roles in sensitive and balanced reporting. This year, *The New Zealand Herald's* series *Hidden Pacific* reported on social and health conditions in Papua New Guinea, giving New Zealanders news access to one of the most underreported areas in the Pacific. Essentially a collaboration between World Vision and the newspaper itself, it also involved a fund-raising campaign for World Vision projects. While the shape of this collaboration surely had a determining factor in the content of the news items, photographs and video footage, the success of the fund-raising campaign that accompanied this project is a good example of how stories from little-seen areas of the Pacific can gain considerable traction with the New Zealand public.

Ten years ago, not many could have foreseen the impact of the iPhone's introduction into the sphere of news reporting and the rise of citizen journalism, nor in the smart phone's role in the organisation of social movements. The next ten years will see more evolutions in image-making technology and in news delivery. The funding models for photojournalism are also unclear and this makes the support role of organisations such as the university even more important. They can be places where practice is encouraged and seeded. They can help disseminate, curate, and analyse. Hopefully, in a modest way, this volume can be seen as not only a celebration of photojournalism but also be seen as a signal for increased commitment to photojournalism in the next decade.

The fundamental challenges of reporting the news and telling stories with pictures have been touched on here but one cannot ignore the fact that much of this work begins as a labour of love and continues because of a deeper engagement with people, places and events. Ben Bohane, in the commentary accompanying his photoessay for *Pacific Journalism Review* (2014), has given us a perfect summary of the joy of this engagement. Celebrating these works is also celebrating the spirit in which they were done. This is what Ben wrote:

When I am in the warm embrace of the Pacific Ocean, it certainly feels as sacred to me as the Ganges must be to Indian pilgrims, or the way springs and rivers are considered the threshold place of ancestral spirits in Ireland. I am reminded too of the old Danish proverb: no sailor at sea is an atheist.

These lush islands, scattered like a constellation over a vast cobalt sea, will always feel like home: a liquid continent where the great spirits dwell.

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Roimata Toroa

Tears of the Albatross

Natalie Robertson

In Te Ao Māori, the Toroa (albatross) is sacred. Roimata Toroa, albatross tears, is a widely used tukutuku pattern. Derived from the Te Tairāwhiti Ngāti Porou story of Pourangahua, the pattern speaks of the misadventures of travelers who take shortcuts in haste to get to port. Pourangahua was an agriculturist who traveling a return journey to Aotearoa to grow kumara, gifted to him by Ruakapenga, a tohunga and learned scientist. Lent two pet albatrosses, Harongarangi and Tiungarangi, by Ruakapenga, Pourangahua is given strict instructions on which hazards to avoid, the care of the birds, and a karakia to give thanksgiving for their safe return. In his hurriedness to see his wife Kaniowai, Pourangahua takes a shortcut, runs into a taniwha (a denotation of hazards), and forgets the karakia and fails to care for the birds, leading to their grief and eventual demise¹. Realising he has dishonoured Ruakapenga, Pourangahua tries to cover his mistake, by belatedly doing the karakia, but it is too late. The damage was done.

In late 2011, I was following the news in the wake of the MV Rena's grounding, a Liberian-registered container ship that hit the Astrolabe Reef, off the Tauranga coast, a full speed on October 5, at 2.14am.² The Transport Accident Incident report MO-2011-204 states that 'After departure from Napier, the master learned from notes on the chart of the unfavourable currents. He then authorised the watchkeepers

to deviate from the planned course lines on the chart to shorten the distance...' The captain Mauro Balomaga and navigational officer Leonil Relon in charge of MV *Rena*, took shortcuts in haste to get into Tauranga Harbour by 3.00am. Clearly, they didn't follow instructions that would allow for safe passage across the ocean. In doing so, their actions led to the loss of the lives of masses of sea mammals and contaminated kaimoana. Taking shortcuts to meet commercial demands is now widespread in the 'forgotten space' (Sekula & Birch, 2012) of the industrialised sea.

For local iwi Ngai Te Hapu, Te Patuwai and Ngai Te Rangi, the wrecked *Rena* ruined the mauri, the life force, of the reef, known to them as Te Tau o Otaiti.³ By mid-October, the ship's hull split in two, releasing heavy fuel oil. On October 11, the vessel became a total loss.⁴ It is recorded as New Zealand's worst maritime environmental disaster, spilling hundreds of tonnes of oil into the ocean, as well as containers of hazardous materials. On 12 October 2011, I saw a news image of a dead, oiled albatross—my tears fell. The largest seabird in the world, the wingspan of the *Toroa* is over three metres. Notable for living for decades *Toroa* travel vast distances, ocean wanderers that can cover as much as 190,000 km a year. They are also vulnerable to habitat and climate change, some fishing practices and slow reproduction rates. Imagine those wings, perhaps a metre long each, diving on a

magnificent downward arc, to retrieve a fish, and finding itself mired in sticky oil. With the oil clinging to those wings, the weight would be too great to rise out of the oil slick. The distressing image of the oiled *Toroa* prompted me to head to Papamoa a couple of days later with fellow artist Alex Monteith. Aligning with Greenpeace, we obtained media passes to get access to the cleanup site at Papamoa and the Oiled Wildlife Care Network. Along with hundreds of volunteers, we were briefed on appropriate care on the beaches to avoid toxic oil contamination spreading. For two days, we documented the military operation of the beach cleanup, witnessing the goodwill of fellow people to clean up the tragic results of the *Rena* grounding. I gave a selection of photographs to Greenpeace for publication.⁵ They continue to appear on Greenpeace affiliated websites around the world.

