DISASTERS, CYCLONES & COMMUNICATION

Connecting the dots in Asia–Pacific

A collaboration edition with CESASS, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia, and the University of the South Pacific, Fiji.

Edited by David Robie, Philip Cass, Khairiah A. Rahman, Shailendra Singh, Vissia Ita Yulianto and Hermin Indah Wahyuni

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EDITORIAL: Connecting the Pacific dots

WHEN University of the South Pacific climate change scientist Elisabeth Holland gave a keynote address at the Second Pacific Climate Change Conference at Te Papa Tongarewa in Wellington, New Zealand, on February 2018, her message was simple but inspiring. In an address advocating 'connecting the dots' about the climate challenges facing the globe, and particularly the coral atoll microstates of the Asia-Pacific region, she called for 'more Pacific research, by the Pacific and for the Pacific'. The 2007 Nobel Peace Prize co-recipient, Professor Holland, director of the University of the South Pacific's Pacific Centre for Environment and Sustainable Development (PaCE-SD), noted many of the global models drawn from average statistics were not too helpful for the specifics in the Pacific where climate change had already become a daily reality.

Describing herself as a 'climate accountant' making sense of critical numbers and statistics, she said it was vital that indigenous Pacific knowledge was being partnered with the scientists to develop strategies especially tailored for the 'frontline region'. Communication and media also have a key role to play.

> Local research in the region is of utmost importance, leading to informed development choices and is the best way forward as it creates a direct connection between the research and the communities once it is implemented. Our Big Ocean States are the most vulnerable to the impacts of climate change and remote research does not suffice, calling for the creation of leaders and experts locally through joint Pacific-led research. (Cited in Robie, 2018)

PaCE-SD itself, a research entity based at USP's Laucala Campus with some 200 postgraduate climate researchers and a 14-strong faculty, has been pioneering and leading much of this research 'connecting the dots'. 'Our climate change research at USP focuses on both describing the problems and searching for solutions related to adaptation, risk and science-backed policy,' she says. Dr Holland recently took the argument for a carbon tax—a tax on fossil fuel consumption to create economic incentives to reduce carbon dioxide and greenhouse gas emissions—a stage further. Writing in the California Academy of Sciences website *bioGraphic* (2017), she echoed climatologist James Hanson's argument for a carbon tax. However, she advocated such taxes as being a mechanism for supporting the Pacific and other vulnerable regions.

> I take the carbon tax argument a step further. Revenues from the tax should be reinvested in those countries most affected by climate change, such as

the Pacific Islands. The [2015] Paris Agreement acknowledges that these states retain special status because of their vulnerability to climate change, defined as the seriousness of the challenges and impacts they face as a result of increasing climate change worldwide.

To support the Pacific, carbon tax revenues should be directed towards sustaining and generating ecosystem services. Take, for example, the coasts. By investing the revenue from a carbon tax in replanting mangrove or dilo seedlings, we could provide storm protection, create subsistence fisheries and remove carbon dioxide from the atmosphere. (Holland, 2017)

By protecting the coastal ecosystems and establishing blue carbon economies, this would become the 'foundation for truly sustainable ocean economies for our big ocean states', Holland argues. While conceding that such investments are costly, the value of the services is vital. 'Every year, in Fiji alone, healthy ecosystems provide nearly US$1 billion worth of services, driving $78 million in fisheries revenue and $574 million in tourism revenue, not to mention $85 million worth of coastal protection and sequestration.' Holland stresses the positive effects of these investments around the world.

Holland admits than when she needs inspiration, she stops for a moment and recites the names of the countries she represents – the 16 tropical island nations that 'rise from the Pacific', including Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Samoa, Vanuatu … and also Timor-Leste on the cusp of Asia-Pacific.

The poetry created by the recitation calms me, reminds me of the history and resilience of these countries and the people who live there, and reassures me that there is still hope for a better future, for our oceans and our planet. (Holland, 2017)

As well as a selection of research papers from USP in this "Disasters, Cyclones and Communication" being published in this edition of Pacific Journalism Review, it is timely that this issue is also a collaboration with the Indonesian Center for Southeast Asian Social Studies (CESASS), a centre of excellence in social science based at Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta in Central Java. This collaboration was initiated and steered through the dynamic vision of Dr Hermin Indah Wahyuni whose tireless leadership has taken CESASS to great heights. Two papers, in particular, a co-authored comparative study from CESASS and PMC on the *rob* flooding of the northern city of Semarang in Central Java affecting some 76,000 people and the impact of Tropical Cyclone Winston in Fiji in 2016, and a paper about media disaster narratives in Indonesia, are a product of this collaboration.

The themed research topic of ecological communication in maritime disasters was chosen by CESASS and was achieved through a grant from the Indonesian

Ministry of Higher Education's World Class Professor Programme in 2017. This programme has brought together the CESASS researcher team and has provided fruitful collaboration experiences shared with many professors with expertise in various aspects of maritime disasters (geology, fishery, anthropology, and journalism). Working with these professors, the team has also produced several joint publications, including one that is appearing in this special edition of *PJR*. The journal's editor David Robie—a media and communications academic, journalist and consistent environmental activist as well as a researcher from Auckland University of Technology—was one of the six global WCP academics chosen on this programme. He has contributed significant and enriching perspectives to understanding the problem of tidal flooding (*banjir rob)* in Semarang.

This research collaboration programme has also revealed that the management and mitigation of maritime disasters requires a multi-perspective approach. In the case of Indonesia, social problems resulting from poorly integrated policies and limited consideration of environment-based development have created 'turbulence' and community neglect. The declining quality of the environment has forced many Indonesian citizens to endure a below-average standard of living. In ecological communication, Indonesia still shows the need to develop transformative discussion to promote a better quality of life. The publication of the *rob* flooding article about Indonesia in *PJR* has been very meaningful for strengthening the epistemic community and transferring the knowledge collected through this study. In future, we strongly expect our initiatives to strengthen cooperation between these two institutions, as well as others, as scientists attempt to promote better lives within maritime communities.

DELABCEDE/PMC

Figure 1: Maintenance workers repair parts of a natural seawall constructed from bamboo near the village of Timbulsloko, Semarang, Indonesia, in November 2017.

Our co-editors for this special edition of *PJR* are Hermin Indah Wahyuni and Vissia Ita Yulianto of CESASS, Khairiah A. Rahman and David Robie (AUT's Pacific Media Centre), Shailendra Singh (USP) and Philip Cass (Unitec). Many thanks to the team and also to *Frontline* journalism-as-research editor Wendy Bacon, designer Del Abcede and proof reader Linnea Eltes.

The opening themed article in this edition is a comparative case study of social adaptation in the Tropical Cyclone Winston disaster case in Fiji and *rob* flooding in Semarang, Indonesia. Flooding has become an increasingly acute disaster situation in the northern coastal region of Java. **Hermin Indah Wahyuni, Andi Awaluddin Fitrah, Fitri Handayani** and **David Robie** present comparative findings about mitigation and adaptation efforts in this joint CESASS/PMC study.

Dubbed as the 'ring of fire', Indonesian territories have witnessed many forms of natural disasters such as volcano eruptions, earthquakes and tsunamis, which have been widely reported in the mass media. **Budi Irawanto** of Universitas Gadjah Mada employs textual analysis of media reports, particularly the weekly news magazine *Tempo*, to examine how narratives of natural disaster survivors are framed.

In Australia, **Amanda Gearing** of Queensland University of Technology explores the recovery experiences of survivors of a 2011 flash flood event in South East Queensland that killed 23 children and adults five years later. Her research data reveals that many of the survivors and rescuers were in a worse situation weeks and months after the disaster.

Johan Lidberg of Monash University argues Australia's 'climate change wars' make research into media coverage of the issue interesting from an international and journalism studies perspective. His article compares coverage in two major daily newspapers, *The Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Daily Telegraph*, of the two pivotal climate change summits in Copenhagen (2009) and Paris (2015).

In Fiji, **Shailendra Singh** and **Vijay Naidu** of the University of the South Pacific argue that the media have 'generally failed to satisfactorily cover the unfolding of natural hazards and disasters'. Using Fiji as a case study, they discuss media coverage of various cyclones and analyse the gaps in reporting.

From the Philippines, **Norman Zafra** of the University of Auckland offers an analysis of digital technology implications on disaster reporting from the perspective of a journalism-documentary practitioner. His study examines the 2013 Typhoon Haiyan disaster with an ethnographic analysis of 'backpack news production' in post-disaster regions. He argues that while media convergence adds valuable new elements to storytelling and presentation of news, it only refines and does not replace traditional newsgathering methodologies.

The role of social media in Fiji during the 2016 Tropical Cyclone Winston was the research subject for **Glen Finau, John Cox, Jope Tarai, Romitesh Kant, Renata Varea** and **Jason Titifanue** of the University of the South Pacific. Social

media is being used increasingly in crises and disasters as an alternative form of communication. Their study shows how social media was used at different stages – before, during and after the cyclone struck. The hashtag #StrongerThanWinston was 'coined as a rallying point to bolster a sense of national solidarity'.

Philip Cass of Unitec examined the need for New Zealand to have policies in place to address the possibility, or probability, of climate induced migration from the Pacific Islands. This is a vital precaution. However, what would that policy look like and how far ahead would planners have to think? This article canvases some intriguing and practical answers to the problem.

Rounding off this disasters and communication themed section is the *Frontline* article, about the second year of the Pacific Media Centre's Bearing Witness climate project in Fiji. The analysis by **David Robie** is framed in the context of the new 10-year strategic plan 2017-2126 of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP). The postgraduate students involved in the project and reportage of a relocation village, Tukuraki which was struck in quick succession by two cyclones and a mudslide in the space of four years, won the 2017 Dart Award for trauma journalism.

OPENING the unthemed section of *PJR* are two articles on divers topics. **Catherine Strong** of Massey University profiles the 'gender gap in leadership in the traditionally staid daily newspapers industry'. Noting that one-third of New Zealand's dailies have never had a female editor, Strong says the low ratio of woman editors is 'incongruous with the fact that the majority of journalism students are female'. Her study includes every woman who has been a daily newspaper editor in the country—just 15.

Although television conflict reporting has usually been limited by risks to journalists' safety, **Steve Ellmers** of Unitec provides an intriguing glimpse of the 'death throes of Ba'athist Iraq' with an analysis of how viewers had the opportunity to 'vicariously witness the fall of a large modern city' in Baghdad. He contrasts the iconic moments in April 2003 when Saddam Hussein's statue in Firdos Square was toppled and when US troops violently destroyed the equestrian statue close to the 'Hands of Victory' monument. This article, presented originally as a paper at the 20th Anniversary conference of *Pacific Journalism Review*, in Auckland in 2014, is also the 'tale of two Fox News correspondents.

Two obituaries follow for contrasting and important contributors to New Zealand journalism. The first by **James Hollings** of Massey University profiles **Pat Booth** of *The Auckland Star*, who was 'arguably the finest investigative journalist New Zealand has produced' and who 'set a new standard for investigative journalism'. Recalls Hollings, while Booth began his investigation into the Arthur Allan Thomas scandal, described as New Zealand's 'Watergate moment', what the journalist 'saw and heard turned him into something else; a campaigner, an investigator, a crusader even'. Thomas was wrongly convicted for a double

murder in 1970 and eventually granted a royal pardon and awarded almost NZ$1 million in compensation for his nine years in prison.

Yasmine Ryan was a young New Zealand journalist who died tragically in Istanbul, Turkey, after a stellar career reporting in conflict zones from the Pacific to the Middle East. She was particularly noted for her early reports on the so-called Arab Spring from Tunisia in 2011. Ryan, writes *Evening Report* editor **Selwyn Manning** in his tribute to her, was 'driven by a deep sense of right and wrong … sensitive to the wants of humble people, challenged by the inhumanity that she was witness to,' and sought solutions through her journalism.

READERS may have noticed with the last edition of *PJR* that the journal proudly has a new Te Reo Māori name, *Te Koakoa | Pacific Journalism Review*. *Te Koakoa* is one of the Te Reo names for the sooty shearwater, or muttonbird (*Puffinsus griseus*), Sooty shearwaters are a common dark seabird off coastal New Zealand and the Pacific, and are known for their spectacular flocks. *Koakoa* has a more common meaning of happiness and joyfulness in a research context. Linguist Dr John Moorfield, Professor of Māori Innovation and Development with AUT's Te Ara Poutama contributed the metaphorical name. He also provided the name of Te Amokura—the red-tailed tropic bird —for the Pacific Media Centre when we were established in 2007, and he more recently gave us *Te Koakoa : Ngā Rangahau,* meaning research (in the plural) for our companion publication *Pacific Journalism Monographs*, founded in 2012. Sadly, he passed away just as *PJR* was going to press. Kia ora rawa atu John.

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1. Ecological communication in Asia-Pacific

A comparative analysis of social adaptation to maritime disaster in Indonesia and Fiji

Abstract: This article is of a comparative study of social adaptation in the Cyclone Winston disaster case in Fiji and rob flooding in Semarang, Indonesia. In February 2016, the largest tropical storm in the Southern Hemisphere, Cyclone Winston, struck Fiji and caused severe damage and loss of life. Meanwhile, in the last two decades flooding has become an increasingly acute disaster situation in Semarang and the northern coastal region of Java, Indonesia. Communities in the path of both these disasters are the ones who suffer most. Social adaptation is important to consider in these two cases to encourage improved future mitigation and adaptation efforts. Data was collected from interviews and documents in the form of news media articles and previous research reports relevant to tropical disasters and the impact of climate change. The results show that social adaptation to both types of disasters is not identical due to the characteristics of the two different disasters and the different social, economic, political and cultural contexts in Fiji and Indonesia.

