5. ‘Four Worlds’ news values revisited: A deliberative journalism paradigm for Pacific media

ABSTRACT

South Pacific media face the challenge of developing forms of journalism that contribute to the national ethos by mobilising change from passive communities to those seeking change. Instead of the news values that have often led international media to exclude a range of perspectives, such a notion would promote deliberation by journalists to enable the participation of all community stakeholders, ‘including the minorities, the marginalised, the disadvantaged and even those deemed as “deviant”’ (Romano, 2010). Critical *deliberative journalism* is issue-based and includes diverse and even unpopular views about the community good and encourages an expression of plurality. In a Pacific context, this resonates more with news media in some developed countries that have a free but conflicted press such as in India, Indonesia and the Philippines. This has far more relevance in the Pacific than an essentially ‘monocultural Western’ news model as typified by Australia and New Zealand. Early in the millennium, this author examined notions of the Fourth Estate in the South Pacific. These were applied through a ‘Four Worlds’ news values prism in the global South that included the status of Indigenous minorities in dominant nation states (Robie, 2001, 2004, 2005, 2009b). This article explores how that has been modified over the past decade and its implications for media and democracy in the Pacific.

Keywords: deliberative journalism, democracy, freedom of information, free press, Indigenous, marginalised media, normative models, news values

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AN AUSTRALIAN media researcher found many journalists covering the first three Fiji coups between 1987 and 2000 were too reliant on elite sources to provide a good understanding of the complex crises, and the pattern arguably continued for the fourth coup in 2006. This reliance increased the likelihood of reinforcing the status quo and provided a 'limited version of reality' (Mason, 2007, p. 121).

Anthony Mason (2007) wrote his analysis in a review paper for a regional research journal, marking the 20th anniversary of the original coup by Lieutenant-Colonel Sitiveni Rabuka on 14 May 1987. Mason argued that it was critical for Australia and New Zealand to gain a deeper understanding of troubled societies 'on our doorstep' such as Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and Tonga. His 'limited sources' findings were reaffirmed in his doctoral thesis (Mason, 2009).

> [T] his research […] highlighted many well-known aspects of the work of foreign correspondents. In particular, it showed that overall the journalists had little knowledge of Fiji, and they had some preconceptions about the country of Fiji and what might occur during the coup. In 1987, they also had to contend with situational factors which, in some cases, prevented them from traveling in and around Suva as freely as they would have liked. They were also subjected to intimidation from the military […] the combination of these factors was reflected in a more limited range of sources and more simplistic themes. (Mason, 2009, p. 260)

Mason (2007, 2009) reported on his findings from interviews with 15 Australian and New Zealand journalists and a content analysis of three broadsheet newspapers, *The Australian, The Canberra Times* and *The Sydney Morning Herald*. Another researcher, Fiji-born Christine Gounder (2006) of New Zealand's AUT University, who became a subeditor with Radio New Zealand, reported findings showing that it was difficult for many Fijian journalists to remain professional in their jobs because of strong cultural or ethnicity ties with supporters of failed businessman George Speight. Gounder, who interviewed 13 Fiji journalists and four foreign reporters, argued many Fijian journalists suffered from the so-called Stockholm syndrome—where captives identify with their captors. These were reporters who had stayed for long periods in Parliament with the rebels where they held Indo-Fijian Prime

Minister Mahendra Chaudhry and his multiracial cabinet at gunpoint for 56 days.

> Many experienced journalists and editors have migrated, taking with them the institutional knowledge and leaving behind a mostly inexperienced and young newsroom. (Gounder, cited by Robie, 2007a)

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In Timor-Leste, the *Jornal Naçional Diaro* was one of the smallest and youngest of the country's three daily newspapers, but it was also one of the brightest and gutsiest. It sells around 600 copies a day, has barely more than a dozen young reporters and operates out of a derelict former Indonesian police station in the port city of Dili. Getting to a reporting job depends on a tired fleet of five small motorbikes parked in the paper's front yard. The newspaper used to have eight machines, but three were stolen in raids at the height of the country's factional bloodshed in May 2006. Young editor-in-chief José Gabriel fiercely defends the independence of the paper, which boasts then President and Nobel peace laureate Dr José Ramos-Horta on the contributors' masthead (Robie, 2007b).

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After a flurry of creative challenges to the Fiji military-backed regime as it entrenched its power post-2006, the news media were forced to face the harsh reality of life after the censorship crackdown in mid-2009. Leading editors and journalists opted to be cautious following the regime's gag and threats but authorities warned that they would be shut down if they stepped out of line. Not tolerating any dissent since martial law was declared on 10 April 2009, the regime ordered so-called '*sulu*-censors'—named because of the traditional Fijian kilt-like garment some officials wear—and police into newsrooms to check stories and broadcasts. The regime expelled three foreign journalists, detained two local reporters and questioned many more. It also forced the eventual sale of Fiji's oldest and most influential newspaper, *The Fiji Times*, founded in 1869. Along with global media freedom and human rights groups such as the Paris-based Reporters Sans Frontières and the London-based Amnesty International, the Auckland-based Pacific Media Centre called on the Fiji regime of Commodore Voreqe Bainimarama to 'end this Orwellian era of ruthless censorship and intimidation' (Robie, 2009a). But while censorship remained until the *Public Emergency Regulations* were scrapped at the start of 2012, some journalists and civic leaders argued Fiji media should be broadened out to focus on other issues (Singh, 2012).