Five years on, the rusting ruin of the *Rena* is still on the Otaiti reef. Like Pourangahua, the MV *Rena* master was apologetic, but it was too late to save the *Toroa*, hundreds of penguins and thousands of other birds whose food sources were destroyed. The damage continues to this day.

Natalie Robertson

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NOTES

¹Sources include Ruakapanga Marae, Ūawa, Pine Taiapa (Teara), Pine Taiapa in Joan Metge (1998). *Time & The Art of Māori Storytelling. New Zealand Studies*, 8(1), 3-9.

²Container ship MV *Rena* grounding on Astrolabe Reef, 5 October 2011
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³<http://frontiersabroad.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/Talia-Steiger.pdf>

⁴www.taic.org.nz/inquiry/mo-2011-204

⁵www.greenpeace.org/new-zealand/Global/new-zealand/P3/publications/GreenpeaceNZ-2011-Annual-Report.pdf

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Voice of the Voiceless

Investigative Photojournalism

Professor David Robie

‘The Pacific Islands have long been a refuge,’ wrote celebrated Vanuatu-based investigative photojournalist Ben Bohane in the introduction to his extraordinary 2013 collection *The Black Islands*, ‘for eccentric foreigners and castaways too, who often fell into one (or several) of these categories: mercenary, missionary or misfit.’ Adding to his message of how the region was a magnet for mystics and mayhem, he wrote:

As a photojournalist who has lived and journeyed through these shimmering islands, perhaps I am a crude mix of all of the above. I was drawn to them because they still seemed like mythical and remote places in an increasingly familiar world, while many of its conflicts were largely unreported. There were family connections too.

So beginning in 1994, I ran a naval blockade to cover the war in Bougainville and soon found others too, wars the rest of the world had conveniently forgotten: in East Timor, West Papua as well as Bougainville. Then there were riots in New Caledonia, civil war in the Solomon and coups in Fiji ... (Bohane, 2013)

Ben began his long association with *Pacific Journalism Review* research journal (and thus the Pacific Media Centre) with an illustrated investigative article in 2001 about the complex divided loyalties within the Fiji military

following the George Speight attempted coup debacle in May 2000. He characterised the crux of the divide to be between the ‘professional’ soldiers, typified by then Commander Voreqe Bainimarama (later coup leader and ultimately elected prime minister), who believed the military should stay out of politics, and the ‘politicals’, who sought to ensure the supremacy of indigenous Fijian rights.

He followed this up with two powerfully evocative portfolios of photographs published in 2006 (Dean & Bohane) and 2014 (Bohane) editions of the journal. In the former, Ben featured some of his photos from the Bougainville war, which started in 1989 in response to an environmental crisis over Panguna copper mine; a troop deployment of Australian troops (and other Pacific forces, including from Fiji and New Zealand); the controversial arrival of 43 West Papuan refugees in 2006 and the ‘ethnic cleansing’ in the Solomon Islands the same year.

Bec Dean, curator of Ben’s original Black Islands exhibition at the Australian Centre for Photography in Sydney, noted that the photographer’s long-standing journalistic focus in the region had been to explore the connections between *kastom* and resistance movements. As she described it, *kastom* is a broad term ‘derived from the Tok Pisin (Melanesian pidgin) for “custom” used to

describe dynamic new religious movements with a traditional and spiritual base’. As Ben himself described it:

As an Australian, resident in Vanuatu, I see myself as a Pacific islander and reject the grandiose claims of Australia being a ‘continent’. I believe that this notion has blinded Australians to the reality that we remain forever linked to other Pacific islands through the blood and songlines of our indigenous people and our historical and military legacy in the region.

Another influential photographer, this time in Aotearoa New Zealand, has also had a long association with *Pacific Journalism Review* and the Pacific Media Centre with his trajectory of civil rights, anti-apartheid, anti-nuclear, social justice, political transformation and indigenous struggle. John Miller (Ngapuhi) received a Media Peace Prize Lifetime Award in 2003 for his contribution to the struggle for peace as a ‘sympathetic observer’. Recently his enormous archive—and he has a prodigious memory—on events such as the Springbok tour of 1981, the hikoi (Māori Land March), Waitangi protests and the 2006 *tangi* of the Māori Queen, Te Arikinui Dame Te Atiangikaahu has been developed into an iconic collection. He has been a frequent guest lecturer for the Pacific Media Centre, and was one of the recipients of the first centre research grants in 2007 which

led to the photoessay ‘Seeing the wood for the trees—Ngatihine’ published in 2011.