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Introduction

MARITIME disasters are a major problem in Southeast Asia and Oceania, where most of the area is the ocean; this includes the vast Pacific Ocean, which covers one-third of the Earth's total surface. Both regions are highly vulnerable to maritime disasters, hurricanes, cyclones, and their effects. In Indonesia, especially along the north coast of Java, the most catastrophic disasters are floods that have destroyed areas from North Jakarta

to Semarang and Demak. In Oceania, several cyclones have devastated Pacific micro-states, particularly the largest tropical storm in the Southern Hemisphere, Cyclone Winston, which struck Fiji in February 2016. The communities in the path of these disasters are those that suffer most. Tidal flooding and cyclones have caused massive social and economic losses in communities in these two regions (McLean et al, 2001; Wuryanti, 2001; Marfai, 2008). The communities in Indonesia and Fiji have responded to disasters in various ways in order to reduce the impact of disasters and the risk of future ones. This article aims to analyse the social adaptation made by the communities on the north coast of Java, Indonesia, and in Fiji in their efforts to cope with disasters.

Southeast Asia is a region with a special geographical situation, encompassing the so-called 'ring of fire'[1] It stretches some 6,400 kilometres at its greatest extent (roughly from northwest to southeast) and encompasses some 13 million square kilometres (Figure 1). Of this, about 4.5 million square kilometres is land and 8.5 million square kilometres is sea (Leinbach & Frederick, n.d.). This vast water territory is subject to disasters, be they natural or human-made, geomorphological or maritime. Maritime disasters such as tidal flooding, storm surges accompanied by wind and rain, tsunamis, abrasion, floods, and rising sea levels threaten coastal communities, their health, and their livelihoods.

Indonesia, with more than 13,000 islands, is the world's largest archipelagic country, as well as having the second longest coastline (57,716 kilometres) after
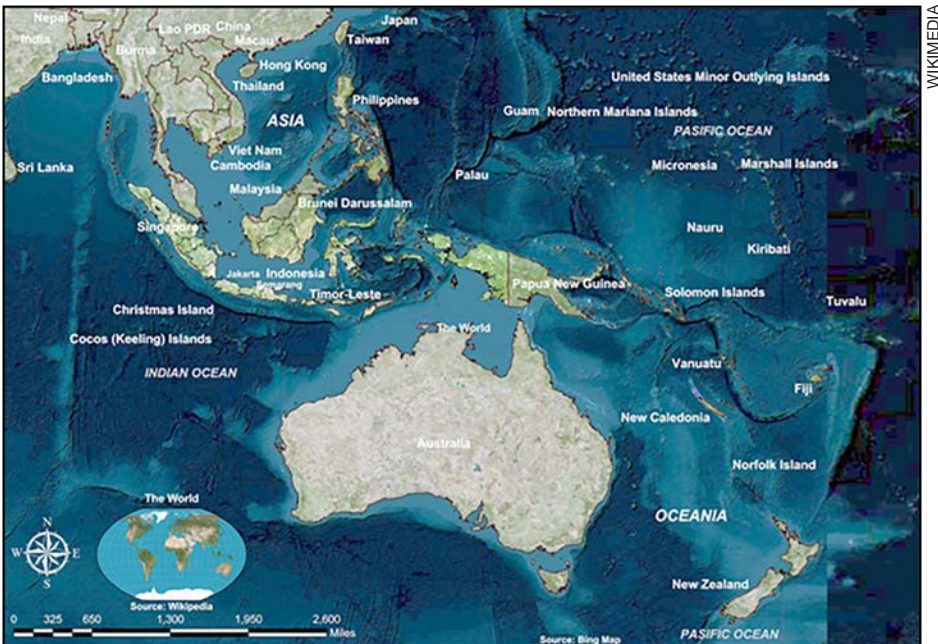
Figure 1 : Southeast Asia and Oceania map.

Canada (Countries with the longest coastline, 2013; Indonesia, 2018). It has faced various types of maritime disasters, including tsunamis (in Aceh in 2004 and in Pangdaran in 2006), high waves, tropical cyclones (Dahlia and Cempaka in 2017). Among the most serious has been the coastal flooding along the north coast of Java, particularly in the Semarang area, where 21 rivers reach the sea (Nashrrullah et al, 2013). This *rob* flooding, as it is known locally, has been problematic for a long time (Marfai & King, 2008; Harwitasari & Ast, 2011). Without an adaptation strategy, the *rob* flooding has become complex, protracted, unresolved, and caused greater and greater losses, especially for people living in the affected areas. Despite being a slow-onset disaster, this flooding has caused enormous socioeconomic losses in affected areas as well as considerable environmental harm (Figures 2 and 3). In Semarang, the *rob* flooding has caused factories to close; roads and buildings to be elevated; and heavy traffic (Abidin et al., 2013; Hadi, 2017; Robie, 2017c). *Rob* flooding has also been a serious health hazard by creating an unhygienic environment, undermining community livelihoods, disrupting educational activities, changing the way people socialise, and forcing people to migrate.

Oceania is represented by 16 micro-nations and territories, which belong with Australia and New Zealand to the 18-member Pacific Islands Forum (PIF). It covers 8.5 million square kilometres and comprises 40 million people (including Australia and New Zealand, which contribute 26.9 million people, leaving a

Figure 2: *Rob* floods inundated this main road and caused long traffic jams in the Pantura area which has become the main economic route of Java Island.

CESASS

Figure 3: Houses damaged and abandoned due to rob floods and land subsidence in Tambak Lorok fishing village, Semarang.

balance of 13.1 million in Pacific states and territories).[2] Many scientists argue that few areas in the world are as vulnerable to the effects of maritime disasters and climate change as the 'low-lying atoll island nations' of the Pacific (Campbell & Barnett, 2010; Morgan, 2017; Terry, 2007; Walsh, McInnes & McBride, 2011). 'Even at current mean sea levels, vulnerability to extreme sea levels is large,' according to Walsh and colleagues.

Forty-six years ago, in 1972, Cyclone Bebe left a trail of havoc in Tuvalu (population 11,097), including mounds of coral debris. Eighteen years later, in 1990, in Samoa, Cyclone Ofa flooded many low-lying coastal regions (Walsh, Innes & McBride, 2011, p. 150). In 1997 in Fiji, Cyclone Gavin breached sea walls with a storm surge on the north coast of Vanua Levu, flooding the provincial capital of Labasa. In 2004, Cyclone Heta devastated most of the infrastructure in the tiny island nation of Niue (pop. 1,611) (Terry, 2007). In 2009, an earthquake and tsunami with magnitude 8.1 struck Samoa, including American Samoa and Tonga, killing 189 people and injuring hundreds, Meanwhile, in 2015, Severe Tropical Cyclone Pam, considered the second most intense tropical storm to strike the South Pacific, with winds reaching up to 280 kilometres an hour, devastated Vanuatu. The worst maritime disaster ever to hit the country, this Category 5 storm caused the deaths of 16 people and an estimated US$360.4 million in damage, crippling the nation's infrastructure and leaving 3,300 people homeless (UNESCO Supports Recovery, 2015).

In February 2016, Fiji suffered the most intense and costliest tropical cyclone on record in the Southern Hemisphere (After Tropical Cyclone Winston, 2016; Tabureguci, 2016). With winds reaching up to 285 kilometres an hour, Severe Tropical Cyclone Winston killed 44 people and wreaked an estimated US$1.4 billion in damage. Some 40,000 homes were destroyed, and an estimated 350,000 people—about 40 percent of Fiji's population—had their lives severely affected. Writing for *Business Melanesia* in an assessment of the disaster, journalist Dionisia Tabureguci noted that tourism and remittances were 'standing by as the white knights' as Fiji sought to 'pick up the pieces' economically (Tabureguci, 2016).

This article seeks to compare and analyse the social adaptations made by communities in Semarang, on the north coast of Central Java, in Indonesia, in the face of tidal flooding, and in Fiji in the wake of Severe Tropical Cyclone Winston. Social adaptation is important to understand in these two disasters to encourage better disaster mitigation, adaptation, and risk management efforts in the future.

Literature review

Ecological communication is one possible means of adapting to the risks of maritime disaster. This concept was developed by Niklas Luhmann in the 1980s, and since then it has sparked debate among scholars. This concept explains how social systems in modern communities respond to external threats such as disasters. Luhmann believes that societal communication affects the very way the possibilities of environmental dangers arise (Luhmann, 1989, p. xv). Ecological communication explains not how society manages existing environmental problems, but how it becomes aware of environmental dangers (Cuginotti, 2014). The risk of environmental danger is recognised when people communicate about unsustainable ways of living, such as the use of plastic bags and excessive pollution from factories. According to Luhmann (1989), human response to communication is called resonance. This means human consciousness does not depend on human agency, but rather a response (*resonance*) to events in the environment (Cuginotti, 2014). This response later shapes the way a community adapts to environmental dangers. Luhmann warns that there is a high chance modern societies will collapse due to their inability to respond constructively to environmental threats. In this perspective, modern society can be analysed through the three dimensions of communication, evolution, and differentiation (Luhmann, 1989).

Ecological communication and societies' responses parallel the concept of disaster adaptation and mitigation. In responding to the challenges of climate change, other scholars, such as Albert Salamanca and Jonathan Rigg, have also mentioned these categories (Salamanca & Rigg, 2016, p. 282). Mitigation has been widely used to respond to disasters, particularly compared to adaptation,

which is rarely used. Adaptation is defined by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) as the 'adjustment in the natural or human system in response to actual or expected climatic stimuli or their effects, which moderates harm or exploits beneficial opportunities' (Salamanca & Rigg, 2016, p. 282). In fact, adaptation must be integrated into disaster management. According to Giddens (2009, p. 163), there are two types of adaptation: adaptation after the event (reactive adaptation) and adaptation oriented to possible futures (pro-active adaptation). Pro-active adaptation is a type of adaptation associated with diagnosing and responding to vulnerabilities and needs to be prioritised (Giddens, 2009).

Most of the time, during disaster, impoverished members of the community suffer much more than privileged members due to their limited access to information and other resources. Through adaptation, ordinary people have the power to shape their own solutions to disasters, rather than relying on the authorities and waiting to be evacuated. The concept of adaptation to climate change can be applied to other disasters, and it can be understood through three ideas: (1) risks, threats, and opportunities that societies face; (2) past and present adaptive practices, as well as future adaptive capacities; (3) societal structures and their roles within interactions (Salamanca & Rigg, 2016, p. 283).

Adaptation can also be categorised as physical and non-physical. According to Pittock and Jones (2000), non-physical adaptation includes writing, talking, educating, and awareness raising. Non-physical adaptation also means that communities are communicating, discussing the disasters they face, the causes of these disasters, and how these disasters can be overcome. Meanwhile, physical adaptation in facing disaster (i.e. in the case of tidal flooding) includes raising houses, building sea walls, planting mangroves, etc. Other typologies of disaster adaptation recognise autonomous adaptation and planned adaptation (Munasinghe & Swart, 2005), which resembles the typology of adaptation used by Giddens (2009). In autonomous adaptation, preparation is limited, and adaptation is reactive, undertaken by individuals or private firms without any government involvement (Munasinghe & Swart, 2005). Conversely, planned adaptation is proactive, with good preparation and consideration of the possible effects of disaster (Munasinghe & Swart, 2005).

Communication is vitally important in an Asia-Pacific context, especially in the microstates of Oceania which have, due to their colonial history, in the past relied heavily on Western media sources and perspectives (Crocombe, 2008, p. 31). However, this dependency has been declining in recent years and Pacific micro countries and media have been increasingly looking to their Asian neighbours for their communication needs and inspiration (Crocombe, 2008; Papoutsaki & Harris, 2008; Robie, 2014; Singh & Prasad, 2008). As in Indonesia, environmental issues have tended to get relatively little exposure in mainstream media 'unless we are talking about disasters, such as earthquakes, floods and

cyclones,' lamented conservation consultant Jaap Jasperse while working for the Samoa-based Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), an intergovernmental agency established to promote cooperation, support the environment and ensuring sustainable development (Jasperse, 2008). Nevertheless, long-term effects such as global warming and rising sea levels have been rapidly gaining prominence, partly as the result of more awareness of the IPCC reports on climate change, and especially due to Fiji's high profile role as co-chair of the annual UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (COP23) in Bonn, Germany, in November 2017 (Jasperse, 2008, p. 59). Jasperse argues that it is a major responsibility of news media to provide empowering information about disaster risk, climate change and the environment generally.

> Life in the Pacific Islands is very dependent on the quality of the environment for sustaining lives in terms of fisheries and agriculture, and for some exports and tourism. The Pacific remains the main food basket for all who live in it, as well as for surrounding nations [which] come to fish its seemingly plentiful waters. (Jasperse, p. 59)

The most comprehensive study on the communication of the complex issues climate change poses with Pacific Island policy makers, governments, non-government organisations and grassroots communities (Burnside-Lawry et al., 2017) has identified a need to 'bridge the disconnect between science, policy and local level action' in disaster risk reduction and climate change adaptation' (p. 11). In a three-year longitudinal participatory action research (PAR) study (commenced in 2015), Nobel Peace Prize co-recipient Elisabeth Holland of the University of the South Pacific (USP) and the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology University (RMIT) researchers and their colleagues addressed the challenges of climate change communication at both local (micro) and global (macro) levels. The research project began as 'an examination of local-level methods to communicate climate change' and then evolved into a 'unique intersectoral and interagency network of researchers and practitioners' (p. 12). As the five-member research team describe it:

> All partners are committed to one vision: to facilitate grassroots, upward planning of sustainable climate change adaptation strategies, and to amplify the Pacific Island Countries' perspective of climate change to the world. (p. 12)

The researchers carried out a comprehensive review of climate change regulatory frameworks developed at global and Pacific regional level. They cited a United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNISDR, 2014) warning that the action framework remained largely at 'national, policy development

levels'. The UN findings indicated an '*urgent* need to increase local action in building community resilience to climate-related impacts' (p. 12; Rytz, *Anote's Ark*, 2017). Noting research indicating that the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (see IPCC, 2012) reports continue to 'adopt an information deficit model, or what Paolo Freire termed the "banking model" of education' (Freire, 1970), the Pacific researchers rejected leaving information and behavioural change in the 'hands of the "banker", or expert' (p. 13). The research was conducted using a framework of Communication for Development and Social Change ensuring that 'all participant voices are heard, valued and represented (Manyozo, 2012). It focused on three cycles: 1. A PLAN International Australia (PIA) regional meeting in Nadi, Fiji, which provided the initial impetus for the project; 2. The UN Council of Parties in Paris in 2015 (COP21); 3. The following COP22 in Marrakech, Morocco. However, the article was published before COP23 in Bonn, Germany, in November 2017, which Fiji co-chaired. The article concluded:

> An overarching methodology of participatory action research was used to build a shared understanding of science, history, culture and local context amongst participants (researchers, guest speakers, students and NGO climate change practitioners). The programme established nexus between research and practice to foster inter-agency communication and build trust. (Burnside-Lawry et al., 2017)

Participatory action research was 'deemed essential to amplify the voices of those who have done the least to contribute to climate change, but are the most severely affected, (Dreher & Voyer, 2015; Robinson, 2015; Robie, 2017a)

Methodology

This research uses a qualitative approach, focusing on the process of understanding how communities adapt to maritime disasters. An inductive approach was used in this research, meaning that it is based primarily on the situation or phenomena in the field. However, to ensure the systematic exploration of data, data will be collected in units as determined through the application of relevant and important concepts. Analysed data will be described and explained by connecting it with its context and other elements.