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South Pacific media face a challenge of developing forms of journalism that contribute to the national ethos by mobilising change from passive communities to those seeking change. Instead of the news values that have often led international media to exclude a range of perspectives, such a notion would promote deliberation by journalists to enable the participation of all community stakeholders, 'including the minorities, the marginalised, the disadvantaged and even those deemed as "deviant"' (Romano, 2010, p. 4). Critical *deliberative journalism* is issue-based and includes diverse and even unpopular views about the community good and encourages an expression of plurality.

In a Pacific context, this resonates more with news media in some developed countries that have a free but conflicted press such as in India, Indonesia and the Philippines (Robie, 2011). This has far more relevance in the Pacific than an essentially 'monocultural Western' news model as typified by Australia and New Zealand (in spite of biculturalism). Early in the millennium, this author examined notions of the Fourth Estate in the South Pacific. These were applied through a 'Four Worlds' news values prism that included the status of Indigenous minorities in dominant nation states (Robie, 2001, 2004, 2005). This article explores how that has been modified over the past decade and its implications for media and democracy in the Pacific.

Globalisation and development journalism

Development should lead to human progress, but this is not always the case. Journalists are a 'crucial link in the feedback loop', ensuring that improvements in the quality of life can be sustained and do not permanently damage nature and the human environment (Dixit, 2010, p. 112; Peters & Broersma, 2013; Xu, 2009). Authors such as one-time Inter Press Service journalist Kunda Dixit (1997, 2010) have warned against the cost of globalisation for developing countries of the global South, such as in the Pacific. He calls this rapacious process sweeping the world today 'gobble-isation', and says 'there is a danger that free trade will worsen the balance of payments deficits, accumulate debts, and force poor countries to set things right by accelerated exploitation of their forests, marine and mineral resources' (p. 125). According to Dixit, this 'massive haemorrhaging of wealth has already bled many countries dry' and ruined their environment.

> In addition, languages, Indigenous cultures, oral testimony are vanishing forever, obliterated by a 'monoculture' spread by the globalisation of the economy and communications. The more tangible signs of crises are alarms over ozone depletion, global warming, rainforest loss and fishless seas—the results of the dizzying acceleration of human technological advancement in the past century. It is called 'development', but where is it taking us? (Dixit, 2010, p. 83)

If journalists are serious about tackling the major issues confronting the Pacific such as climate change, exploitation of the forests and mines, and depletion of the fisheries, they will need to 'look at the theory and practice of their profession far more critically', argues Dixit in his republished edition of the classic *Dateline Earth* (2010, p. 54). They need to be far more receptive about new ideas and being non-conformist.

> Traditional journalism schools teach you to look for the counterpoint to make stories interesting. They tell you that it is the controversy, the disagreement, which gives the story its tension. Most reportage then sounds like a quarrel, opposites pitted against each other, even when the point of argument may be minor and the two sides are in overall agreement. The technique of press interviews [for example] is to provoke the head of the Olympics' drugs testing committee to make a nasty remark, and play that back to [the] chief swimming coach of the Chinese team and ask him to comment. The next day's headline is ready-made: 'CHINA BLASTS OLYMPIC COMMITTEE'.
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> Conflict is the adrenaline of a macho media. But this kind of 'on the one hand this, on the other hand that' reporting can be an obstacle in spreading clarity about global problems. Readers and audiences worldwide are fed a mainstream viewpoint on issues like global poverty, conflict-free trade and environmental degradation by reporters that stick to the status-quo perspective to give the semblance that they are 'objective'. (Dixit, 2010, p. 55)

According to Romano (2010) and others (Dixit, 2010; Hester & Wai Lan, 1987; Loo, 1994; Peters & Broersma, 2013; Shaw, Lynch & Hackett, 2011), corporate and mainstream journalism often 'provides technically-accurate but kneejerk reports about the specific facts about any dramatic event or issue that rises to the reporters' attention' (Romano, p. 231). Romano's book *International Journalism and Democracy* argues for a 'more sophisticated'

understanding by journalists of the consequences of their work. It also offers a strong case about the role of deliberative journalism in a democracy, which encourages 'greater consideration of the subtle nuances of the visible facts' and how seemingly obscure details make up a more rounded and greater picture of unfolding trends and issues (p. 231). Romano is concerned about

> journalists' propensity to overlook topics until they reach the scorching point of crisis. For example, in many countries, hunger and starvation do not become big media issues until there is a famine … It is usually harder to write compelling reports about issues that are simmering. It requires more talent and effort to recognise the issues that may be leading to a potential calamity, to find the compelling features of the story, and to be inventive in developing new storytelling strategies to best tell these tales. (Romano, 2010, p. 235)

As a philosophy, deliberative journalism involves some 'subjectivity', but in a sense it is more objective than mainstream reporting when it is 'attached to the process of democratic deliberation', and involves robust reporting and analysis of public issues rather than focusing on any particular 'side' or outcome (p. 232). It involves reporting the daily news as issues rather than as events for citizens to make a judgment and is well-suited to geopolitical reporting. Romano notes that while liberal Western media are 'structurally impaired' in facilitating an 'authentic deliberative discourse', the rhetoric about 'neutral news' does not match the fact that media reflect the 'outlooks of eloquent political elites' (p. 11). While a common criticism of deliberative journalism models is that they are perceived to 'potentially threaten' journalistic standards of objectivity, in fact the opposite applies (Romano, 1998). Deliberative journalism requires a reflection on how high standards of objectivity might be balanced with fairness and ethical considerations (Dixit, 2010, p. 220; Romano, 2010, p. 235). Good examples of this are some case studies on cultural diversity and race relations published in *The Authentic Voice: The best reporting on race and ethnicity* (Morgan et al, 2006), which 'delivered solid, fundamental journalism and fused voice, context and complexity into one authentic piece' (p. xv) and in Stewart et al. (2012).