The first Nga Tamatoa protest at Waitangi in 1971 launched a new era of assertiveness in the struggle for Māori Treaty, land, and cultural rights. Such events as the Māori Land March (1975) and the occupations at Bastion Point and Raglan (1978) received prominent treatment in mainstream media of the day, noted *Pacific Journalism Review*. However, how well equipped were the then predominantly monocultural news organisations in understanding underlying issues behind such protests? John sought some answers:

My own interest in issues of media coverage comes from an involvement in a complex legal dispute over a Māori-owned land block 35 years ago, during which I had much contact with journalists of the day, at a time when the media landscape was much less ethnically diverse. Of the 41 or so ‘mainstream’ journalists I had varying contact with over a 24 month period from 1976 to 1978, 36 were Pākehā, three were Māori (one of these a trainee) and two were Samoan. I was effectively presenting a minority culture issue to media workers overwhelmingly of the majority culture. I discovered that the subject was virtually unknown territory to these journalists. This was certainly a ‘blind spot’ issue. (Miller, 2011)

Social psychologist Emily Pronin first coined the term in research relating to the bias blind spot in 2002. While the research was primarily about the bias of the average person (85 percent of a sample of 600 people considered that they were less biased than the average American), it has a particular applicability to news media too. Situations abound where editors and news directors fail to provide coverage or analysis of issues and thus creating blind spots for their audience. Marginalisation by mainstream news media in New Zealand of the West Papua human rights crisis is an obvious example of this.

My own work has certainly focused on media blind spots and human rights, which has led to photographic exhibitions in Kenya (a social justice portrayal of Madagascar), Auckland ('Faces of Africa' and 'Nuclear Exodus: The Rongelap Evacuation', later turned into a video broadcast on *Tagata Pasifika*) and Wellington, and books including *Eyes of Fire* (1986), *Blood on their Banner* (1989), *Mekim Nius* (2004) and *Don't Spoil My Beautiful Face: Media, Mayhem and Human Rights in the Pacific* (2014).

In the past decade, the Pacific Media Centre, especially through its publications, *Pacific Journalism Review*, *Pacific Journalism Monographs* and books, has sought to challenge blind spots, and offer a voice for the voiceless. Journalism schools prioritise journalists as detached observers, keeping their distance.

However, we need to examine our media role more closely and more critically. Does our journalism perpetuate human rights violations or conflict, or does it contribute to restoring peace and justice?

Nepali Times editor-in-chief and publisher Kunda Dixit, is the author of *Dateline Earth*, a critique of Western mainstream media and the control of news by multinational corporations reflecting the interests and preoccupations of industrialised countries. The original edition of this book (in 1996) was essentially before the rise of the internet and social media networking: 'News was whatever happened in the US, Western Europe, Australia, and the periphery wasn't deemed to be important.' When the revised edition emerged in 2011, says Dixit, the mediascape wasn't any better; corporate media control still persisted in the internet age, although by now it was also struggling to maintain a successful business model.

However, with the cybernet revolution, believes Kunda, photojournalism, especially of an investigative edge, is enjoying a resurgence. Kunda was keynote speaker at a 2011 'Investigative Journalism and Technology' conference at Auckland University of Technology, which later provided an incentive for the founding of New Zealand's Centre for Investigative Journalism. His inspirational exhibition of 'peace photographs' by a range

of photographers featuring the 10-year Maoist civil war in his country created quite a stir. Some of the images, including the cover of this book, are featured in this collection and were drawn from his trilogy *The People War*. I wrote in a review about the influence of his works:

Dixit's prophetic view that issues such as jungle families sickened by mine tailings, peasants impoverished by global free trade, countries harmed by toxic waste and general environmental neglect were often ignored is now widely accepted in the region with a wider range of environmental and human rights reporting now a normative. Climate change has contributed to a paradigm shift. (Robie, 2009, p. 230)

Many staff, students and volunteers affiliated with the Pacific Media Centre have achieved outstanding results in investigative photojournalism and documentary work, including Karen Abplanalp (2012), whose investigative feature 'Blood Money' in *Metro* magazine, forced the NZ Superannuation Fund (NZSF), which has an ethical investment policy, to withdraw from the American and Indonesian-owned Freeport copper and gold mine at Grasberg in West Papua. This feature won several investigative journalism awards. Del Abcede has chronicled the personalities, cultural diversity and initiatives of the centre for the past decade with empathy, depth and

passion. Film maker Jim Marbrook's feature-length documentary *Cap Bocage* on a New Caledonian environmental saga began its genesis with a small—and inaugural—seed grant from the PMC in 2007 (Marbrook, 2015). His initiative created the impetus for this book and he has inspired a documentary dimension to the Pacific Media Centre's work through Te Ara Motuhenga.