In the case of Semarang, data was collected through interviews, document and literature review, and on-site observation. Interviews and observations were conducted at Kampung Bahari Tambak Lorok in Genuk Subdistrict; Kemijen Village in Semarang; Terboyo Terminal Area, Kaligawe Road in Semarang; and Timbul Sloko Village in Demak. Data on community responses to *rob* flooding was complemented by relevant previous research (Marfai & King, 2008; Harwitasari

& Van Ast, 2011), a documentary titled *Kampung Rob* (Tidal Flood Village)*,*[3] and several documentary videos from YouTube. Interviews were also conducted with some researchers from the Center for Coastal Rehabilitation and Disaster Mitigation Studies (CoREM), Universitas Diponegoro, Semarang. Data analysis has involved describing the adaptations made by communities in dealing with tidal flooding, exploring inductive facts about the situation—specifically the how and why of the situation—and then the proposed solutions and practices.

In the case of Fiji, a review of international development, communication, social planning, and political science literature related to Fiji and Cyclone Winston provides the foundation for the conceptual framework. This is complemented by a media review and interviews with a senior journalist with the regional University of the South Pacific journalism programme, based at Suva, Fiji; the communications officer at USP's climate and environment research agency, and with the leading advocate of 350.org Pacific, a youth-led grassroots network working with communities to fight climate change from the Pacific Islands—popularly known as the 'Climate Warriors'.

Result and analysis

Forms of adaptation on tidal flooding in Semarang

Semarang is an industrial and port city located on the north coast of Java, and it is the capital of Central Java Province. Semarang City consists of 16 subdistricts and 177 urban villages, with a population of 1.7 million people (BPS Kota Semarang, 2016a). Semarang has a coastline of 13.6 kilometres, and most of its coastal areas are affected by tidal flooding to a greater or lesser extent. There are 20 villages along the coast of Semarang; six villages, namely Tambakharjo, Tawangsari, Panggunglor, Bandarharjo, Tanjung Mas, and Terboyo Kulon, suffer the most due to coastal inundation (Marfai & King 2008). In the following map of Semarang (Figure 4), the areas coloured dark blue are those facing the greatest threat of flooding.

The tidal flooding in Semarang and surrounding areas has long been a problem for people of this region (Figure 4). However, the current situation is of higher intensity and more widespread impact. The tidal flooding in this area is not only triggered by rising sea levels, but also by land subsidence, high tides, wave action, and climate change (Harwitasari & Van Ast, 2011, Abidin et al., 2013). Land subsidence in the region is caused by a combination of the natural consolidation of young alluvium soil, groundwater extraction, and the load of buildings and structure (Abidin et al.*,* 2013). Another important factor suspected to cause tidal flooding along the northern coast of Java is the loss of the mangrove forests that previously protected this coastal area from abrasion (Pasotti, 2017; pp. 52–61). In Semarang, tidal flooding is a major threat to urban development and community life (Marfai et al., 2008; Robie, 2017b).
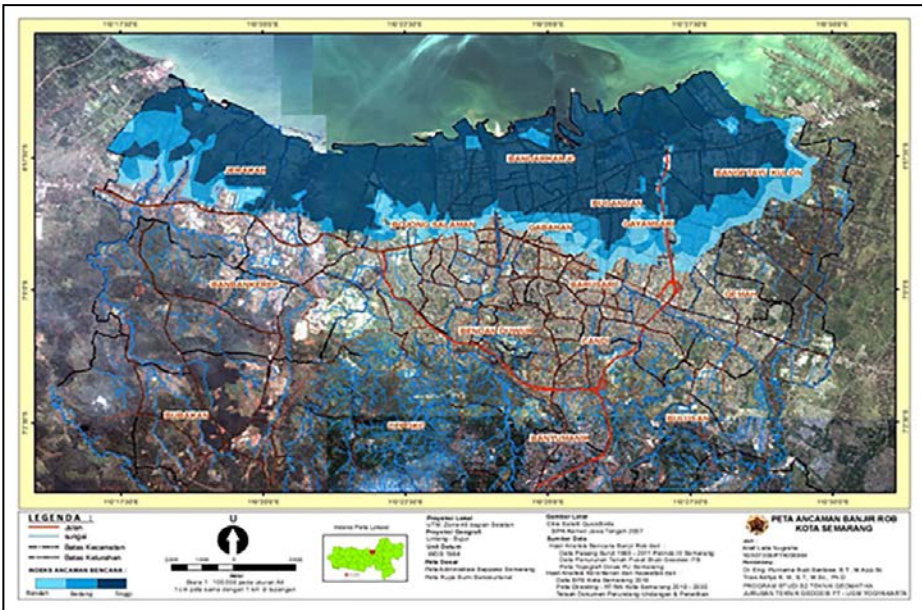
Figure 4 : Tidal Flooding (*Rob*) area in Semarang.

People affected by tidal flooding in Semarang are unwilling or unable to move to safer places. They choose to stay in their homes for several reasons: limited finances, closeness to the workplace, an owned family home or other property, and/or an expectation to compensate for flooding with adaptive measures (Harwitasari & Van Ast, 2011; Marfai & King, 2008). According to Marfai et al. (2008), the response or adaptation shown by the community in Semarang has mostly taken the form of physical adaptation, such as elevating their houses, raising the level of their floors, raising the level of their yards (around the house), and making small dams to prevent water from entering the house. These community responses are, of course, only short-term or temporary responses. As stated by two residents of Tambak Lorok, Toyo (50) and Suharto (59), almost all residents in this area have raised their houses several times because of the sinking land, the elevated roads, and the worsening tidal flooding. According to Toyo, he has raised his house three times; a similar experience was mentioned by Suharto. Meanwhile, in Kemijen, according to Supardi Warno (the neighbourhood leader, or *Ketua RW*), the average (house) elevation in his village is 3 metres (*Kampung Rob*, 2012). Because of the lack of assistance from the government, the cost of the house elevations must be borne by residents. One resident of Genuk Subdistrict, M. Suyartono (40) conveyed the same thing. 'There is no government assistance to elevate our houses, not in my knowledge. Only assistance to build higher roads'. As a result, some families with little financial capital are unable to raise their homes and must be willing to live in houses that may become flooded.

In addition to physical adaptation, communities affected by tidal flooding also respond through social response. Physical adaptation is usually a result of social responses that have long been built through information or discourse. For example, people often discuss in advance the main causes of tidal flooding in their area and decide to raise village roads or build dikes. Such a decision-making process usually involves community meetings in the village hall. In some cases, people in one area were informed that other areas had managed to solve the flooding problem by cleaning their sewers and drainage canals, and so they decided to do the same thing.

Some residents in flood-affected areas believe that tidal flooding is linked to the location and geographical conditions of the coastal areas, which enables sea water to easily enter mainland areas. Some residents, such as Toyo, who lives in Tambak Lorok Village, actually thinks that river siltation is the main cause of this flooding. Other residents assume that the flooding is caused by a lack of a water pump house in their village. In their daily lives, community members also discuss flooding and argue about the right solutions for overcoming it. Toyo, for example, said that road elevation is not the main solution; rather, a clean sewage system must be realised. In contrast to Toyo, Suharto—who also lives in Tambak Lorok—thinks that road elevation and relocation are the most appropriate solutions to this problem.

Based on their responses towards tidal flooding, people in Semarang and surrounding areas can be grouped into three types: optimistic, pessimistic, and realistic. The optimistic group consists of people who continue to look forward to government assistance and technological aid to solve the flooding. They believe that the government has a crucial role in addressing this problem through infrastructure development policies as well as the implementation of technologies such as polder construction, vacuum pumps, and road elevation. These people expect the government to offer a relocation programme. Another optimistic view is manifested in efforts to replant the mangrove forests. Ironically, optimistic people expect better solutions from the government, such as relocating their homes to higher ground. However, the government seems unwilling or unable to handle this problem. (Muhammad Helmi, interview with the authors, 2017).

Meanwhile, pessimistic people think that this flooding problem is a severe disaster that cannot be solved. The government and other actors are considered to have a non-optimal role in overcoming this problem. According to several residents of Genuk, the flooding cannot be resolved because the government has no interest in doing so. Meanwhile, one resident of Kemijen stated that the 'ruinous' bureaucracy is a complex problem exacerbating the flooding in Semarang (*Kampung Rob*). The Semarang Municipal Government, the Central Javan Provincial Government, and the Central Government have actually come up with several solutions, including road elevation, provision of water pumps,

and even the construction of a sea wall. However, the results have not been optimal, as flooding continues to occur. One pessimist view was expressed by a villager in Genuk:

> I think the government is clever. They said that Sayung (a village in Demak) will be made into a highway. I think the flooding is intentional, made by the government to decrease the price of the land. Because if our land is free from flooding, automatically we can sell it for a higher price, for example, one square meter for Rp 4 million [about US$290]. If it is affected by flooding, it will only be Rp 1 million [US$73]. The government is smart. We are just ordinary people, the oppressed people. (Genuk Villager, interview, 2018)

The last category, the 'realistic' people, are those who think they should live 'side by side' with the flooding. Two factors make people take this approach: 1) People think that the flooding is normal for coastal areas, like Semarang, Demak, and Pekalongan, 2) People feel desperate. Eko (39), a resident of Batursari Village in Semarang, said that since childhood he had learned that the northern Semarang region, from the old town to the port area of Tanjung Mas, had indeed frequently suffered from flooding. He said, 'In my opinion, coastal areas like Semarang are indeed commonly affected area by *rob* flooding' (Eko, interview, 2018). In Kemijen, areas affected by flooding have been transformed into pools for fish farms, which are managed together by residents, who use their profits to fund the local early childhood education centre. Another form of adaptation intended to mitigate the effects of the flooding is the planting of mangroves along the northern coast of Java. Those who previously worked as fishermen have instead become mangrove farmers. Some have been helped by non-governmental organisations, corporations, and universities to replant mangroves in the area. These people have also developed mangrove-based economies, using mangrove batik, mangrove-based food products (such as flour, snacks, and syrups), and mangrove seedlings.

Another issue exacerbating the flooding in Semarang is garbage (Figure 3). In areas experiencing flooding such as Tambakrejo, piles of garbage can be seen around residents' homes. In some places, industrial waste can be found in flood prone areas. As such, independent waste management, industrial awareness of the need for better waste management, and government intervention in waste management systems are necessary to address the complex issues underlying the flooding.

Social adaptation to flooding in Semarang has also been coloured by potential conflict between residents. This conflict is not large-scale physical conflict, but still has the potential to inhibit the resolution of the acute flooding problem. In the fishing village of Tambak Lorok, for example, residents expressed different views of the flooding problem and its resolution. One resident even said: 'The

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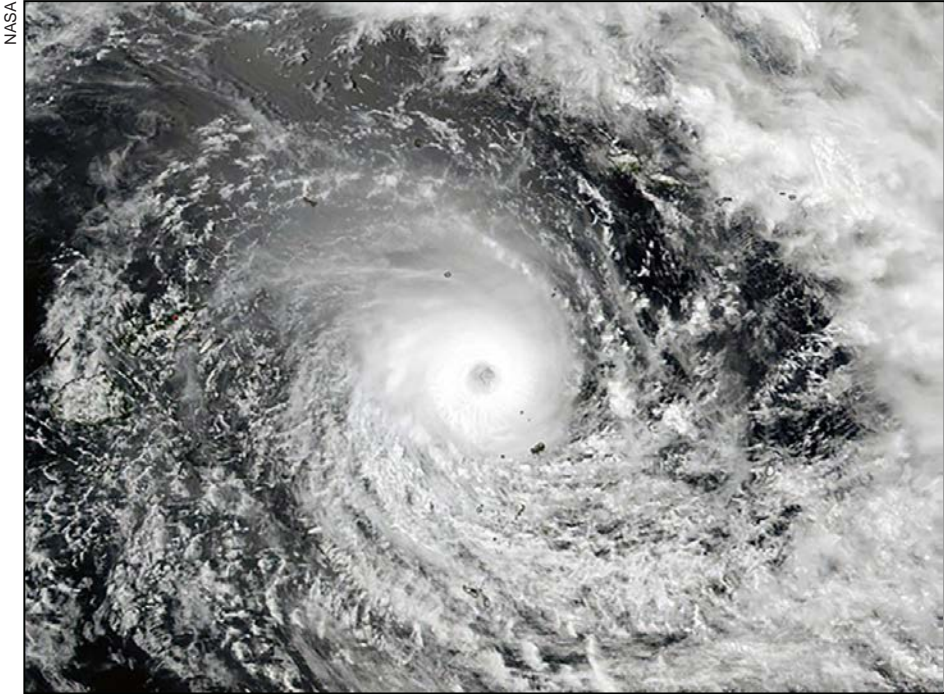
Figure 5: The 'eye of the storm' of Severe Tropical Cyclone Winston bearing down on Fiji.

people here are hard-headed; the government has tried to help but they've rejected it. …. So there's no need to help the people here… just help the government' (Tambaklorok villager, interview, 2018). Meanwhile, one resident of Bandarharjo said that 'now our neighbours don't care about our conditions; everyone is on his or her own' (*Kampung Rob*, 2012). A different situation can be seen in Kemijen, where residents routinely work together to raise the roads or clean the village.