Deliberative journalism involves empowerment, often a subversive concept in conservative societies. It involves providing information that enables people to make choices for change. Deliberative models include notions such as

public journalism, development journalism, peace journalism and even 'human rights' journalism (see Shaw, 2011). Development journalism in a nutshell is about going beyond the 'who, what, when, where' of basic inverted-pyramid journalism; it is usually more concerned with the 'how, why' and 'what now' questions addressed by journalists (Robie, 2008, p. 12). Some simply describe it as 'good journalism' (Fleury, 2004). As a media genre, development journalism peaked at the height of the UNESCO debates for a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) in the 1970s. The debates were 'used by Third World countries to argue for a more positive portrayal' of developing nations by Western news organisations such as Associated Press (AP), United Press International (UPI) of the United States, Agence France-Presse and Reuters of the United Kingdom. Romano (2010) identifies as international examples of deliberative development journalism Inter Press Service (IPS), OneWorld.net, DEPTHnews and the 'now defunct' Gemini News Service (p. 24).

According to a Malaysian media academic who settled in Australia, Eric Loo, (1994) 'development journalism was understood and linked by Western journalists to a biased reporting approach focused on positive developments as opposed to the conventional focus on conflict, such as failed government projects and policies' (p. 2). In fact, the term development journalism is often used to refer to at least two different types of journalism (Masterton, 1996; Smith, 2007), although Dixit (1997, 2010) and others argue for a wider range of definitions—five according to Romano (2010, p. 24): 1) journalists as nation builders, 2) journalists as government partners, 3) journalists as agents of empowrment, 4) journalists as watchdogs, and 5) journalists as the guardians of transparency. One ideal of development journalism has a parallel with investigative journalism, but it focuses on the condition of developing nations and ways of improving this (Sinha, 1981). With this approach, journalists are often encouraged to travel to remote areas, interact with the citizens of the country and report back on critical projects. Proposed government projects are put under the spotlight and they are analysed to see whether they really would help communities. People are usually at the centre of these stories. And often the journalist comes up with proposed solutions and actions.

> The main essence of investigative reporting is 'why?'. Development journalism attempts to highlight the 'what, why and how' of the process of events. The basic philosophy of investigative journalism is to unveil

> the secrecy, to expose. But development journalism has to be alive to the realities of the situation and has to tail, study and report the process of socio-economic, cultural, political, educational changes in the country. (Sinha, 1981, p. 1)

Another form of development journalism, the one usually denigrated by Western journalists, involves government participation in the mass media, or authoritarian-benevolent (Kunczik, 1988). On the positive side, this means that important information can be distributed throughout the nation (Dixit, 1997, p. 23). Governments can educate their citizens and seek support for major development projects. However, the downside means that state authorities can also capture the idea of 'development' to stifle free speech and restrict social justice (Perrottet & Robie, 2011).

Both investigative and authoritarian-benevolent forms of development journalism are deployed in the South Pacific (Robie, 2008, p. 13). Ironically, this is not always understood or accepted by the news media in their efforts to replicate Western media practices. In many respects, the challenges facing South Pacific media have more in common with countries such as India and the Philippines—two nations that pioneered development journalism in its more positive forms—than in Australia and New Zealand. Development journalism also needs to be considered in the context of comparative news values, as outlined in the next section.

News value models

While the winds of change swept through Third World or developing nations (usually now referred to as the global South) in the post-Second World War rush to decolonisation in the 1960s and 1970s, similar transitional ideological shifts later applied to 'Fourth World' nations in the 1980s and 1990s. First World nations were the industrialised Western countries and Second World nations were the totalitarian remnants of the Soviet-era Marxist bloc—such as China, Cuba and Vietnam—and also other dictatorships such as the right-wing regimes of El Salvador and Guatemala (de Beer & Merrill, 2004; Dixit, 1997; Schramm, 1964; Siebert et al., 1956; Street, 2001). In an attempt to provide a more constructive analysis of comparative news values, Jack Lule (1987) developed a 'Three Worlds' news model in the late 1980s showing that a 'dramatic difference' in global news values was a 'function of political, economic and philosophical developments of the past three centuries'.

However, by the 1990s the appropriateness of this media model had become somewhat outdated in a globalised world (Pearson, 2013). In post-Cold War politics entering an era of so-called 'War on Terror', news value definition boundaries became blurred and it was no longer easy to position some countries into three simplistic categories of West ('objectivity'), East ('collective agitator') and Third World ('nation-building'). Where, for example, do previously developing countries such as Japan, Singapore and South Korea and the world's largest Muslim country, Indonesia, fit in a globalised media context—'Western'?