News media ought to be vigilant in countering elected despots who use their mandate to destroy the very institutions that allowed them to be voted into power in the first place, argues Kunda Dixit. When he spoke in Auckland six years ago, he issued a challenge which is just as valid today:

Let's work on a paradigm shift in the way we in the media approach stories. We should strive to cover deprivation and the causes of social injustice, not just its effect. It means each of us having a conscience and using it—by striving to be fair in an unfair world. (Dixit, 2011).

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Culture

Ahurea





Left: West Papua, a *sanguma* (spirit) man in the Highlands welcomes photojournalist Ben Bohane to his Nduga village. © Ben Bohane



A man in traditional costume prepares himself for ritual during a custom dance. Sepik River, Papua New Guinea 2005. © Ben Bohane

Previous page: Children in Wamena investigating the investigators. Photojournalist Karen Abplanalp giving impromptu photography lessons to the children flocking around the unusual sight of foreign journalists from Māori Television visiting their home town. West Papua 2015. © Karen Abplanalp



Woman and child on their way home from the garden. She carries sweet potatoes in a *bilum* bag tied around her head. Nduga Highlands, West Papua/Indonesia 1995. © Ben Bohane



Traditional welcome in the Moro Movement area of the Weathercoast. Guadalcanal, Solomon Islands, 1999. © Ben Bohane



Papuan boy with a pearl-lugger headdress used in *kastom* dances remembering the pearling days of the early 20th century, Papuan Gulf, Papua New Guinea 2006.
© Ben Bohane



A butcher and his daughter in a marketplace at Maubara in República Democrática de Timor-Leste, 2007. The sign of the café in the background says Bakso Malang. Bakso is an Indonesian meat ball dish made from beef surimi. © David Robie

Right: A Timorese war of liberation veteran with a traditional *tais* woven cloth on a basketball court at Maubara in República Democrática de Timor-Leste, 2007. © David Robie





Ngatihine shareholders hold an impromptu meeting after a Māori Land Court session. Kawakawa, Northland, 14 November 1977.
© John Miller

Shareholders and supporters arrive for a Ngatihine Block Action Committee meeting. Matawaia Marae, 24 June 1978.
© John Miller





The first ceremonial forest planting
at Matawaia Marae, late 1981.
From left. Dick Kake, Wiremu Coffey,
Graham Alexander and Witari
Peihopa. © John Miller

These men call their gang 'Dirty Dons 585' and admit to rapes and armed robberies in the Port Moresby area. They say two-thirds of their victims are women. *Crying Meri* project, Papua New Guinea, 2014. © Vlad Sokhin







Left: 'Baby' Stevens, a notorious raskol gang leader. Chimbu, Highlands, Papua New Guinea 1994. © Ben Bohane

A Papuan New Guinean soldier on guard at the start of the Bougainville civil war near the provincial capital of Arawa in 1989. © David Robie







Above: Heiva Festival. Papeete, Tahiti, 1999.

Left: The oarsman said, 'I'm out of here,'
and dived through the huge swell.
Mauke Island, Cook Islands, 1982.

Photographs Glenn Jowitt.
© The Glenn Jowitt Trust:
contact melody.b@xtra.co.nz

Environment

Taiao



NO BICL
NO
NOTHING

HINDI KE IS
THE WAY FORWARD FOR
PULLAVILLE
NOTHING

WOMEN
OWN THE
LAND

WE
OWN
THE
LAND

WOMEN
OWN THE
LAND

WOMEN
OWN THE
LAND

Previous page: Bougainvillean women, the traditional landowners, oppose plans to reopen Panguna mine on Bougainville. They say “no” to Bougainville Copper Limited, the mining company that sparked a 10-year civil war over mining pollution and exploitation, June 2017.
© Llane Munau/ Papua New Guinea Mine Watch

Right: Florent Eurisouké, the leader of indigenous environmental group Mèè Rhaari, returns to a *bois tabou* (sacred totem pole) on top of the Cap Bocage mine near Houailou in New Caledonia/Kanaky.
© Jim Marbrook



Florent Eurisouké and Christophe, members of indigenous environmental group Mèè Rhaari, dwarf the giant nickel ore trucks on their return to the site of the 2008 mining disaster at the Cap Bocage mine, near Houailou, New Caledonia/Kanaky.
© Jim Marbrook



In May 1985, two months before the *Rainbow Warrior* was bombed at Marsden Wharf in Auckland Harbour, the Greenpeace environmental flagship ferried 320 victims—survivors of US nuclear testing from Rongelap Atoll in the Marshall Islands.