Social adaptation of Tropical Cyclone Winston in Fiji

Cyclone Winston was the worst storm in Fiji's recorded history. On 20-21 February 2016, Category 5 Severe Tropical Cyclone Winston cut a swathe of destruction across the Fiji Islands. It built up in intensity after forming near Vanuatu on February 7, striking Tonga and then doubling back to hit Fiji with its full intensity and a sustained wind force of 280km/h in 10-minute gusts. The Fiji government estimated that almost 350,000 people—or more than a third of the country's total population—living in the cyclone's path may have been affected (some 180,000 men and 170,000 women). The National Disaster Management Office (NDMO) coordinated relief efforts and activated National and Divisional Emergency Operations Centres (EOCs) around the country. Communications were temporarily lost with at least six islands and some remained cut-off for two days after the cyclone. A 30-day State of Natural Disaster was declared and

this was extended for a further month until April 20. At least 44 people were confirmed dead and some 56,000 people were sheltered in evacuation centres. Estimated total damage was F$2.98 billion (US$1.4 million). Both Australia and New Zealand provided logistical and financial aid (After tropical Cyclone Winston, 2016). Indonesia also provided aid and supplies and later, in May, send a contingent of soldiers to Fiji to help with the rebuilding of schools (Perwarta, 2016).

Reporting after the initial month-long emergency, Dionisia Tabureguci of *Business Melanesia* (2016) wrote that as Fiji picked up the pieces after Tropical Cyclone Winston's ravaging impact in late February and March, 'tourism and remittances are standing by as white knights' for a struggling economy. Tabureguci praised the Fiji government's response over the nation's infrastructure and noted there was also quick reaction to the widespread destruction of homes and dwellings in affected areas with the Fiji National Provident Fund (FNPF) offering its more than 300,000 members withdrawal assistance of up to F$5000 on special grounds. The commercial banks also offered low interest rates loans with the assistance of the Reserve Bank of Fiji (RBF). Bank governor Barry Whiteside was quoted as saying:

> That won't make them have a whole house but it will help them repair and put a roof over their heads. And if they add that together with what they can get from FNPF if they're an FNPF member, they can get up to $10,000 and I think that goes a long way in helping them at least make repairs to their homes. (Tabureguci, *2016)*

While the world was busy celebrating Women's Day on March 8, in Fiji many women from the diverse ethnic communities—the majority of indigenous Fijians, Hindus and Moslems, and mixed-race Polynesians—were struggling for their basic needs. 'In my community, I want to see improved infrastructure including proper crossings and bus shelter,' said a woman from Lautoka, Alecy Amua, who was worried about children's safety. Antonio of Suva, who was concerned about the violence and bullying in the communities that encouraged suicide, said to counter this situation, 'I want young people to access training and the support they need. However, the irony was that the women's voices were unheard, leading to major social issues (Dhabuwala, 2016).

In a series of insightful editorials, *The Fiji Times* editor-in-chief, Fred Wesley (2016), wrote that the people of Fiji were largely prepared for Cyclone Winston, but they were simply overwhelmed by the 'raw power and strength' of Winston and the massive devastation caused.

> No one was prepared for Winston's average winds of up to 220km an hour and momentary gusts of up to 315km an hour close to its centre. That

was terrifying strength that turned Winston into a fully-fledged Category 5 mega-storm…

Because we are a country prone to such natural disasters, perhaps that has ingrained in us a sense of acceptance of our fate, and of cyclones in general. That has now changed in the wake of Winston. (Wesley, 2016)

Eight days after Cyclone Winston struck Fiji, 350.org Fiji coordinator George Nacewa, Australian photojournalist Jeff Tan and Pacific Climate Warrior advocate Fenton Lutunatabua visited three different families from Navoci Village, Korovuto Settlement and Vatukoula. In an interview via social media, Lutunatabua (2018) directed the authors to their 'beyond the narrative' accounts of the disaster. As storytellers, argued Lutunatabua, it is important to 'honour stories and people by sharing a more in-depth, nuanced truth'. For example, rather than telling another story about 'the destruction, the despair, and the sorrow', he preferred to tell stories 'about the aspirations of our resilient nation. One that focuses on how faith and community will be at the core of rebuilding our beloved Fiji'.

Among the collection of stories, Mohammed Shazil recalled:

The night TC Winston hit our area, we were in [another house] up the hill carrying out our 'bhajan' [sharing]. As we were wrapping up our prayer for the evening, a roofing iron crashed into the lounge. We learned later that it was the roofing iron from my neighbours' home. They lost their roof and having no roof throughout the entire ordeal meant that everything they owned inside their home was destroyed. I felt sorry for them, they were barely making ends meet. Their three daughters were all in primary school, and now they [have] just lost all their possessions, what are they supposed to do now? We are helping them rebuild. (Lutunatabua, 2016)

Salome Pareti recalled:

I was already overdue. I was meant to give birth on February 14, so I was worried that I would go into labour during the height of Tropical Cyclone Winston. Imagine that night, the winds were so strong that whenever I needed to go to the bathroom, my husband had to hold my hand and lead me so I wouldn't get blown away. On top of that, the rain made everything so slippery and it was so dark I couldn't see where I was going. I am so glad I didn't go into labour that night. If I did, my husband [would have] had to run to the fire station to get me [transport] because there was no signal on our phones. (Lutunatabua, 2016)

Romeo Kivi recalled:

Locked up inside our home, we couldn't do anything else but pray. As soon as we heard the warnings, I [caught] the bus to the town and bought things to see us through Cyclone Winston. A torch, some batteries, candles and tinned food items. We tried to prepare ourselves the best we could.

BUSINESS MELANESIA/DINFO

Figure 6: Fiji rebuilds in the wake of TC Winston's devastation.

> I had spoken to my two sons and told them, when I say run, don't run to the neighbours, run underneath the house and seek shelter. (Lutunatabua, 2016)

Reflecting two years on from the disaster, journalism coordinator Dr Shailendra Singh (interview with authors, 2018) at the University of the South Pacific, acknowledged that Fiji communities had taken heed of the warnings. The major method of communication in Fiji is mainstream media—broadcast, print,

online and social media. However, because of the relative costs, print and on-line media is limited.

> Radio is more widespread. Word-of-mouth is also important, especially in remote villages and scattered maritime areas, where mainstream media penetration is low, partly due to infrastructure and partly due to afford-ability. (Singh, interview, 2018)

Based on her own personal experience and observation, communications of-ficer Sarika Chand of USP's climate research agency Pacific Centre for En-vironment and Sustainable Development (PaCE-SD), said the first week after the cyclone struck 'left most people stunned—while still making sense of the extent of the damage, the community was pretty shaken' (Chand, interview, 2018). She said people were also 'in overdrive' helping collect food, blankets, essentials and money from Suva and other places not so badly hit and deliver-ing them to 'drop-off' places in the badly hit zones.

> Stories of those badly affected by Winston came out shedding light on their resilience during the tough times – children playing in areas stripped of everything. Families spending cold nights in tents or under the stars. It was an emotional yet encouraging time for the whole country … Around the tanoa of grog [bowl of kava], at poetry slams, at university seminars, TC Winston was the most discussed and analysed topic for months. There was a running hashtag #StrongerThan Winston. Musicians collaborated to give the nation hope to continue with rebuilding. (Chand, interview, 2018)

According to Singh, the Fiji community took necessary precautions to build and store food supplies in advance of the cyclone and secure their belong-ings, including dwellings. However, the problem was that in rural areas, and in densely populated peri-urban areas, the dwellings are quite 'flimsy construc-tion, especially in squatter and informal settlements'.

> The people can only do so much to safeguard themselves. Their poverty makes them extra vulnerable. Mostly they hope and pray [that] they survive the worst of any storm. Cyclone Winston with Category 5 winds was the worst, and did not spare anything in its path. Many people lost everything. Despite government efforts and the generosity of aid donors and individuals, the recovery is incomplete because of the sheer scale of the devastation. (Singh, interview, 2018).

In both mainstream and social media, village settings and community gatherings, the sheer strength and ferocity of the cyclone was a common topic for discussion. While the media warned that a strong Category 5 cyclone was bearing down on them, for most people that was insufficient information. They had little idea about what physical strength of the cyclone to expect or what kind of damage it was capable of inflicting. Singh observed:

> This is one of the problems when it comes to communicating information about cyclones to the community. People are trying to make sense of why we are hit by hurricanes of such magnitude. The possible link with climate change is being discussed. People have been telling stories of close escapes. (Singh, interview, 2018)

According to Finau et al. (2018) in a post-Winston study, while social media did not replace traditional communication or media, it demonstrated 'innovative and serendipitous uses' ranging from informing citizens, sharing experiences and as a 'rallying point': 'Social media has created a space for Pacific Islanders' voices to be heard and the severity of Cyclone Winston being a consequence of anthropogenic climate change'.

As a consequence of Cyclone Winston, the Fiji community has hopes for better warning systems, more shelters—and better-equipped ones, faster rehabilitation processes and delivery. Schools and homes need to be reconstructed quickly (Robie, 2017b). Help is needed with the rehabilitation of farms. In the longer term, there is a need for proper housing support for squatter and informal settlements, the most vulnerable group.

The poorest communities are limited over what they can do to reduce the impact of a disaster such as they experienced. They do not have the means to build viable shelters, or to rebuild fully and quickly after a disaster. They are forced to rely on outside help. Community and volunteer groups and non-government organisations assist. They also play a crucial role in early responses and in supplementing government efforts.

Discussion

The tidal flooding in Semarang and Tropical Cyclone Winston in Fiji have been disasters with different characteristics. The tidal flooding was gradual and continuous, with the situation becoming worse over time. Meanwhile, tropical cyclones (such as Winston in Fiji) are sudden, with little warning, and have massive and readily visible destructive effects. However, they are similar in that they have caused significant material and non-material damages to local communities and affected areas. Meanwhile, in terms of adaptation, although these disasters have different characters, both have required a similar extent of adaptation. Both disasters would have ideally required a pro-active, planned, and multi-dimensional approach to adaptation (both physical and non-physical) rather than a reactive, autonomous, and partial one. However, the situations in both Semarang and Fiji were far from ideal.

The tidal flooding in Semarang has forced communities to undertake more gradual or long-term adaptations. For the people of Semarang, this is shaped by the lack of a direct solution. The situation in Semarang has indicated that adaptation has only been partial. Some areas are free of tidal flooding, while

others are continuously under water. The fact that this tidal flooding is caused by multidimensional factors can also be attributed for the sub-optimal adaptation measures undertaken. Meanwhile, Tropical Cyclone Winston forced the affected community to adapt quickly to a sudden destructive event, which resulted in a need for greater mental capacity to be built rapidly. Those who fell victim to the cyclone were highly vulnerable to intense psychological trauma. However, disasters such as cyclones and tsunamis also require long-term, planned adaptation to minimise future material and non-material damages. Ultimately, it was the communities that suffered because of a rapid decrease in their quality of life as a result of living in temporary shelters or swamped homes.

In terms of other risks, threats, and opportunities that communities face, the tidal flooding in Semarang has had complex social effects and risks. Communities have faced migration because of villages being underwater and unsalvageable, health problems resulting from environmental issues, as well as other social issues. Affected communities, living in poor economic situations, have not been able to improve their quality of life, as they must regularly think about elevating their homes to counteract the rising tides and land subsidence. Tidal flooding has created an unhealthy environment, and it is happening to people who have little choice but to put aside their health issues to stay in the area. The dirty water that floods homes every day brings much waste, which is very harmful to community health. Similarly, communities face constant economic loss as an inevitable risk of staying in the region.

In the case of Cyclone Winston, adaptation to other risks, threats, and opportunities has been informed primarily by the sudden onset of the disaster. The high level of damage to rural villages and subsistence crops and the sugarcane industry, as well as destruction of property, resulted in communities being forced to live in temporary shelters. The greater the ability to anticipate a disaster, the greater the possibility for reducing or mitigating its effects and for developing potential solutions. The Finau et al. (2018) study demonstrated how important social media was in communication.

In relation to past and present adaptive practices, and future adaptive capacities, both disasters show different characters. In the case of the tidal flooding, the disaster has been gradual, occurring slowly over a long period of time. Therefore, the community's adaptation to risks and threats has improved over time. Moreover, the community believes that the tidal flooding must be accepted as a risk of living in a coastal area. Consequently, discourse has normalised the phenomenon. Tidal flooding is considered normal and unavoidable, and some have even chosen to stay, continue to build new homes, or elevate their homes. It shows that the community still has hopes and opportunities. However, adaptation seems to have become increasingly difficult as the situation has deteriorated. In this context, mitigation is needed to save the community. Today's adaptations are

closely linked to the community's expectation that technological interventions can help them stay in the area. In the case of Fiji, factors such as better housing design and structure, and more and stronger community shelters, are critical.

In relation to societal structures and the roles of social actors, in Semarang the relations between actors are less coherent. The government lacks any clear ideas about and policies regarding disaster management in the region. Each stakeholder has a different solution, which has led to the situation becoming more complex. Owing to this lack of structure, communities affected by flooding have become victimised, increasingly marginalised and disempowered in facing the complex problem of maritime disaster. Local communities have become suspicious of the government's motives and activities to mitigate disaster. The unclear social structure has also caused unclear role division. In the case of Cyclone Winston, many actors were involved in post-disaster recovery, including the government, local non-governmental organisations, and foreign aid agencies. However, the greatest challenge for the future will be offering a comprehensive solution involving clear strategies, mitigation and disaster-risk plans. Thus this will mitigate any threats to the recovery mechanisms.