While countries such as Albania, Bosnia and Kosovo are technically 'Western', their media and social development struggled to meet the criteria. And what about Fourth World communities, those Indigenous and ethnic minorities and their media, which were absorbed within larger, dominant states? They did not really fit the 'Three Worlds' framework and are now among the more distinct groups resisting globalisation.

In the mid-1990s, while teaching journalism at the University of Papua New Guinea, I modified Lule's model into a 'Four Worlds' news values approach, which could be more readily applied to independent Pacific postcolonial states and Indigenous minorities amid developmental and media transition (Robie, 1995, p. 11). This revised model was also used at the University of the South Pacific journalism school when relating to multiethnic Pacific communities, and in New Zealand in the context of Indigenous iwi (tribal) radio broadcasting and the emergence of the national Māori Television Service (MTS) (see Table 1).

Professor emeritus Peter Russell (1996), while writing about Aboriginal nationalism in Canada, defined Fourth World communities (or First Nations) as 'Indigenous peoples residing in developed nations, but living in Third World conditions':

> Although cultural traditions maintain a significant place in Indigenous communities, it is contended that technological advancements have resulted in the increased proficiency of Indigenous political skills; ironically, the colonised are overcoming the political mechanisms instituted by the colonisers. (Russell, 1996, p. 57)

However, unlike Third World (global South) nations, Fourth World communities 'cannot separate from imperial power because of their location within

Table 1: Four Worlds news values matrix

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

Source: Robie,2012 (adapted from his earlier model, 2001, p. 13)

the boundaries of the imperialist nation' (p. 57). This means that Indigenous peoples must either obtain equal access to the political and economic opportunities of the democratic society, or continue to struggle for political autonomy (Robie, 1995, p. 11). The media play an important role in that struggle and thus news values applied by Indigenous media are often at variance with those of the West (First World), East (Second World remnants) and developing nations (Third World) in a globalised world. Such media conditions are particularly appropriate for Indigenous First Nation minorities in Australia and New Zealand and the Philippines (such as the Cordillera peoples or the Lumad of Mindanao). They also have a resonance in Bougainville, especially during the 10-year civil war against the state of Papua New Guinea.

Photojournalist Ben Bohane, (2006) who chronicled the Bougainville war and many conflicts in the western Pacific, examined the role of culture in political developments and media representations in research in the mid-2000s, concluding that for media to be able to play their Fourth Estate role in the region they must be able to 'read and interpret the indicators' (p. 17). He compared the role of the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA) with the so-called 'Taukei Movement' in the 1987 Rabuka coups and George Speight's attempted coup in Fiji in 2000, and the four-decade-long struggle for independence by the West Papuans against Indonesian rule (p. 18). He argued that the failure of Western journalists to comprehend the role of *kastom* (custom), traditional movements and spiritual beliefs eroded meaningful Western reportage in the region.

> Much of the political and journalistic discourse analysing the troubles of Melanesia have centred on a diagnosis incorporating political corruption, poor management, lack of 'good governance', urbanisation, breakdown of 'traditional values' and respect for chiefs, blaming the '*wantok*' [one language] system of tribal loyalties, unemployment and poor education.
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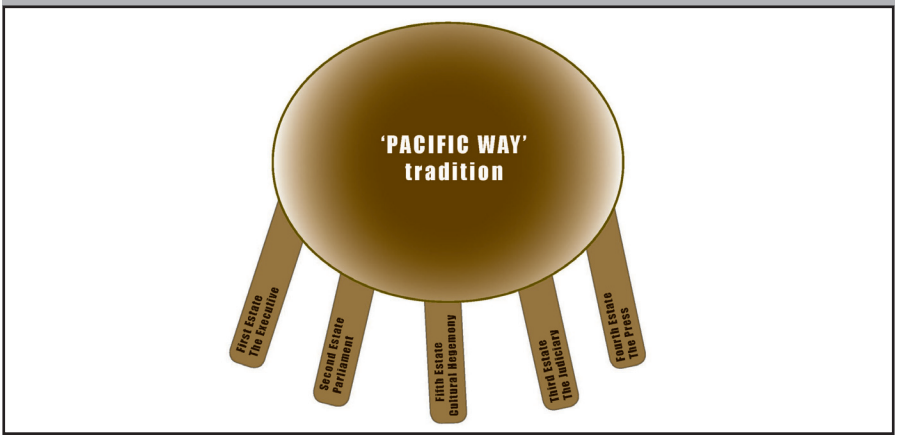
> Many of these elements alone, or in combination, have certainly played a role in destabilising Melanesian nations. However … while each nation faces different circumstances and the simmering conflicts in each case stem from different causes, there is one area that is often overlooked when examining the conflicts of Melanesia, yet has proved to be a significant catalyst.
>
> This catalyst is the role played by *kastom* and so-called 'cult' movements in these societies. In order to have a better understanding of

Figure 1: Five-legged tanoa model



Source: Robie, 2009b.