Fernando Pereira and Rongelap Islander Bonemej Namwe ride ashore to the atoll in a *bum bum*. Born on Kwajalein, Namwe, then aged 62, had lived most of her life in Rongelap: “The United States used our people for studying as if we were chickens and pigs.” © David Robie



Campaign coordinator Steve Sawyer is pictured bringing Rongelap islanders to the *Rainbow Warrior* in a Zodiac, May 1985. © David Robie



The last photograph of Portuguese-born Dutch photojournalist Fernando Pereira, taken on board the *Rainbow Warrior* the night before the bombing. On the left is Charles Rara from Vanuatu representing Father Walter Lini's government. Photographer Gil Hanly is crouched on the right. 9 July 1985. © John Miller

Right: Nuclear Free Pacific—the deck of the *Rainbow Warrior* with many well-known environmental activists on board, including Pacific Media Centre director David Robie (third from left), the night before the bombing by French secret agents, 9 July 1985. © John Miller

NUCLEAR FREE PACIFIC

HALL, BENNETT &
SHIPBUILDERS
& ENGINEERS
AGENTS





The sunken *Rainbow Warrior* at Marsden Wharf, Auckland, after the bombing by French secret agents on 10 July 1985. RIGHT: Police searched the crippled *Rainbow Warrior* for evidence about the French Secret Service operation against Greenpeace and New Zealand while the ship was in Auckland's Devonport Naval Base, July 1985. In April–May 2015, about 40 Auckland University of Technology student journalists and television production students carried out a 'living history' documentary project with Little Island Press to create the microsite *Eyes of Fire—30 Years On* eyes-of-fire.littleisland.co.nz
© Gil Hanly





Oil spill disaster—the MV *Rena* ship grounding on Astrolabe Reef, Tauranga, 5 October 2011.
© Natalie Robertson





Oiled bird wildlife rescue and beach
clean up, Papamoa Beach, 14-16
October 2011. © Natalie Robertson







Oiled bird wildlife rescue and beach
clean up Papamoa Beach, 14-16
October 2011. © Natalie Robertson



BLOOD MONEY

On October 10 this year, Indonesian police assigned to protect the world's largest gold and copper mine opened fire on striking miners, killing two. The miners were unarmed and their strike was legal.

Since this incident, five more miners have been killed in suspicious circumstances.

It was the latest incident in a long line of human rights abuses, not to mention ongoing environmental devastation, associated with the mine.

The New Zealand Superannuation Fund, which is a signatory to the United Nations Principles for Responsible Investing (UNPRI) charter, has shares in the enterprise. Why?

STORY KAREN ABPLANALP

SOME MIGHT SAY it is just the inevitable cost of doing business: bad things happen. The New Zealand Superannuation Fund (NZSF) doesn't take that view. Its job is to invest New Zealand taxpayers' money to help secure our retirement incomes, and it is proud of its status as a "responsible investor".

But the Grasberg mine in West Papua, just north of Australia, presents it with a major challenge. Other UNPRI signatories, including the second-largest public investment fund in the world, the Norwegian Superannuation Fund, with assets of \$US640 billion, have severed their ties with Grasberg. But not the NZSF.

"We are immensely proud of what we do around our responsible investing programme," says Adrian Orr, chief executive of the fund. He believes that by retaining their investment in the mine, they can play a role in improving the situation in West Papua.

Yet, on the face of it, the Grasberg investment appears to be in breach of the NZSF's own guidelines. Is the fund doing



An investigation that began out of a class assignment in AUT's Asia Pacific Journalism postgraduate paper led to publication of 'Blood Money', an expose on the NZ Superannuation Fund's 'unethical investment' in the controversial US-owned Freeport-McMoRan copper and gold mine at Grasberg in West Papua. The award-winning article was published in *Metro* magazine December 2011. The Super Fund subsequently withdrew investment in the mine.
© Karen Abplanalp

good, as Orr believes, or simply helping to prop up activities that would be illegal in this country — activities that most New Zealanders would be horrified to support, let alone make money from, if they were happening here? Do we want our pensions paid for in this way?

“FABULOUS UNTAPPED WEALTH”

West Papua is the western part of the large island of New Guinea. Freeport-McMoRan has been mining there since 1967, when it bought the exclusive concession from the Indonesian government, then led by the military dictator President Suharto.

Although Indonesia has claimed territorial control of West Papua since 1961, most Papuans are Melanesian Pacific Islanders and have mainly Christian or animist spiritual beliefs. Indonesian migrants who also live there are mostly Muslim and have an Asian culture, and look towards Java as their heartland.

There has been an active Papuan independence movement for decades.

In 2003, the Yale Law School's Lowenstein International Human Rights Clinic found what it called strong evidence of genocide

against indigenous Papuans: “The historical and contemporary evidence set out strongly suggests that the Indonesian government has committed proscribed acts with the intent to destroy the West Papuans as such, in violation of the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide and the customary international law prohibition this convention embodies.”