Conclusion

Adaptation is closely related to ecological communication, which must be understood as the key to the operation of the social system. Communication plays an important role in promoting 'resonance' as a form of reaction and response to disasters among social sub-systems, as shown in the case of Fiji with social media complementing traditional communication. In the two cases discussed here, there has been strong resonance involving both political and social systems. The resonance of the political system in dealing with disasters can be noticed in the disaster management mechanisms used, which must involve various actors from diverse platforms to promote the interests of disaster victims. Communication has enabled communities to address the disasters they face.

In the case of tidal flooding in Semarang, ecological communications have shaped the rationalisation that living in an area prone to tidal flooding is not problematic. This view has created a relatively stable resonance, one that has continued to reaffirm the rationalisations in the communities. In Fiji, communications have functioned to address the sudden transformations caused by rapid destruction as well as the subsequent evacuation and damage to rural villages and communities. As a result of the abnormal situation, ecological communications had to resonate quickly to address their situation. Communication is in a race against time, and where it fails it must attempt to rationalise the view that disaster is unavoidable and that significant time is necessary for recovery or to find a solution.

Within communities, failure in ecological communications will result in

limited resonance among relevant social systems as well as poor planning in disaster management. In these cases, autonomous adaptation is more apparent than planned adaptation. Affected communities, which are generally poor ones, are forced to endure through their own financial capacity owing to the limited structure and short-term orientation. This indicates that the ability to adapt to disaster at all levels in society is required not only in affected communities, but also in local governments and even external parties. In this situation, communication—as an operation of the social system—will determine the community's ability to adapt and extricate itself from and provide a solution to the maritime disasters faced.

Notes

1. The 'ring of fire' is a 40,000 kilometre long, horseshoe-shaped zone with more than 50 active and passive volcanoes and volcanic belts where more than 90 percent of the world's earthquakes take place. Retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ring_of_Fire

2. The Pacific Islands Forum (PIF), with a secretariat in Suva, Fiji, was founded in 1971 with the original name of South Pacific Forum (SPF). The 18 member countries currently are: Australia, Cook Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, French Polynesia, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Nauru, New Caledonia, New Zealand, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu and Vanuatu. Tokelau is an associate member, and American Samoa, Guam, Northern Mariana Islands, Timor-Leste, and Wallis and Futuna are observers. Source: Forum Communique (2017), 47th Pacific Islands Forum, Pohnpei, Federated States of Micronesia. 8-10 September 2017. Retrieved from http://www.forumsec.org/resources/uploads/embeds/file/2016_Forum_Communique_11sept(1).pdf

3. Eagle Awards. (2016, April 25). Kampung Rob Di Jantung Kota: Eagle Awards Documentary Competition 2012 [video file], Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FgN1t0BpDSs

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2. Narratives of natural disaster survivors in Indonesian media

Abstract: Dubbed as the 'ring of fire', Indonesian territories have witnessed many forms of natural disasters such as volcano eruptions, earthquakes and tsunamis, which had been widely reported in the mass media. While the media has reported the scale of destruction and number of casualties caused by those disasters, they have also narrated dramatic recounts of the survivors. Imbued with spectacular imagery, the media seek to appeal to the audiences emotionally and evoke sentiments of solidarity as well as humanitarian actions. Employing a textual analysis of media reports in Indonesia, particularly from the weekly news magazine *Tempo*, this study explores the way in which the media frame the narratives of the survivors of natural disasters (volcano eruptions, earthquakes and tsunamis) across Indonesia. Although the media are expected to report events objectively, this study demonstrates the affective element in the practice of journalism on natural disasters. Therefore, this study will contribute to the growing research on the relationship between media and disasters, particularly in the context of a disaster-prone country such as Indonesia. In particular, it will contribute to the body of journalism research which looks at the role of narrating the human subject in tragic events such as natural disasters.

Keywords: compassion fatigue, Indonesia, journalism, media, narrative, natural disaster survivors, textual analysis, trauma journalism

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> *I am building my career on the misery of others.*
> Anderson Cooper (as cited by Masse, 2011)

> *Touch so many people's pain and grief*
> *And not be burned. Tell me you could*
> *Look into a hundred children's eyes.*
> *Dark, huge with uncomprehending*
> *Pain and hunger, and purge yourself*
> *Of all you feel in a thousand words or so.*
> *So we grow our shell…*
> Terry Anderson (1993/2011, p.xi).

Introduction

THE NEWS about natural disasters from every corner of the world routinely and constantly bombard us with humanitarian emergencies, dramatic narratives of survival or heartache in big cities or remote areas struck by earthquake, tsunami, hurricane or volcano eruption, despite the possibility of the 'compassion fatigue' (Moeller, 1999, p. 2) of the general public. However, in appreciating the global response toward one devastating natural disaster in the world, the former Secretary-General of the United Nations Kofi Annan called the 2004 Asian tsunami emergency 'a unique display of the unity of the world'. This is understandable since there is no ordinary response of the international community to distant suffering comparable to that for the catastrophic tidal wave along the Indian Ocean coastline, which swept away more than a quarter of a million people on 26 December 2004. Indeed, mass media played a crucial role in reporting and circulating the images and narratives of victims and survivors of the tsunami that lead to the global solidarity and humanitarian acts.

Unlike the stereotypical view of journalists as 'uncaring, careless voyeurs exploiting others' pain for shallow reasons' (Anderson, 2011, p. ix), understandably journalists at the sites of natural disasters have been emotionally affected by the tragic events they observed and reported. New research shows that journalists are first responders and they often deal with the same types of post-traumatic stress that victims do (Kyle, 2012). It is clear that natural disasters have affected not only people living in the disaster areas, but also journalists who observe and report those events. The emotional or affect elements play an important role in reporting the natural disasters, particularly their impacts on people through a humanistic perspective. The narratives of survivors are important because they allow the readers to look at the way media construct human tragedy, trauma, or show the 'affect' element in journalism practice. Therefore, this article seeks to examine the ways affect shapes the news narratives on natural disasters in Indonesia.

Theoretical framework

In mapping the theories of disasters, Pantii et al. (2012) point out four modes of theorising disasters: (1) cosmopolitan moments; (2) disaster shocks; (3) mediatised public crises; and (4) focusing events. While the first mode underscores that the disasters encourage an awareness of global interdependency, the second mode highlights the appropriation of disasters by political and economic elites to assert forms of social and political control. The third and fourth modes, which emphasise the mediated and discursive elements of disasters, are closely related to the discipline of media and communication. Furthermore, by conceptualizing disasters as a social product or social construction, it highlights its basic human emotions of care, empathy and suffering (Joye, 2014). Through the mediation

process disasters become events of 'distant suffering' (Boltanski, 1999) creating moral and political dilemmas for the spectators who cannot directly intervene to affect the circumstances in which the suffering takes place because of their remoteness.

Therefore, media become a key important agent in studying disasters. In the words of Pantti et al. (2012, p. 33): 'Disasters and crises today are principally defined, dramatized and constituted in and through media and communications.' The central role of media as a dominant or often only source of information has led to the notion of a disaster as a media construction. Furthermore, media constitute disasters and condition how they become known, defined and responded to and politically aligned. When mediated, disasters are often narrated according to established cultural codes and scripts and invested with emotions.

Disasters bring a flood of powerful emotions to the public sphere (Pantti et al., 2012). A substantial amount of media coverage is devoted today to the emotions of those who have suffered or otherwise been affected by disasters. It is through media representations that readers relate to journalists bearing witness to the shock, grief, fear and anger of the victims of disasters. It is also through the process of media representations that individual experiences and emotions become collective and political and gain larger meaning. With emotional expressions at the heart, both media and humanitarian representations are aiming to capture our attention and encourage people to engage.

The coverage of natural disasters by the news media provides both representation and narrative of 'unknowable' and 'unshareable' experience of the survivors. The practice of journalism in reporting natural disasters should consider both informational and affective element shaped by the confessional culture as well as affective public culture. In other words, representations of emotions are powerful means for imagining unified communities and offering normative scripts of how we should respond. Emotional responses to disasters are guided by narrative scripts in which news reports lead us toward certain emotions and suggest the feelings that are suitable in a given situation. In the Indonesian context, the narrative of natural disasters in the news media allows the suffering of those in the distant places to be seen and heard due to the vastness of Indonesia and the presence of barriers in transportation. Therefore, according to Pantti et al. (2012, p. 75), 'news media are not reporting on emotions but also generating them and educating us about them and thus have an important role to the global politics of disaster'.

Considering a wide area of media-centered research related to disasters, Stijn Joye (2014) identifies three main subfields of scholarly enquiry, namely (1) production and selection; (2) content and the representation of disasters; and (3) media, disasters and the audience. The subfield of production and selection particularly investigates the process of producing images and narratives against

the backdrop of journalism studies which consists of theories on news values (news worthiness), gatekeeping or the work of foreign correspondents in disaster areas. In addition, there are other subjects in this subfield such as journalist practices, professional commitments and personal emotional investments when reporting disasters, including photojournalism and the moral issues in producing images of death, pain and suffering (Hanusch, 2010; Sontag, 2003).

In the subfield of content and representation of disasters, scholars pay critical attention to the repetitive use of visual and narrative stereotypes and recurring frame in disaster coverage; the representation of pity and the 'othering' of distant sufferers; articulation of power imbalance; and the naturalisation and depolitisation of disasters. For instance, Chouliaraki's seminal study (2006) critically observes and explains the discursive reproduction of symbolic inequalities and representational hierarchies in the mediation of disasters and other humanitarian crises. My study can be classified in this subfield as it demonstrates the affective elements in the journalistic work on natural disasters in Indonesia. Meanwhile, the third subfield of media, disaster and audience concerns the matter of audience consumption and reception of disasters in, by and through media. The research subjects include the different categories of emotional commitment, moral response and dispositions of the audience.

Methodology

This study was conducted using a qualitative (textual) analysis by reading closely the news feature on the main forms of natural disasters from the respected Indonesian news magazine *Tempo*. Unlike a (quantitative) content analysis (Holsti, 1968; Krippendorf, 2004), this research method does not count the frequency of particular news items in order to find out the coverage tendency of the media. As Van Dijk remarks: 'Qualitative analysis is more relevant to describe how it is done than how it is often' (Van Dijk, 1988, p. 18). Thus, this study looks closely at the narrative structure of selected news since narrative is an essential component of how the news media select and structure information. According to Conboy (2007), news media consist predominantly of stories, not of facts (p. 141); thereby, journalists do not compile reports, they tell stories.

The factual events of the world are turned into news by the process of selection, mapped onto news values which can be seen as longer-term narratives in themselves. These stories then become inserted into the news media in ways that enable the audience to make sense of how they fit in culturally (Conboy, 2007, p. 44). Hence, narratives are the reflection and production of nothing less than our general cultural assumption and values—what we consider important, trivial, fortunate, tragic, good, evil and what impels movement from one to another (Martin, as cited in Richardson, 2005, p. 158-159). As such, news narratives illustrate and propagate social values, providing us with a means of organising

and comprehending the events of the world around us. As Foss (cited in Richardson, 2005, p. 158) suggests, '[N]arratives help us impose order on the flow of experience so that we can make sense of events and actions in our live[s]'. Yet narratives are always specific to particular cultures and valued in terms of what they reveal about its concerns of contemporary society and can tell a reader much about the values and beliefs of their culture and content.

Since it began publishing, *Tempo* magazine (est. 1971) deliberately employed a narrative journalism style because the founders have backgrounds as poets or writers rather than formal journalism training (see Steele, 2005; Setiyarso & Redaksi KPG, 2011). This is clearly reflected in *Tempo's* motto '*enak dibaca*' (pleasure to read), which uses both a facility with language and a story-like format. The selection of news reports of *Tempo* magazine for this study is based on major natural disasters in Indonesia such as tsunami, volcano eruption and earthquake; thereby, news reports on other common natural disasters in Indonesia (such as floods, landslides and windstorms) are excluded in this study. This study analyses nine selected news articles (corpuses) from five editions of *Tempo* magazine. There are five news reports on tsunami in Aceh (Sumatra), whereas only one news item on Merapi eruption in Yogyakarta (Java). This is understandable since tsunami in Aceh is an anticipated and great natural disaster in contemporary Indonesia in comparison to the periodic Merapi eruptions near Yogyakarta.

Findings and analysis

Natural disasters frequently appear in the Indonesian media as headline news, especially those with high death tolls. There are some typical characteristics of media reports of natural disasters in Indonesia. Firstly, media reports are not an organic part of the mitigation process. Instead, most Indonesian media tend to pay more attention to immediate disaster events and simply neglect the importance of informing preparedness in dealing with recurrent events of disaster in the disaster-prone areas like Indonesia. Secondly, there are the delayed responses of the media institution in dispatching their reporters to the disaster areas because Indonesian media are predominantly located in the capital Jakarta (main island of Java) while disasters are occurring across Indonesia (Arif, 2010).

Thirdly, media tend to exploit and make dramatised stories about the suffering survivors in order to raise a wide solidarity and funds in order to help relief services (Arif, 2010). In particular, television news on disasters is accompanied by footage of people in the disaster areas with slow motion techniques and emotional music score. Fourthly, there is a lack of information on post-natural disaster (rehabilitation and reconstruction process). This is because media in Indonesia seem interested in reporting physical destruction and death tolls rather than various efforts to rebuild public facilities and houses in the post-disaster period. In his article on the media

coverage of the tsunami in Aceh, Andreas Harsono (2005) remarked a serious bias of Indonesian journalists was due to the lack of understanding of local stories from the local people's perspective. In particular, rather than delivering detailed reports on conditions of people after the tsunami, Indonesian journalists were interested in conveying the statements of political elites in Jakarta who provoke religious and nationalist sentiments due to activities of missionary and foreign humanitarian aid workers in Aceh. Unlike those typical characteristics, some news features of *Tempo* magazine demonstrate a 'humanistic' journalism by employing a narrative style, particularly in the reports on the survivors of tsunami in Aceh, earthquake and volcano eruption in Yogyakarta.