> the social and political turmoil prevalent in contemporary Melanesian societies, it is instructive to have an understanding of the belief systems that exist in these societies. (Bohane, 2006, pp. 3-4)

In the context of the South Pacific, and particularly Fiji in the wake of four coups, there is a notion of a 'fifth estate', a traditional cultural pillar, which is a counterbalance to all other forms of power, including the news media, or Fourth Estate (Robie, 2009b, p. 9). My model based on a five-legged *tanoa*, or kava bowl used for ceremonial dialogue, seeks to integrate this 'custom' factor into journalism with a particular reference to the Pacific region tradition of *talanoa* or debate (see Figure 1). It adds a fifth element of 'cultural' thinking to the more rational and conventional Fourth Estate approach. Instead, of limiting the 'four estates' of power notion debated by media analysts to the traditional executive, parliament and judiciary plus the media (fourth) branches, it introduces Indigenous culture/custom/tradition as a critical agency (Manning, 2009; Robie, 2005, 2008, 2009b).

'Self-determination' and the media

'Objectivity' is espoused as a dominant ideal for First World media. However, the notions of 'collective agitator' and 'nation building' are more important for the Second and Third Worlds respectively. News values reflect timeliness, proximity and personality for the First World in contrast to 'ideological

significance', 'party concerns' and 'social responsibility' for the (totalitarian) Second World. Third World news values prioritise 'development', 'national integration' and 'social responsibility' (see Lule, 1987, pp. 23-46; Masterton, 1996, p. 48). And for the Fourth World, an 'independent [political] voice', 'language', 'culture', 'education' and 'solidarity' become the mantra (Robie, 2001, p.13). Education is also important for the Second and Third Worlds, but is not given so much emphasis with First World media values.

Both Australia and New Zealand have thriving Indigenous media that apply Fourth World news values in a 'self-determination' frame, although news editors may not necessarily define it in quite those terms. In the case of New Zealand, there are currently 22 Māori or iwi (tribal) radio stations, according to Te Hononga Whakapaoho Māori (www.maorimedia.co.nz). They are all bilingual—Māori and English—but are required to broadcast a minimum of 30 percent of air time in Te Reo Māori (language) to qualify for State funding assistance.

Seven Māori magazines, including *Mana* (www.manaonline.co.nz), *Tu Mai* (www.tumaimagazine.com) and *Spasifik* (actually Pacific with a Māori interest), are well-established and the Māori Television Service (www.maoritelevision.com) was launched in 2004, overcoming widespread mainstream media and conservative political opposition (see Paul, 2005): 'The incarnations include Māori programming on mainstream television, Aotearoa Television, the Electoral College, Te Manu Aute, Nga Aho Whakaari, MTS legislation and the exhaustive process of building a new channel for all New Zealanders' (p. 42). MTS reported a successful inaugural year of broadcasting with more than 90 percent of its schedule being locally-made programmes. It also posted a surplus of NZ$3.2 million (Māori TV chiefs turn in a hefty surplus, 2005) and has become the nation's de facto public broadcaster.

In Māori media, many of the Fourth World news values are objectives, such as 'promotion of language, cultural revival, education, collective inspiration, portraying positive images of individuals and success stories in hapu and iwi' (Archie, 2007, p. 62). Author and journalist Carol Archie says self-determination issues are discussed regularly—such as the Treaty of Waitangi guarantee of tino rangatiratanga (Māori self-determination), constitutional change and land issues.

In the South Pacific, few examples of genuinely Fourth World media exist. Many major daily newspapers are foreign-owned and tend to mirror

First World and Third World news values. Until 2010, News Corporation, for example, owned both the major daily newspapers in both Fiji and Papua New Guinea—*The Fiji Times* and *PNG Post-Courier*. (The sale of the *Fiji Times* to the local trading company Motibhai was forced in September 2010 under the regime's *Fiji Media Industry Development Decree*, which restricted foreign ownership to 10 percent.) The Malaysian logging group Rimbunan Hijau owns *The National*, the second daily in Papua New Guinea, which has now overtaken the *Post-Courier* with the largest circulation. *Wantok Niuspepa* is an example of Fourth World media in Papua New Guinea. It is a national weekly published by the ecumenical church enterprise Word Publishing in Tok Pisin (Cass, 2004). Unique in the South Pacific, *Wantok* was founded in 1970 through the extraordinary and visionary efforts of the late Father Frank Mihalic (see Cass, 2011; Robie, 2004, pp. 151-158). It became an icon of national development and the contribution that good journalism can make to national education at the grassroots level. In Fiji, the leading surviving Fijian language weekly newspaper is *Nai Lalakai*, founded in 1962 by *The Fiji Times* group. Although much of what *Nai Lalakai* publishes is actually different from its parent daily, it is still fairly conservative, unlike the 'self-determination' Fourth World style of *Wantok* (Geraghty, 2005, p. 50).

Among other Fourth World publications are the feisty *Taimi 'o Tonga,* published by Kalafi Moala, who has campaigned for almost two decades for democracy in the kingdom of Tonga—14 years of this living in exile, and the radical newsletter *Ko'e Kele'a*, published by pro-democracy Tongan Member of Parliament 'Akilisi Pohiva. In his 2002 book *Island Kingdom Strikes Back*, Moala documented the struggle for democracy, including his jailing in 1996 for contempt of Parliament—and his imprisonment was ruled unconstitutional and illegal by the Supreme Court. (However, in his later 2009 book *Tonga: In Search of the Friendly Islands*, he argued that the reforms would not produce the desired social outcome 'without a truly spiritual reformation' in every aspect of Tongan life (2009, p. 142)). Both the *Taimi 'o Tonga* and *Kele'a* have at times displayed the traditions of a radical and revolutionary press published within countries in transition from authoritarian to development and free press models. According to Moala, his development vision for the Pacific includes the 'common people' having greater control over the media rather than being 'hijacked by island government policies allied with élitist and corporate financial interests' (Moala, 2005, p. 27).