International journalists and human rights organisations are banned by the Indonesian government from entering West Papua.

In October, the New Zealand-based *Pacific Journalism Review* produced a special media freedom report, in which it stated that in one year, there had been “two killings of journalists, five abductions or attempted abductions, 18 assaults (including repeated cases against some journalists), censorship by both the civil and military authorities and two police arrests (but no charges)”.

Comparisons with East Timor are commonly made: in that territory, according to its current government, the Indonesian military killed up to a third of the population during the war of independence from 1975 to 1999. In 2006, the US embassy in Wellington described West Papua in a cable as a “war

Women

Wāhine



Previous page: A woman in a remote village near Wamena during a welcome for Māori Television's Adrian Stevanon and Karen Abplanalp with the regeneration of the *ubi jalar* (kumera or sweet potato). This was the first visit by a New Zealand television crew in a half century. West Papua 2015.
© Karen Abplanalp



Left and right: Women in displaced persons' camp near Jaffna. Stills from Arkeolog, a multimedia project. © Jim Marbrook



Twenty-year-old Juna Rai on sentry duty at a Maoist camp near Bhojpur, Nepal, in November 2005.
© Sagar Shreshta/A People War



Right: An elderly Rongelapese woman and her belongings on board the *Rainbow Warrior* during the second trip from Rongelap atoll to Mejato, Marshall Islands, in May 1985.
© David Robie



Sixteen-year-old Sumitra Adhikari in tears as she carries fodder for the family livestock during the Maoist war at Chhaimale, near Kathmandu, Nepal, in 2004.
© Deependra Bajracharya/A People War



Right: A Bougainvillean woman with her husband, an Australian former mechanic at Panguna. They stayed during the Bougainville civil war despite the hardships of a blockade by the Papua New Guinea government forces. Bougainville, Papua New Guinea 1994.
© Ben Bohane







Rasta's mutilated hands. © Vlad Sokhin

Left: Rasta was accused of sorcery by people in her village after the death of a young man in Papua New Guinea in 2003. She was set upon by a crowd at his funeral, beaten, strangled and tortured until she escaped. She lost her hand in the attack. © Vlad Sokhin

New Zealand
St. Wellington



NO MORE DIRTY POWER
TAKING PEOPLES' MONEY
GETS A WAY
NO MORE DIRTY POWER
GETS A WAY
NEW ZEALAND'S
FREIGHT'S
FOR SALE





Left: 'No More Dirty Secrets' ... iconic photographer Gil Hanly at a demonstration in Auckland, New Zealand. © Del Abcede

Climate change protesters blockading the entrance to an oil conference at Sky City in Auckland, New Zealand, in March 2016. © Del Abcede

Politics, Protest & Conflict

Tautohe

PS 91:1

HE WHO DWELLS IN
THE SECRET PLACE OF
THE MOST HIGH SHALL
ABIDE UNDER THE
SHADOW OF THE ALMIGHTY

THE FAULTS I SEE IN
ARE OFTEN TRUE OF ME
SO HELP ME, LORD, TO
MY OWN HYPOCRISY

MAT 7:3

ALTITUDE
IS
ATTITUDE.
-X-MAN-

PRaise THE
GOD IS GOOD

AND WILL BE
ADD THE WA



I Am TV's Whata Wanakore interviewing a feisty protester at an Auckland anti-Trans Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPPA) rally in 2015. © Del Abcede

Previous page: A raskol from the Kips Kaboni gang in his Port Moresby hideout, Papua New Guinea, 2005. © Ben Bohane

Right: Symbolic handcuffs for a Papuan protester in Auckland with the banned *Morning Star* flag on a display board during a pro-West Papuan self-determination demonstration at the Pacific Islands Forum in Auckland, New Zealand. August 2011. © Del Abcede



Mana's John Minto and Kim Dotcom in a protest against the New Zealand government's repressive surveillance policies in Auckland in 2014. © Del Abcede