Aceh Tsunami on Boxing Day 2004

Since the tsunami on 26 December 2004 as a devastating natural disaster in contemporary Indonesia, *Tempo* paid a lot of attention in covering and putting in its Main Report (*Laporan Utama*). Although Indonesia is well known as a disaster-prone country, the Aceh tsunami truly had a great resonance across Indonesia, which raised a genuine solidarity among many Indonesians. Despite dominant news about the devastating impacts of tsunami on public facilities in Banda Aceh city, there are narratives of survivors who faced severe mental problems as a result of having witnessed death and destruction. The piled-up, unburied bodies were grim reminders to survivors of what had happened to friends and relatives. This excerpt from a feature article illustrates emotionally the impacts of the tsunami on mental health:

> In the street of Teuku Nyak Arief, a middle-aged man dragged a suitcase under the blaring sun on the third day of tsunami. He checked every corpse that he passed by thoroughly. He remained silent. His eyes were blank. 'My kid is not discovered,' he had repeated softly.
>
> He stopped in the front of a corpse of a child. It had been the stiffened body of a five-year-old. He bowed and wrapped the corpse with fabric, hugging it. He was seen carrying that corpse while dragging his suitcase along the pedestrian path. It was unclear where he was heading to. (*Tempo*, 9 January 2005) [1]

Likewise, there is another story of a woman who lost her son and kept looking around for him. There is a detailed description of her troubled mental conditions:

> '*Aneuk lon ho…? Aneuk lon ho*…? Where is my child? Where is my child?' The 35-year-old woman calls out in Acehnese repeatedly. She spoke those sentences with a soft voice, almost like a whisper, as she treaded on, following a straight path. Her gaze remains blank. This woman was ignorant to her surroundings. Even when there were those who inquire her name, she refused to answer them.
>
> The woman's appearance was largely bedraggled. Her skin and

clothes were coated in dried mud, her hair was undone and flowing past her shoulder, mingling with mud and there was a healing wound across her cheek. Barefooted, she prodded on with a wooden walking stick (*Tempo*, 16 January 2005)

It is clear that the two news reports narrate the deep psychological impact of the tsunami at the personal level through the narrative of loss and grief. In the news reports, both the man and woman, who lost their children and continue to look for them throughout the disaster areas, are disillusioned with their surroundings. Whereas the man attempts to seek a substitute for his lost son by randomly picking up a corpse of a child and carrying him around, the woman keeps walking throughout the disaster areas.

Meanwhile, in order to provide a more intimate account of the tsunami, there is a story of *Tempo* journalist Nezar Patria, who contemplated the loss of his relatives and hometown destroyed by the tsunami. In his article entitled 'History Ended in Our Kampong' (*Sejarah Mati di Kampungku*), Patria evoked a personal reminiscence of Banda Aceh prior to the moment the tsunami swept away his hometown mercilessly. He was glad that his family members survived although his neighbour passed away. The following is the narrative of the tsunami from Patria's intimate perspective:

The fact that the house is completely ravaged is unimaginable! To think that just a month ago, I was able to sleep soundly in the loft. There is only a concrete wall left to stand, pointing to the sky. The roof had flown somewhere—to God knows where. The windows upstairs are bereft of the shutters. In the living room, the chairs are strewn around upside down, blanketed with blackened mud. There, a lone China—a family heirloom, had shattered to smithereens.

Mother's favorite garden in the lawn no longer exists. The maidenhair ferns, carnations and Japanese lawn grass which used to flourish have all been obliterated. It seems as if the mound of wood waste now is fighting its way into the house from all sides.

Despite the sea being a fair five kilometers away, a large ship had washed ashore in front of our house—its body close to toppling down. Underneath it, an unknown sedan lays crushed. Its metal doors had collapsed. Beyond the garage doors, there are two cars, overlapping each other—just like a pair of freshly toasted sandwich. One of them belongs to ours, and another belongs to our neighbor.

Just above our car, the bodies of our close neighbors, Yusuf and Nurhayati lay frozen. The couple had passed away together with one of their grandchildren. In one of the canals, a corpse dressed in jeans remains. I could not recognise it: its head had plunged into a water channel.

None of my neigbours' houses were left standing when I visited Kam-

pung Mulia in the sub-district of Kuta Alam in the capital Banda Aceh. There, all of the houses had been gutted to the ground. I am thankful that my older sibling's family who had stayed in our house, had survived. The boundaries between one house to another had been swept away to nothing. There is only a mud field which had submerged the debris. The roads and alleys in the village had disappeared. All of a sudden, I had lost my own space—and history. (*Tempo*, 12 January 2005)

By employing a diary-like style in his writing, Patria expresses an intimate view of the impact of the tsunami on his family. Despite the massive destruction, the tsunami has swept away most valuable things owned by a Patria's family such as his mother's favorite garden, a family heirloom (a lone China) and family car. Most importantly, he watches by himself the dead bodies of his close neighbor.

It is noteworthy that there are some stories of the lost children who needed to regroup with their relatives or to find the foster parents. Such stories bring a powerful emotion to the readers since it is not easy for children to cope with the sudden loss of their beloved family and to continue their lives alone without any support from their parents or adults. The journalist of *Tempo* also provided a story of the tsunami through the child's point of view:

> In another place, a twelve-year-old boy, Iqbal, ate from a bowl of rice with sardines as a side dish. He had a skinny stature and a sunburnt skin. There was a scar marking his thin, right cheek.
> He was daydreaming. When the tsunami had swept his city, he had been playing in the Islamic boarding school Ibnu Hasyim, Lamjame, Aceh Besar […]. (*Tempo,* 16 Januari 2005)

The moment when the tsunami swept away Banda Aceh into debris is also described through the experience of another ten-year-old child named Azhari:

> Every Sunday morning, Azhari turns into a king: the television's remote control at home is under the rule of the ten-year-old child that day. His parents and his older sibling, who was studying in high school at that time, have to relent to watching Azhari's favorite animated robot film even though it does not suit their taste.
> On a Sunday, in the fateful date of 26 December 2004, they, too, were watching Azhari's favourite show on television. Only, the show was halfway through when a powerful earthquake struck their home at Lambaro, Sibreh, Greater Aceh, Nanggroe Aceh Darusallam. 'Ari, you have to run!' his mother had thus ordered him to follow the flow of people fleeing away from the village. Meanwhile, Ari's parents attempted to salvage important documents.
> It took only a moment for a tidal wave to sweep their house clean.

> Amidst the hordes of people fleeing, Azhari rounded a corner into an opened shop. As the tendrils of the tsunami began to touch his body, a hand reached out and pulled him to the second storey of the building. God had made His decision: Azhari would survive.

It should be noted that in general the narratives of tsunami survivors in Banda Aceh occupy only few spaces in *Tempo* magazine in comparison with the stories of evacuation process, humanitarian aid and the economic losses due to the tsunami. However, *Tempo* has attempted to provide more personal narratives to appeal emotionally to its readers. Despite providing vivid descriptions of terrible physical conditions of the survivors, those news reports shows the plight of survivors in facing their uncertain future after the event of the tsunami.

Devastating earthquake in Yogyakarta

Similar to narratives of tsunami survivors in Aceh, narratives of survivors comprise only a small part of other feature stories on humanitarian aid, economic impacts, and the ruins of cultural heritages such as the Hindu temple of Prambanan. This is perhaps understandable due to the scale of destruction of the earthquake in Yogyakarta on 27 May 2006. However, narratives of survivors constitute the magnitude of devastating impacts of the earthquake on the people of Yogyakarta. In spite of the narratives of search and rescue of the victims, there are some narratives of survival such as eating a banana hump (suckers) while waiting for the food aid. The following news feature tells the way in which an earthquake survivor resolves the crisis of food stock after the disaster event:

> Without bananas, the suckers would suffice. The 74-year-old man, better known as Mbah Darso, would strip the banana trees to their roots with his ageing prowess. He would then dispose the entire tree, leaving behind only the suckers which were still adorned with the trailing roots. The size of the suckers would shrink to a third of its initial size once they were cleaned. The resulting transparent product would then be minced, mixed with coconut milk to cook a gudeg. 'It tastes sweet,' Darso comments at its taste.

Of course, the elder person's comment above was not intended to praise that sucker is tasty, but rather it showed the way the earthquake survivor must accept their miserable situation by eating an inedible food in order to survive. Despite the lack of food supply, the earthquake survivors also must deal with the lack of a shelter facility. Some earthquake survivors stayed temporarily in the graveyard and cowshed, but they still felt unsafe due to recurrent tremors or earthquakes:

> Without any tent, the cowshed would suffice as a shelter for the villagers. Such was the plight of the earthquake victims in the hamlet of Soka, the village of Karang Asem, Pundong sub-district of the Bantul district. The

cowshed which was utilized as a shelter was owned by Kusdi, a 45-year-old man. The massive earthquake not only ravaged Kusdi's house, but his neighbors as well. There were no buildings left standing for shelter. Rather than lying underneath the stars in the village field, Kusdi resigned to having his children, wife and neighbors sleep in the cowshed.

Though there had been donations in the form of tents, there were not enough to go around for the hamlet's entire populace. The official of the hamlet did not wish to take the risk of distributing the tents—for fear of spurring envy among the population, as not all of them would receive the tents. 'Sleeping in the cowshed would be much safer,' Kusdi had responded.

The above news report not only indicates the problem of insufficient distribution of tents for the village people, but it also shows the difficulties for some survivors to seek a shelter after the earthquake had destroyed their house. Although the cowshed perhaps is inappropriate place for human settlement, it is only a viable shelter rather than sleeping outdoors without canopy. Of course, this difficult situation might encourage an emphatic response of the readers towards the earthquake survivor.

Similar to the narrative of the plight of Acehnese children after the tsunami, there is an evocative narrative of a seven-year-old Cesi who had lost her father and continued carrying her father's photograph. Here is Cesi's story:

This is Cesi Nurbandini. She is seven years old. Her mother cut grass for a living while her father worked as a construction labourer. The family lived in Dawuran, a thriving village in the sub-district of Plered in Bantul—the southernmost region in Yogyakarta. Despite her father's meagre salary, she and her mother lived happily. Cesi owned a panda stuffed toy.

On a Saturday morning, May 27, the little girl accompanied her mother sweeping the lawn. Her father remained fast sleep—his work the previous day, which had lasted until evening, had thoroughly exhausted him. Out of a sudden, the ground underneath shook. The ground beneath their lawn split open, the trees surrounding their house swung violently. As fast as a lightning, her mother grabbed Cesi's body, making their way to the main road. Fast.

Cesi's mother halted to a pause. The sudden halt in her movement had almost flung the girl away. The woman had turned hysterical, screaming with all her might for her husband. There was no response. From afar, it was visible that their house had collapsed completely to the ground. There were dust floating towards the sky—yet, where was Cesi's father? (…)

When the earth had visibly calmed, they [the villagers] ventured back to look at their house. So does Cesi and her mother. Cesi's stuffed panda lie amidst the rubble, yet, where was Cesi's father?

Mbah Putri, Cesi's grandmother, would then lead Cesi to a place. There, Cesi saw the figure of her father in a deep slumber being washed.

'Your father has died,' Mbah had explained. The casualties in the village of Dawuran reached 60 lives. In the entire sub-district of Plered, the death toll reached 500.

In the same day, Cesi's father was buried. Amid the rubble, the little girl discovered a photograph of her father posing with a pair of denims while shirtless. Every night, she sleeps hugging his photograph in the evacuees' tent. It was this photograph which Cesi showed to her friends when they asked for her father. (*Tempo*, 11 June 2006)

As can be seen, the narrative begins with a normal day prior to the sudden and severe earthquake in a village of the southernmost region in Yogyakarta. By focusing on a seven-year girl (Cesi), the narrative forces the readers to emotionally engage with the shocking loss of her father. The first paragraph of the news report, which states Cesi's previous happy life with her family, contrasts the devastating earthquake which was mentioned to have ruined the happiness and the unity of her family. Rather than providing detailed information of the physical destruction and economic loss, the news report emphasises the psychological impact of the earthquake on the survivors.

The news feature above also illustrates the touching way in which a little girl (child) copes with the loss of a loved one by keeping the photograph of her father. Instead of using her panda stuffed toy as a substitute for company, the photograph of her father remains as a sleeping companion for her. The photograph also serves as a memento for the loss of her father ever since she has lost everything. Although there is no mention of Cesi's reaction to her grandmother reporting the death of her father, the loss of her father had indeed inflicted a deep trauma within her. This is evident in how she is simply unable to forget her father by carrying the photograph of him.

Mount Merapi eruption in Yogyakarta

In comparison to the aforementioned natural disasters, the Mount Merapi eruption seems to be an 'ordinary' event, given the position of Indonesia in the 'ring of fire'. Clearly, this can be seen in the cover of *Tempo* magazine which featured US President Barrack Obama who visited Indonesia on 9 November 2010. Since Obama spent his childhood in Jakarta from 1967 to 1971, his visit occupied most media headlines in Indonesia. The cover of *Tempo* shows an illustration of Obama wearing *songkok* (skull cap) with the caption under his image: 'Obama Returns Home' (*Obama Pulang*). In contrast, the news of the Merapi eruption appeared in small text on the top of the magazine cover: 'New Characteristics of Merapi Eruption' (*Tabiat Baru Letusan Merapi*).