Journalism in transition

Revolutionary Journalism

As a form of journalism, radical or revolutionary journalism was first acknowledged during the revolution waged by the American colonies against British rule in the 18th century. The so-called 1772 'committees of correspondence'—defined as mass communication struggle committees—reported the development of chaos and revolt in the colonies (Hester & Wai Lan, 1987, p. 58). The committees (actually revolutionary journalists) focused public hostility against British colonial power. Samuel Adams, an American patriot, was one of the earliest revolutionary journalists. Adams and the Sons of Liberty published a '*Journal of Occurrences*' recording abuses by British troops against the colonists (Protess et al., 1991, p. 31). He advocated five distinguishing characteristics of revolutionary journalism using the colonial newspaper as the main tool:

- Justify the course advocated
- Promote the advantages of victory
- Arouse the people
- Neutralise logical and reasonable arguments by the opposition
- Explain the issues in black and white so that everybody can understand (see Hester & Wai Lan, 1987, pp. 56-57)

This model was adopted by revolutionary journalists in the struggle for independence in African countries—they were among the methods used by the late Jomo Kenyatta in Kenya (former publisher of a Kikuyu pro-independence newspaper), Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana (founder of the *Accra Evening News*), Kenneth Kaunda in Zambia (who had a hand in the *Times of Zambia*), Julius Nyerere in Tanzania (publisher of *Uhuru*) and in the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa. In recent decades, these methods were used by journalists in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union when they revolted against authoritarian control of the mass media in the late 1980s. 'Objectivity' and 'fairness' were rarely in evidence during such desperate struggles (Hester & Wai Lan, 1987, p. 59).

Even in the South Pacific, such a deliberative approach among journalists is not unknown in Oceania politics. Sir Michael Somare, 'founding father' of Papua New Guinea and former Prime Minister, was once a militant broadcast journalist who turned to politics and led his country to independence in 1975. In New Caledonia, Pastor Djoubelly Wea played an activist/journalist role

Kanak protesters confront French colonial riot police CRS in Mont Ravel, Noumea, in 1984. Revolutionary media, such as Radio Djiido, played a crucial role with independence struggle by carrying news.

before assassinating rival Kanak leaders Jean-Marie Tjibaou and Yéiwène Yéiwène and immediately being gunned down himself in 1989. Radio Djiido has played a crucial role in the independence struggle in New Caledonia while broadcasting 'revolutionary' news (Waia, 1995, p. 187; Seneviratne, 1997). Radio Free Bougainville also had vital influence during the Bougainville civil war (Cronau, 1995, p. 167) and this tradition is carried on today by Radio New Dawn (bougainville.typepad.com) on Bougainville. In French Polynesia, an investigative journalist, Jean-Pierre Couraud, known as 'JPK', was regarded as being too radical by the conservative establishment. He disappeared in 1997 and is believed in some quarters to have been murdered (Investigation of GIP, 2005).

Radical Journalism

A variation of revolutionary journalism is radical journalism, which is a later stage in some struggles to achieve 'just societies'. This is a form of journalism that seeks to bring about change; overcome exploitation, corruption and human rights violations; or to improve the living conditions of ordinary

people. Such journalism does more than passively report news events or interpret them—it attempts to expose destructive or oppressive situations and to help 'clean them up'. Sometimes this form of journalism is called investigative (or 'reformist') journalism. Variations include advocacy journalism. Exponents of this style of journalism were once called the 'muckrakers' from John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*, as President Theodore Roosevelt referred to the investigating media (Protess et al, 1991, p. 6).

Whenever existing forms of journalism or communication do not meet the needs of informing the people and contributing to political change and reforms, alternative methods of sharing information evolve. Non-government organisations have played vital roles in diversifying the flow of news information in the South Pacific region, particularly in Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga and Vanuatu.

Development Journalism

Development journalism is often a stage of transition from revolutionary journalism to a media engaged in post-colonial national development or as part of marginalised Indigenous media within a mainstream society. It involves the 'fleshing out' of the structure of national independence begun in the revolutionary journalism phase. This includes the seeking of answers to the question: What shall we do to become the nation we want to be? Critics of development journalism—mostly from Western countries—criticise a distortion of it—the coopting of this media term by politicians seeking self-interested goals (Hester & Wai Lan, 1987, p. 60).

During this phase of development, the risk factor for journalists can be extremely high, such as the killing of 10 journalists in Pakistan (the most dangerous country for media during 2011), followed by both Iraq (7), both Libya and Mexico (5) and Brazil, Honduras, Peru and the Philippines (3) in a global total of 67 deaths (RSF, 2011). The previous year, 36 journalists were executed during the ambush of a political convoy by the Ampatuan family militia on the southern island of Mindanao in the world's worst single mass killing of media workers (RSF, 2010).