15 years jail for raising this flag

FREE
EDISON WAROMI

FREE
ANDONI

SE
BOBII





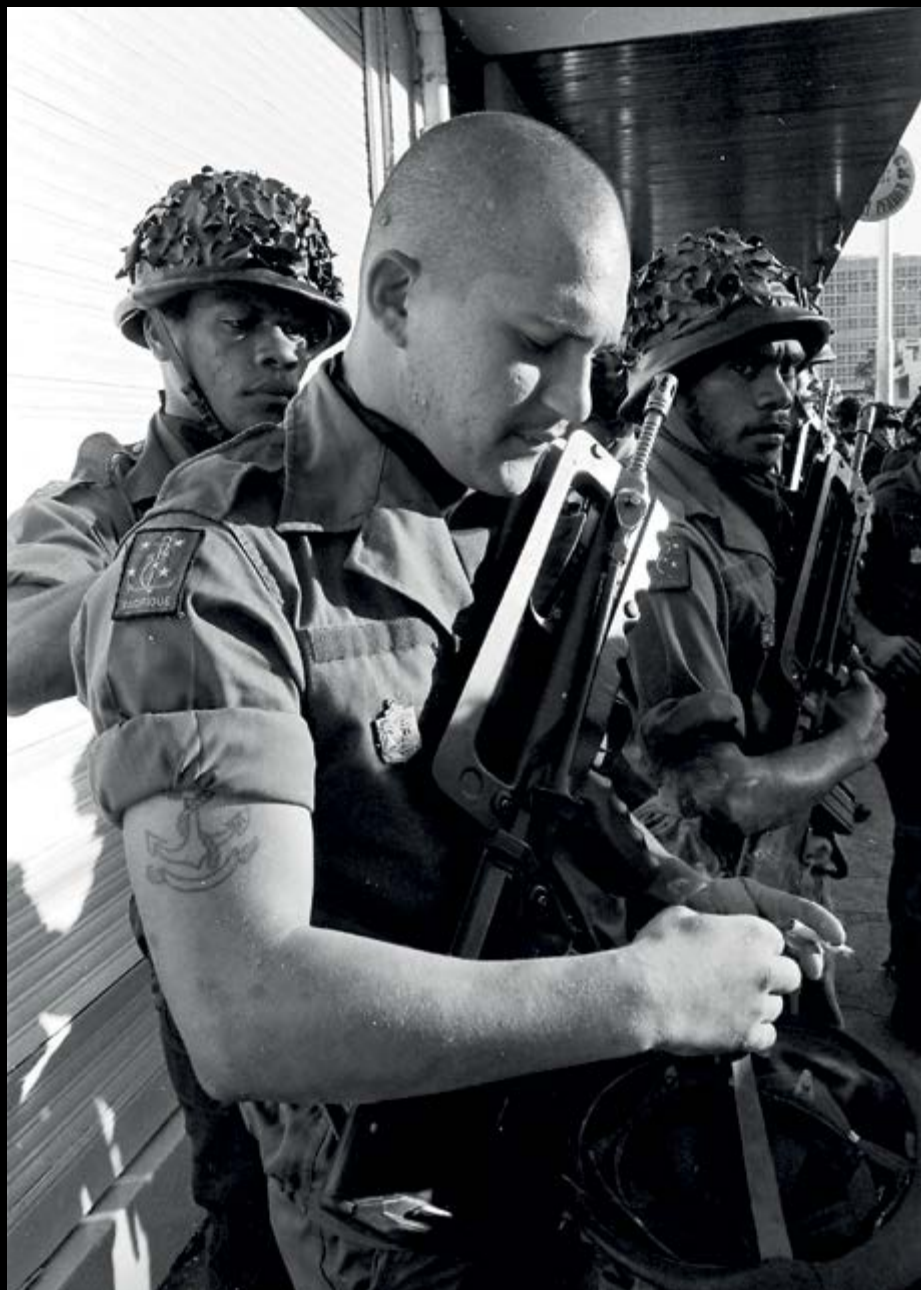
While Paul Janman was filming a dance rehearsal for the documentary *Tongan Ark* on 16 November 2006, he was alerted to anti-government riots breaking out in downtown Nuku'alofa. Janman recorded Tongan police standing by, bemused and anxious as rioters set fire to Prime Minister Feleti Sevele's supermarket and the nearby ANZ Bank. Several looters were trapped by automatic door mechanisms inside and died in the flames. Such civil strife had not been seen in Tonga since the civil wars of the 19th century. © Paul Janman





Left: SAS Quick Reaction Force in Kabul post a suicide bombing in February 2010. From Annie Goldson's 2015 documentary *He Toki Huna*. © Lionel de Coninck

A reenactment in 2008 for the feature film *Balibo* about the killing of five Australian-based journalists by Indonesian Special Forces soldiers camouflaged as civilians at Balibo, East Timor, prior to the full invasion in December 1975. © Tony Maniaty



French soldiers from the Pacific take a smoko during a Bastille Day parade in Noumea, New Caledonia, in 1984.

Right: Heavily armed French CRS riot police confront Kanak pro-independence protesters in Noumea. © David Robie





Left: Radio Free Bougainville on the air with 'Philip' at the microphone. Central Bougainville, Papua New Guinea, 1994. © Ben Bohane



Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA) leader Francis Ona (in bush hat and holding a samurai sword) and some of his men at Guava village, 1994. Photojournalist Ben Bohane was the first person to interview Ona in his hideout. © Ben Bohane



A masked Kanak pro-independence militant on the route to Thio on the east coast of La Grand Terre, New Caledonia, in 1984. © David Robie

An IFM militant (and chief Moro's son) rests near a waterfall while patrolling the Weathercoast. Guadalcanal, Solomon Islands 1999. © Ben Bohane



Contributor Profiles

Photographers



Karen Abplanalp is a Swiss-born New Zealand/Pacific-based photojournalist and social justice warrior princess. She is a believer of the future and feeding love. She currently works for the British Council managing Active Citizens Pacific/NZ.