It should be noted that Yogyakarta residents had been accustomed to the natural signs which indicate a future eruption prior to the event itself. As such, it was of no surprise to the residents when the eruption killed 275 people and created physical catastrophe in its surroundings. In fact, the large number of

human casualties to Mount Merapi eruptions is due to the area's high population density. As is well known, Mount Merapi is the most active among the 100 active volcanoes in Indonesia, as well as the most dangerous volcano on earth that generates the lava, hot clouds (*awan panas*) and volcanic material (*lahar*). The Mount Merapi eruption in 2010 was dubbed as the biggest in the last 100 years since the spread of hot clouds reached seven kilometers and the volcanic material reached 17 kilometers with the *volcanic explosivity index* 4 similar with its eruption in 1872 (*Tempo*, 14 November 2010).

    The narrative central to the *Tempo*'s reports is in fact the death of the loyal Merapi guardian (affectionately called Mbah Maridjan) who had refused to leave his house by the order of Sultan of Yogyakarta (Hamengku Buwono X). Appointed by the Sultan of Yogyakarta (Hamengku Buwono IX) in 1982, Mbah Maridjan was responsible for leading a sacrificial ceremony (*Labuhan*) in Merapi in order to maintain the cosmic balance between Mount Merapi and the *keraton* (Sultan Palace). He was also responsible for the welfare of the inhabitants of Merapi, the *keraton* and people of Yogyakarta. The refusal of Mbah Maridjan to leave his village (Kinahrejo) can be interpreted as a form of resistance since Sultan Hamengku Buwono X (successor and son of Hamengku Buwono IX) allowed businessmen to sell stones and sands emanated from Mount Merapi. Schlele's study (1996) on the Merapi eruption of 22 November 1994 indicates that the volcanic eruption was perceived by the people of Yogyakarta as a 'warning' (or spirits' admonition) rather than a disaster in which mystical traditions are revived and reinterpreted. The warning is not only directed to the people living on the slope of Merapi and Yogyakarta, but also to the ruler or political leaders due to their disinterest in spiritual things and their policies. Another narrative is the death of a brave journalist who usually reported the Merapi eruption closely. The traumatic experience of Maridjan's son when he discovered the death of his father to the hot smoke emanating from Merapi can be read in this excerpt feature:

> The rescue team discovered another two bodies inside Mbah Maridjan's house. One of which was Tutur, a Red Cross volunteer. Tutur had prior experience as a volunteer during the Boxing Day Tsunami in Aceh, the Yogyakarta earthquake as well as the Padang earthquake. When the team was in the midst of finding Mbah Maridjan, Asih had arrived. He could no longer hold back his tears at the devastating sight of the house he had lived in with his mother, father, children and his wife. At that moment, the fate of Mbah Maridjan was unknown.
>
>   Asih confided that on that Tuesday night, he had wanted to deliver an errand from the Keraton in Yogyakarta for Mbah Maridjan to slaughter a black goat. The act of slaughter was intended to complete an offering, where he was also required to offer coconut, banana as well as flowers of three varying colors. When he had reached the steps to his house,

> Asih had stood frozen. He had thought his father had died. (*Tempo*, 11 November 2010)

Beginning with the discovery of dead bodies in the Mbah Maridjan's house by the rescue team in the disaster area, the news report above narrates Asih's (Mbah Maridjan's son) emotional response to finding his father's body. The death of Mbah Maridjan can perhaps be interpreted as a dramatic end to his refusal to leave his house in Kinahrejo and his longstanding resistance towards resettlement in the surrounding area or in areas further away due to his responsibility as the guardian of Merapi, although for many it looks like a suicidal act. The act of Mbah Maridjan may symbolise a loyalty to his duty and firm conviction regardless of the life-threatening situation. The news report above also reveals the devastating impact of the eruption on Asih's childhood home. Essentially, the news report not only narrates the physical devastation caused by the earthquake, but it also shows the destruction of good memory of a family.

Conclusion

This study focuses on one leading Indonesian news magazine *Tempo*, while excluding other news media. This is because *Tempo* is widely known as a pioneer in practising narrative journalism in Indonesia, while at the same time has consistently maintained the high quality of its reports. Thus, the three main conclusions, which are drawn from this study, should not be treated as a general reflection of journalism practices in Indonesia.

First, narratives on natural disaster survivors are substantially underrepresented in the media as compared to the chronology of the disaster and its socio-economic impacts. By reporting the chronology and devastating impacts of natural disasters, Indonesian journalists are able to show the dramatic and spectacular event of natural disasters. In contrast, the stories of personal experience of natural disaster survivors are too subtle and are less spectacular in order to attract the readers.

Secondly, trauma and severe mental problems are part of the narratives of natural disaster survivors. As is well known, natural disasters always create shock, grief and fear where people are emotionally quite unprepared for the sudden events and loss. Moreover, the images of piled-up and unburied corpses in the disaster areas serve as a reminder for the survivors of the loss of their family members, friends and loved ones.

Thirdly, media narrates the conditions of children as the most vulnerable group in the post-disaster period. Unlike adults, children face many difficulties to cope with the loss of their parents and to continue their life alone without any social supports. In particular, the narratives about the conditions of these children have a powerful emotional appeal for the readers. However, the case of child adoption

after the tsunami in Aceh has provoked religious and nationalist sentiments due to the missionary and international humanitarian aid workers.

Note

1. The news reports (features) cited throughout this article are originally in Indonesian. All the translations are by the author.

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3. Post-disaster recovery is a marathon, not a sprint

The need for a state-sponsored recovery scheme

Abstract: This study explores the recovery experiences of survivors of a flash flood event, five years after a natural disaster in South East Queensland. In-depth interviews were conducted with 33 of the original cohort of 120 post-disaster interviewees who experienced sudden traumatic bereavement and/or their own near-death experience. The data reveals that many of the survivors and rescuers were in worse—or far worse—situations than they had been in the weeks and months immediately after the disaster. Interviewees identified the worsening of their situation as being caused by systems failures by civil authorities, health care systems, welfare programmes and the insurance industry. Further research is recommended to assess the needs of people affected by natural disasters and the viability of a state-funded recovery scheme that could expedite personal, family and community recovery. The proposed scheme is based on the Queensland WorkCover scheme that scaffolds recovery and return to work for injured workers.

Keywords: Australia, community recovery, economic recovery, natural disasters, disaster recovery, personal recovery, policy

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Background

T HIS RESEARCH was initiated to document individual, family and community recovery that took place in the five years after a deadly 2011 flash flood in the South East Queensland. The 10 January 2011 disaster suddenly caused a path of swift-water destruction down the eastern edge of the Great Dividing Range and across the coastal plain. Without warning, it killed 23 children and adults and swept away homes, roads and bridges, bringing down power lines as it roared down the river systems. In 2016, interviews were conducted with survivors and rescuers in the eight locations that had been affected. The districts varied in altitude, population and geography. The largest was a regional city at an altitude of 700 metres above sea level while the smallest was a sparsely-

settled rural district. The other locations affected were rural districts or towns in the foothills of the mountains or on the coastal plain. The data indicates that existing disaster recovery services have been inadequate to effect recovery for some individuals and their families. Further research is recommended to establish the cost-benefit of improved post-disaster support for people who are bereaved or rendered homeless, injured or traumatised by natural disasters.

The range of difficulties experienced by the interviewees included bereavement of a spouse, child or relative during or post-disaster; delayed shock due to their own near-drowning; shock regarding the near-deaths of family members; loss of employment; loss of physical ability to return to their pre-disaster employment; loss of community cohesion; ongoing trauma triggers of the disaster event; inadequate access to psychological care; being 'trapped' in the disaster zone due to depressed property values; and being unable to afford highly-inflated house insurance premiums.

The key finding of this primary research is that personal and community recovery are far more slow and complex than previously understood. Current post-disaster support mechanisms are not satisfactory to meet complex individual, family and community needs. Improvements are recommended that would scaffold recovery, especially for those people who are traumatically bereaved, made suddenly homeless, injured or rendered unemployable by the disaster. A scheme modelled on workers, compensation is suggested as a possible option to consider.

The data obtained from the original semi-structured in-depth interviews became the basis for a 55-minute radio documentary, *The day that changed Grantham* (Gearing, 2011) and a non-fiction book published in January 2012 by the University of Queensland Press (Gearing, 2012c). The 2016 interview data was used to update and republish the book under a revised title, *The Torrent: A True Story of Heroism and Survival*, in January 2017 (Gearing, 2017). The recorded interviews, photos and videos were acquired by the Queensland State Library and form an archive of the disaster (Gearing, 2012a).

Aim

The research aimed to discover what happened to the survivors of the 2011 disaster and whether they had recovered; what happened to the rescuers and whether they had recovered. It also aimed to discover what happened to the towns and districts and whether they had recovered—and if not, what improvements were needed to enhance the possibility of recovery for individuals and communities.

Literature review

Large-scale natural disasters such as floods, cyclones, tornadoes, wildfires, earthquakes, tsunamis and tidal surges have increased the need for well-prepared

counter-disaster and post-disaster recovery agencies (Boulter, Palutikof, Karoly, & Guitart, 2013; Letcher, 2009). Flash floods kill more people than any other type of natural disaster—an average of 5,000 people around the globe each year—and have the highest mortality rate of any natural disaster (Hydrologic Research Center, 2018). Recovery of people, communities, businesses and economies after disasters is acknowledged to be a 'complex, nonlinear process that involves physical as well as social, economic, and institutional recovery dimensions' (Johnson & Hayashi, 2012). Yet policy developed to manage recovery remains under-developed. Even as recently as 2010, a study after Cyclone Katrina found that 'the policy and administrative processes of recovery from catastrophic events have not been well understood, and … the lack of clear policy design … has hindered recovery' especially in large-scale disasters (Comfort, Birkland, Cigler, & Nance, 2010, p. 669).

Media coverage has focused primarily on economic damage rather than psychological damage—even though the latter can be more long-lasting (Cox, Long, Jones, & Handler, 2008). In the 2000s several studies found that recovery is never a return to pre-disaster conditions but that the disaster leaves long-lasting effects (Alesch, 2005; Daniels, Kettl, & Kunreuther, 2006). Johnson and Hayashi (2012, p. 227) emphasise a 'new normal' in their definition of recovery:

> Recovery is a complex, multidimensional, nonlinear process. It involves more than rebuilding structures and infrastructure; rather, it is about people's lives and livelihoods. The process has no clear end point and there is not necessarily a return to what existed before.

Although theorists have argued over the merits of physically-oriented or process-oriented recovery plans (Johnson & Hayashi, 2012), both types of analysis focused on macro systems rather than on individual survivors. It was not until 2010 that researchers observed the importance of local empowerment; of innovative organisation; and leadership, in overcoming bureaucratic impediments to recovery and reducing vulnerability by rebuilding improved infrastructure (Garnett & Moore, 2010).

The recovery time differs from event to event but researchers have observed that recovery takes much longer than was previously believed. It has only been in the past decade that theoretical models have been advanced to conceptualise disaster recovery (Johnson & Hayashi, 2012) —and even then the period of recovery time under scrutiny was relatively short. The first US study that examined community recovery after 14 disasters was restricted to the period from 12 months to 24 months post-disaster (Rubin, 1985). Haas et al (1977) found that, although structural rebuilding occurred relatively quickly in the weeks and months after disasters, rebuilding also continued from two to ten years post-disaster and

incorporate recovery of individuals households, businesses and neighbourhoods (Mileti, 1999; Rubin, 1985).

'Life recovery' has been tracked over ten years in a longitudinal study in Japan that followed victims of the 1995 Kobe earthquake. The study found life recovery occurred in seven stages: provision of housing; restoration of social networks; reconstruction; preparedness for future disasters; maintenance of mental and physical health; financial stability; and government assistance (Tatsuki, 2007). Of these different stages, the most important element of recovery was found to be housing, closely followed by the re-establishment of social ties and land use planning (Tatsuki, 2007).

The effects on physical and mental health of people who choose, or who are forced, to relocate after disasters was scarce and the findings were inconsistent, even in the 2000s (Uscher-Pines, 2008). Relocation of the worst-affected town in the Lockyer Valley therefore offers early anecdotal evidence that relocation is preferable—and medically indicated—in situations where survivors have faced a near-death experience or the death of family members during a disaster (Gearing, 2017). Gearing (2017) also found that the effects of the disaster were different in each of the eight districts: in some localities people died, while in others no one died; in some localities, local businesses were severely damaged while in others businesses remained open. In some localities roads and communications were disabled while in others these remained functional. Recovery for some communities was therefore quicker and easier than in others where people were missing, infrastructure was destroyed and communications were disabled.

News media interest in disasters is by nature limited to a relatively short time before, during and after an extreme weather event or natural disaster. Reporting of the 2011 flash flood disaster covered the event itself, and the first days and weeks of the clean-up and rebuilding, returning briefly for anniversaries and an Inquiry in 2015. Post-disaster reports proclaimed recovery to be 'normal' when the first new house was completed on the new estate before the following Christmas (Sanders, 2011). At this time, however, many families were still living in makeshift accommodation such as shipping containers, dongas or caravans and even after five years, some people were still not in permanent housing (Gearing, 2017). A longer-term media interest in post-disaster recovery could arguably assist the personal recovery of disaster victims by helping to maintain community awareness and government attention on the evolving needs of those affected. It is hoped that prolonged media attention to the process of recovery may result in research that will indicate how best to scaffold appropriate support to facilitate recovery in future.

Newman and Nelson (2012) have described the cycles of trauma that survivors experience. They identify three cycles of trauma that occur simultaneously in which the survivor vacillates from one extreme to the other over days

or weeks. In the first cycle, the survivor feels a strong desire to 'approach' the trauma, to find out what happened, or feels an equally strong desire to avoid memories of the trauma and avoid all information about the trauma. A second cycle occurs simultaneously in which feelings of resilience are felt whilst at other times experiencing feelings of vulnerability. A third cycle, also simultaneous, is to experience the trauma as something 'other'—an experience that seems to be fragmented or separate from their life while at others time experiencing the trauma as something that has happened to them in their life. Gearing (2017) has found that—in contrast to the practical government support given to injured workers to recover— if a person is injured in a natural disaster, there is much less support available. In this disaster, for example, professional rescuers sometimes required up to six months away from work to recover. However civilians affected by the disaster who carried out life rescues without any warning or any training or any purpose-designed equipment, had no safety net that provided them with counselling, income support or job security (Gearing, 2017).