In Timor-Leste, in August 2012 a young journalist working for the community station Radio Rakambia was stabbed by two attackers outside the Anti-Corruption Office in the port capital of Dili (Radio Rakamba reporter stabbed, 2012). The radio, established in 2001 by ex-Timorese student activists had a simple vision: 'Creating a democratic and respectful Timorese people

on human rights, value of humanisation, culture and religion' (Radio Rakambia, n.d.). The radio pledged to achieve this vision as an 'independent body' to serve the people 'educative, informative and entertaining programmes' in nation-building. Local journalists also resent the so-called parachute journalist syndrome when media fly in from other countries with no fluent knowledge of the Tetum language or in-depth background knowledge. In the 2011 Timor-Leste documentary *Breaking the News*, Timorese investigative reporter Jose Belo says: 'When Australian journalists come in to do the story, they go—they're safe. If the Timorese media are doing the story, they stay here. It is risky for them … Some journalists are not brave enough to do the story because of the risk [to them and their families]' (Hansen, 2011). A majority of journalists in developing countries, including the South Pacific, work in a communications field essentially dependent on a national government for its existence. Every state press system has an agenda of involvement in society; the selection of news itself is non-objective. Characteristics of government-style development journalism include:

- A communications system that is an integral part of the national government. It is often run by a ministry of information.
- Journalists being asked to take part in major tasks of nationbuilding. These include upholding the new political system and helping critics 'understand' the new nation; trying to overcome poverty and illiteracy; and preserving the cultural heritage.
- A national communications policy or guidelines that are adopted to help achieve the goals of nationhood. These can range from heavy-handed control and censorship, to consultation.
- Journalists who are often government employees.
- Private enterprise news media being expected to consider 'national interest' above their own private interest.

Important to the success of the media in performing this 'nation building' role is the freedom to be informed and freedom of expression needs to be incorporated in a constitutional framework. Strong protection for free expression, or a free media, need a range of legislative provisions to be enacted that recognise the obligations of the media and governments to ensure effective freedom of expression (Korauaba, 2007, pp. 29-35). It also needs a rigorous scrutiny of legislation. While all South Pacific island constitutions—other than that of Niue—refer to freedom of expression or speech, only some

constitutions specifically refer to the media (Federated States of Micronesia, the FSM state of Pohnpei, Fiji, Kiribati, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Republic of the Marshall Islands, Tonga and Tuvalu). However, Pacific Island courts are most likely to interpret constitutional protection for free expression as including media freedom (Cass, 2000, p. 63; AusAID, 2006, p. 41).

Examples of pressure by Pacific governments in attempts to muzzle news media in spite of constitutional guarantees are legend. Such an example was in July 1998 when Fiji Television was put under intense pressure from politicians and even its own governance board over coverage of the Monasavu land rights protests in the highlands of Viti Levu.

> The Monasavu Dam and catchment fed a generator supplying 80 percent of the country's electricity, yet at the same time the landowners' village had no power. A 10-year-old grievance spilled over into the public domain with a demand by the landowners for F$35 million in compensation for the national exploitation of the resource. At one stage during the protests on the road access to the dam, a group of landowners 'daubed themselves in warpaint and threatened to "kill" for their rights in a rather theatrical gesture'. (Robie, 2004, p. 108)

A revival of the grievance during the George Speight coup in 2000 saw the power supply to the country sharply reduced or turned off over five weeks. Catchment area compensation for the landowners had been overlooked at the time of the original state purchase and left unresolved (pp. 108-112). Media coverage at the time of the original threats to the nation was decidedly 'radical' compared with how Australian or New Zealand media might have covered the events.

But Western journalists ought to 'explore ways of combining their privilege of free comment with respect for minorities and the integrity of public discourse', argues Loo (1994). 'One way is to consider the alternative development journalism approach to reporting, in which the social and cultural cohesion of the people takes priority over news commercialism' (p. 5). He outlines the theoretical contrast in Table 2.

Among successful journalists who have established a reputation for reportage with a development critical edge that often demonstrates the 'processes' and 'community power' referred to by Loo is Television New Zealand Pacific correspondent Barbara Dreaver, born and raised in Kiribati. Since starting her own newspaper in the Cook Islands, she has managed

Table 2: Differences: 'Conventional' and 'Development' journalism

CONVENTIONAL (WESTERN) JOURNALISM	DEVELOPMENT JOURNALISM
Mainstream-source oriented	User-source oriented
Reports on random events (What)	Reports on causes and processes leading up to events (What, How and Why)
Dominant news value	Development news value
Balance in terms of neutrality; dispassionate observer	Balance tip towards grassroots
Occasionally provides possible solutions to problems without consultation with people	Elicits alternative solutions to problems identified by the people
Formation of public opinion is vertical - from dominant mainstream group to grassroots	Moulding of public opinion is horizontal - views of grassroots and those affected by policies given priority
Highlights individual achievements and accomplishments	Highlights community power as source of self-reliant community
Follows prescribed and tested rules and procedures in journalism	Tries out new methods and procedures, takes risks, thus has more ways of information-gathering and reporting
Right to in formation without hindrance or censorship; free press	Aware of conflict between report's needs and government's need to protect sensitive negotiations and developments; socially responsible press
Deals mainly with crimes, law and order, disasters and deviant and dramatic events	Deals mainly with socio-economic development, inculcation and desirable attitudes, values and basic needs of security and belonging
Profit maximisation; popular appeal	Runs risk of low readership; less popular
Factual reporting, objective, consumption-oriented	Interpretative reporting, subjective, growth-oriented
Awareness and entertainment	Understanding, attitude and behavioural change

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

considerable 'leg work' around the region that has uncovered many remarkable stories. In a 2007 interview with the *Listener*, she revealed that her favourite story was a report exposing a US-based baby-smuggling ring in Samoa: 'It was a real punt when I went across but we got the goodies. It was the only time I'd ever cried on a story' (Barnett, 2007). She also talked about the growing global interest in the Pacific.