Del Abcede is a volunteer photographer and organiser for the Pacific Media Centre and a community activist for the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), Asia-Pacific Human Rights Coalition (APHRC) and the Philippine Migrant Centre. She also designs *Pacific Journalism Review* research journal and edits the newsletter *TOKTOK* and other publications.



Ben Bohane is a Vanuatu-based Australian photojournalist, author and TV producer who has covered Asia and the Pacific Islands for the past 25 years. He is the founder and present director of Wakaphotos and has had two portfolios published with *Pacific Journalism Review*.



Kunda Dixit curated and edited the photojournalism trilogy *A People War* devoted to the decade-long Nepal War 1996-2006. He is chief editor and publisher of the *Nepali Times* and co-publisher of *Himal* magazine. He was Asia-Pacific director of the Inter Press Service in the 1990s and director of the Panos Institute South Asia. Kunda was the 2010 Asian Journalism Fellow of the Pacific Media Centre.



Lionel de Coninck's stills were used in Annie Goldson's 2015 film *He Toki Huna: New Zealand in Afghanistan*, a documentary featuring investigative journalist and Pacific Media Centre research associate Jon Stephenson.



Gil Hanly resists being characterised as a photographer or an artist. She prefers to be recognised for how her work is a socio-political document. The negatives of her photographs are now a rich donated archive stored at the Auckland Museum.



Paul Janman has produced a broad range of independent films for festivals and broadcast, gallery-based installations and videos for the advocacy of indigenous education, rights and social development in the Pacific and Aotearoa. He currently teaches screen production at Auckland University of Technology and is a member of the Pacific Media Centre Advisory Board.



Glenn Jowitt (1955-2014) was a New Zealand photographer and author who specialised in the people and cultures of the Pacific Islands and people of Pacific origin living in Aotearoa. Some of his images are on permanent display in the Pacific Media Centre.



Jim Marbrook is a documentary maker whose award-winning films include speed chess maestros (*Dark Horse*), psychiatric hospitals (*Mental Notes*) and environmental and mining issues in Kanaky/ New Caledonia (*Cap Bocage*). Jim also lectures in screen and television at Auckland University of Technology and is a research affiliate of the Pacific Media Centre.



John Miller is a social justice photographer of Ngapuhi descent who has captured some momentous events and moments in the struggle for peace in Aotearoa. He has chronicled Treaty of Waitangi Day ceremonials since the first Nga Tamatoa protest in 1971 and was featured in the 2016 exhibition 'Disenchanted prophets' in Te Kongahu Museum.



Tony Maniaty is a former ABC broadcast journalist, media academic and writer. In 1975, he flew to the Portuguese colony of East Timor to document Indonesian military raids before the full invasion. In 2009, he returned with the feature film crew of *Balibo* and wrote *Shooting Balibo: Blood and Memory in East Timor*. He was a Pacific Media Centre guest speaker on war correspondence in 2010.



Llane Munau / Papua New Guinea Mine Watch. A blog established originally to track the progress of the Ramu nickel mine in Madang Province, Papua New Guinea, but this has since been expanded to cover the whole mining sector in PNG.



Natalie Robertson (Ngāti Porou; Clan Donnachaidh) makes photographic and moving image works that explore Māori knowledge practices and cultural landscapes. She has exhibited extensively in public institutions throughout New Zealand and internationally, and is a senior lecturer in postgraduate in the School of Art and Design at Auckland University of Technology.



David Robie is an author and photojournalist who has covered struggles for independence and environmental and development issues. Director of the Pacific Media Centre, his books have included *Don't Spoil My Beautiful Face: Media, Mayhem and Human Rights in the Pacific*, *Blood on their Banner* and *Eyes of Fire*, and he has had exhibitions of political activism photographs in Africa and Aotearoa/New Zealand.



Vlad Sokhin is a Russian documentary photographer, videographer and multimedia producer. He covers social, cultural, environmental, health and human rights issues around the world, post-conflict and natural disaster zones. His 2014 book *Crying Meri* was a tribute to survivors of violence against women in Papua New Guinea. His images are syndicated by Panos Pictures.



Design and print: PinkLime



Cover: A supporter cheers from the roof of Bir Hospital in Kathmandu watching 200,000-strong crowd at a Maoist victory rally in June 2006. This image was published in *Pacific Journalism Review* and in an exhibition of photographs, 'Frames Of War' curated by *Nepali Times* editor-in-chief Kunda Dixit at Auckland University of Technology in December 2010.
© Narendra Shrestha/A People War