> The US is worried about the Pacific, because it's their border. And in the War on Terror, such as it is, you can see why they're worried—the Pacific is weak in terms of security. And they may be only little countries, but they've each got a vote, as Japan with the whaling knows. I feel sorry for the whales too but it's all very well criticising Tuvalu and Kiribati for supporting Japan, but Japan gave them the money that they really, *really* [original emphasis] needed. (Barnett, 2007, p. 12)

Japan offered aid to small Pacific nations in return for their vote to end a moratorium on commercial whaling.

Tongan publisher Kalafi Moala (2005) advocates major reform for media systems in the Pacific to address development, saying that to train journalists and then send them to work is like 'sending in soldiers to a war zone without a mission' (p. 27). He has been impressed with Tongan language community broadcasters in San Francisco, and their contribution to Fourth World media development. Moala sees three major media development problems facing the Pacific:

> 1. An inevitable bias in news coverage because most major media operations in the region have been government-owned or controlled: 'Island journalists sometimes play servant to corrupt policies developed without public participation.'
> 2. Media business and commercial interests have usurped the traditional role of information: 'They may be entertained, horrified, titillated and stressed—but not informed.'
> 3. Globalisation has impacted on media to such an extent that less is being done to make media appropriate for Indigenous and local sociocultural contexts: 'Instead, the social-cultural contexts are being progressively adapted to fit the "one shoe" of a globalised media.' (Moala, 2005, p. 27).

Peace journalism

Peace journalism emerged in the mid-1990s as a new 'transdisciplinary' field of interest to professional journalists in both developed and developing countries and to civil society activists. Patindol (2010) argues that peace journalism is simply 'good journalism' with renewed commitment to strong values such as context, balance, fairness and truth. Most peace journalism research has focused on the representation of conflict in the corporate news media (Table 3). Instead of championing the case for marginal reforms in corporate

Table 3: Differences between 'War' and 'Peace' journalism

WAR JOURNALISM	PEACE JOURNALISM
1. War/violence oriented: reactive/first-zero sum/win-lose focus	1. Peace/conflict oriented: prevention/win-win focus
Propaganda/deceit oriented: exposes "their"untruths/lies and covers up "ours"	2. Truth oriented: exposes all untruths on all sides
3. Elite oriented: focuses on "those" evil doers and "our" victims/friend (good), enemy (bad)	3. People oriented: names all victims of conflict
4. Victory oriented: peace = victory + ceasefire	4. Solution oriented: peace = long term resolution of grievances

Source: Adapted from Galtung, 2006, p. 1, and Shaw, 2011, p. 109.

media, such scholars argue that peace journalism should concentrate on 'the tradition of radical journalism [openly] committed to progressive social change' (Keeble, 2010, p. 50). According to Robert A. Hackett, (2011) 'alternative media' represent a 'challenger paradigm' to the objectivity regime, as its own structural underpinnings erode, one that opens up new 'vistas' for peace journalism by offering new insights and horizons (p. 54). The editors of a recent book in the discipline, *Expanding Peace Journalism* (Shaw et al, 2011, p. 28), question whether the practices of peace journalism, 'if embedded more widely in public communication processes and institutions, make a significant difference to conflict cycles?' While mainstream media generally 'sides with official rhetoric and policy stances', argues Shaw, developing a human rights journalism is also an expansion of the peace paradigm (p. 97).

Conclusion

Deliberative and critical development journalism have an essential role to play in the future of the South Pacific region and a new generation of educated journalists have a responsibility to provide this for their people. Pacific Islanders are no longer people confined to microstates scattered across the vast Pacific Ocean. They are peoples who have migrated around the globe in diaspora (Connew, 2007). Nations such as the Cook Islands, Niue, Samoa, Tonga and Tuvalu have a greater part of their population living as migrants in Australia, New Zealand and the United States or elsewhere. Pacific journalists now have a greater task than ever in encouraging 'democratisation' of the region and informed insights into development and peace issues facing island states.

Some of the region's journalists warn about allowing politicians' slogans such as 'cultural sensitivity' being used as a smokescreen for the abuse of power and violations of human rights. The deliberative journalist seeks to expose the truth and report on alternatives and solutions.

'To use the guise of cultural sensitivity as a cover to protect oneself from criticism is an insult to that culture, for the implication is that culture does not condone transparency, honesty, order and proper management of affairs,' argues Kalafi Moala (2005). 'Corrupt and dishonest politicians and bureaucrats have often reacted to media scrutiny by throwing up a pretentious cover of cultural taboos and insensitivities as excuses to avoid being scrutinised' (p. 34).

Deliberative journalism also means a tougher scrutiny of the region's institutions and dynamics of governance. Answers are needed for the questions: Why, how and what now? Journalists need to become part of the solution rather than being part of the problem.

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