In addition, disaster survivors who were bereaved, homeless and unable to work had no safety net to provide medical care, housing, income support or job security and were forced to rely on their own resources and charitable organisations (Gearing, 2017). Gearing (2017) also found that during long-term recovery periods, the survivors had to deal separately with multiple medical providers, insurance companies, tradespeople, banks and employers. The financial stress of having to pay a mortgage on their home (that they could not live in) and also pay rent for a house to live in, was rarely affordable in the medium-term. Therefore, instead of being scaffolded to recover, survivors injured in the natural disaster were immediately immersed in a maelstrom of bureaucracy when they could least cope and when they could least afford the extra costs (Gearing, 2017).

This article proposes that consideration should be given to researching the viability of programmes similar to government programmes that assist injured workers. It is envisaged that the programme could facilitate co-ordinated medical care, psychological care, wage support and gradual return to work to provide a quicker, less stressful recovery via a case manager allocated to each family that is severely affected by a disaster. A 'DisasterCover' scheme would also provide access to a legislated support scheme rather than survivors being at the whim of ad hoc emergency allocations of government funding or needing to rely upon funding from public appeals. The cost of such a scheme could be mitigated by adopting a cost-saving aspect of Queensland's WorkCover scheme in which the scheme meets emergency medical, rehabilitation and wage costs and then claims them back, where possible, from the claimant's private medical and income protection insurance. A second benefit of establishing a recovery program is that survivors would deal with one case manager with regard to all aspects of their recovery including housing, health, income support and return to work.

Method

This qualitative study used grounded theory to discover the main challenges faced by flood survivors in the five years after the 2011 disaster. The participants represented each of the eight districts affected by the flash flood: Spring Bluff, Murphys Creek, Toowoomba, Withcott, Postmans Ridge, Helidon, Carpendale and Grantham. Qualitative semi-structured interviews were carried out with 30 participants who were rescuers and/or affected residents from the original research cohort of 120. Not everyone could be contacted for the follow-up interviews. Of the people who were invited to participate in the second interview, almost everyone was willing to be interviewed again in the interests of documenting and recording their post-flood experiences. One additional participant was added to the 2016 group because of his central role in leading the recovery of his local village of Murphys Creek.

The interview method used was the prototype method developed and used in the first round of interviews in 2011. This method is informed by Newman and Nelson's theorisation of how the three dances (cycles) of trauma can better inform reporters who interview traumatised news sources. In this prototype interview method, the interviewee is encouraged to give an uninterrupted narrative of their experience at first, allowing them to find and assemble their scattered trauma memories into a cohesive narrative that they experience as being therapeutic. After the narrative is completed, further questions are asked for clarification.

The interviews canvassed the person's experience and the community's recovery in the five years after the disaster. The data was coded. Subsequent content analysis revealed that participants identified ten major types of barriers that had adversely affected or prevented their recovery.

Although the five-year follow-up interviews were conducted primarily to revise and update a non-fiction book, the richness of the data meant the information was a useful resource having the potential to inform future research that might lead to improvements in emergency responses and disaster recovery. The Queensland Department of the Premier and Cabinet and the University of Queensland Medical School expressed interest in the findings and invited the author to present the findings of the research to selected staff and researchers in 2017.

Findings

Recovery from the 2011 disaster was relatively quick for some people. Those people who lost possessions but who were not traumatised by the disaster; who remained healthy and had insurance with companies which promptly paid their claims, were able to resume their work, repair or replace their homes and return to a relatively normal life within a few months to a year. However, for those people who were bereaved of one or more family members during or after the flood; or who were traumatised on the day by a near-death experience; or who

Table 1: Trauma experienced by interviewees, 2016				
Places	Number of interviewees	Gender (Male)	Gender (Female)	Trauma experienced by interviewees
Spring Bluff	4	2	2	2x near-death experiences 2x neighbours died 2x neighbours near-death experiences 1x damaged houses
Murphys Creek	5	3	2	3x near-death experiences 1x discover corpse 2x life rescue 1x business destroyed
Toowoomba	2	2	0	1x life rescue 1x wife and son died
Withcott	2	2	0	1x life rescue 1x flooded business 1x flooded house
Postmans Ridge	2	1	1	2x neighbour drowned 1x near-death experience 1x rescue race horses
Helidon	8	4	4	1x life rescue 1x 4 life rescues 1x farm flooded 3x near-death experience 2x house and possessions destroyed
Carpendale	1	0	1	1x houses and possessions destroyed 1x farm destroyed
Grantham	6	3	3	1x 28 life rescues 1x life rescue 1x 3 life rescues 5x knew multiple deceased 2x house and possessions destroyed 6x near-death experiences 1x house swept away
Total	30	17	13	

Note: Interviewees with flood survivors and rescuers, 2016, in the fifth year after the 2011 flash flood disaster in South East Queensland.

lost their ability to work in their pre-flood job; or who had significant and life-threatening health problems, or whose insurance claims were slow, difficult or

rejected, the journey was far longer and more difficult. Those who experienced several of these impediments to recovery took longer to recover or had *regressed* in the five years after the disaster.

The number of survivors and rescuers and next-of-kin interviewed in 2016, their gender and the traumas experienced are summarised in Table 1:

Ten major impediments were identified by participants that slowed or prevented them or their family from making a timely recovery. Each of these is illustrated below by examples from the interview data.

1. Bereavement during or post-disaster

The suddenness of the deaths caused by the inland tsunami left next-of-kin deeply shocked. In most cases the homes of the next-of-kin had also been destroyed. In some cases the bodies of next-of-kin are still missing. Three bodies were never recovered despite protracted helicopter searches that combed 131 kilometres of creeks and river banks looking for human remains. There was no established government program to pay for funerals for those killed in the floods leaving families with a high, unexpected cost burden.

A feature of this disaster was that the significant death toll of 13 people who died in Grantham—a town with a population of about 300 people—and the severity of the structural damage to the town, led to the first instance of the Queensland State Government buying land above the flood zone and giving blocks of land in a land ballot to those affected (Bligh, 2011). However it was not the first time a town in Australia has been moved following floods as Bega, Gundagai and Clermont were moved after deadly floods in those towns in the 1800s and 1900s (Coates, 2012).

An inquest into the deaths in the Lockyer Valley flash flood established that the location of the deadliest force and speed of the onset of the flood occurred along the Gatton-Helidon Road, a kilometre north of Lockyer Creek. People in four households, all on a short section of highway, died. These included a mother and her three children and three elderly residents. Fortunately several of the residents in this location were still away on Christmas holidays at the time. The only families which survived in this location were those who received direct individual warning or help to escape. Many who survived by happenstance experienced survivor guilt. Others who struggled in the months and years after the flood with financial, insurance, unemployment, psychological or serious physical health issues, expressed in their follow-up interview that they would have preferred to die rather than endure the five years post-flood.

State government-funded funerals for those who died are a realistic expectation of bereaved families. Income support for those temporarily unable to work and emergency housing for those left homeless would also seem to be reasonable expectations that would scaffold the recovery of those most deeply affected by

a natural disaster. Further research into how this could be funded and delivered is recommended.

2. Delayed shock due to their own near-drowning

Thirty-three of the original cohort experienced a near-death experience on the day of the flood (Gearing, 2012b). Five years on, some of those who had near death experiences had still not attended any counselling. For example, Murphys Creek cleaning contractor Angie Pohl, whose car was swept from a causeway at Murphys Creek, was still recovering from her near-drowning ordeal and her rescuers were still affected by the risks they took to save her.

> I was depressed for probably a year after the floods. I think having the depression made me not want to go out, and that was the start of the depression. And although the depression did sort of start easing into the second year, I still don't want to go out a lot.

Pohl is still affected by how close she came to dying:

> My mind does play out what was going to happen if they didn't turn up. That's when I go back to thinking about Matthew and Ian not turning up and where I was going to be in a few minutes' time. I just saw where I was, the big logs that were floating by me and going over the edge of that dam - and that was not far from where I was - and I knew I had no chance. If they didn't come, I knew there was nowhere I could go.

One of Pohl's rescuers, Matthew Eddison, had counselling after the flood but he was still traumatised by the danger he put himself in, even though the rescue was successful. It has taken five years for him to be able to acknowledge the severity of the risks he took:

> I risked my life to save Angie. I was thinking so strongly about getting her out of there. I didn't hesitate at all. She's alive today. I must think of the results.

A Grantham businesswoman is still affected by the suddenness with which her life and the lives of three of her children were in danger:

> We're trying get back to normal, but normal is never normal. Life as you know it changed on that day. You know that one second your life is normal and then how quickly things can change. I scan all the time. I scan rooms for the exit. I scan terrain in case something happens—which is the quickest way to escape?'

A former Grantham businessman also still struggles with intrusive memories of being trapped in his service station and scrambling to the roof. His distress is

triggered by running water, rain and being in a room from which he can't see out.

The importance of access to publicly funded psychological care beyond the ten visits allowable under the current Medicare system is warranted, especially for the next-of-kin of people who die in a natural disaster. Further research is recommended to establish how this health care could best be provided.

3. Shock following near-deaths of family members and friends

The five years post-flood have been particularly difficult for those people whose lives were at risk during the event and for those who were suddenly bereaved of family and friends. Many whose lives were at risk also knew people who did not survive. For example, a mother who fled her home with three children and survived by running along the railway line ideates on how close they all came to dying that day:

> I allowed somebody in those split seconds to make the decision [to leave in a vehicle] for me. That's hard for me sometimes. I'm glad it worked out like it did and it was the right decision but sometimes it makes me angry to think I wasn't able to make a conscious decision – and only a matter of seconds and we would have all drowned in that vehicle.

Several of the survivors spoke of the 'near miss' they had with death. For some people this became an incentive to live every day with renewed gusto, while for others the near miss reinforced for them the fragility of life and left them feeling more vulnerable. Access to free government-funded counselling would seem to be a useful commitment of public funds to improve the prognosis and enhance the speed of recovery of anyone who confronts a near death experience during a natural disaster. Possible income support and an option to have a staged return to work could also be considered. Research is recommended to ascertain what medical care is needed and the most optimal method by which to make it available and accessible.

4. Loss of employment and financial hardship

Several flood survivors were unable to return to their previous employment because their workplace had been flooded or because they were traumatised by memories of the flood when they returned to the disaster zone. For example, Grantham service station owner Marty Warburton, who had narrowly escaped with his life and climbed to his roof, stated at his five-year follow-up interview that he wished that he had cut his losses and moved away from Grantham immediately after the flood. Staying to rebuild his business meant he remained in the line of fire for a subsequent flood in 2013 which destroyed his service station a second time. He rebuilt again only to have his business destroyed a third time, this time by a tornado, in January 2014.

Others suffered quite extreme financial hardship and relied on charities for food, clothes and shelter for months to years after the flood. For example, an

elderly couple who were in their house when it and all their possessions were swept away relied on public donations of clothing, furniture, household appliances and kitchenware to re-establish a home.

Loss of employment due to a natural disaster and financial hardship directly attributed to a natural disaster might be considered beyond the control of individuals to finance, at least until they are able to claim on their personal house and contents insurance, income protection insurance and health insurance. State-funded emergency funding to scaffold as speedy a recovery as possible for disaster victims, should be considered. Research is needed to quantify the needs of people who are unable to continue in their employment following disasters to find viable alternatives to scaffold their recovery.

5. Loss of physical ability to return to pre-disaster employment

People who are injured at work in Queensland are eligible to claim on Work-Cover, a government funded program that assists workers to recover and return to work. People injured in disasters, however are not eligible for the same assistance to pay for medical care, rehabilitation and retraining if necessary, in order to maintain their financial independence. Several of the families affected by the 2011 disaster had never drawn any welfare payments and refused or resisted charitable help or government help to which they were entitled. People who were injured and therefore became unable to continue their careers faced significant challenges in addition to the loss of their house and possessions, placing them in very vulnerable financial situations. For example, a Grantham nurse who broke her wrist the day before the flood and damaged it again the next day when she rescued her husband, was left unable to return to her nursing career. Despite being self-supporting all her life, the flood left her dependent on her married adult daughter for housing and access to a car. At 61, she was required to retrain and find another job.

Workers injured during natural disasters to the extent where they cannot return to their former work should be able to expect financial support to replace their income while they retrain so that they can re-enter the workforce. Provision of short term retraining and income support are a reasonable investment in the recovery of a person so that they can return to financial independence. Further research is needed to investigate the viability and cost-benefit of public funding for people who are injured in disasters.

6. Loss of community

In the small rural district of Spring Bluff, a couple died when they were swept from their home and drowned. Almost all the other residents in the street sold their properties and left the area. The 18 residents who had lived there before the flood were reduced to three after the flood. Two of the three residents who remained in the fifth year after the flood were intending to leave as soon as possible. Those who

sold to escape the disaster zone sustained heavy capital losses on their investment.

The residents affected at Spring Bluff bought properties zoned for rural residential purposes. It would seem reasonable that the large capital losses they sustained should be, in part, born by the local government which zoned the land as suitable for residential housing. Placing responsibility on the authority responsible will hopefully help to ensure care is taken that land approved for residential housing is not at risk of life-endangering flooding. Further research is recommended to ensure land re-zoned for residential housing is not subject to fast, destructive and potentially fatal floodwater.

7. Ongoing trauma triggers

Twenty of the 30 people interviewed in the fifth year after the flood reported experiencing ongoing traumatic memories such as continuing to hear the sound of rushing water, smelling the foetid aroma of the mud or flashing back and feeling anxious when they hear the sound of helicopters. For some people the trauma triggers occurred only in the geographic area of the flood zone while for others the triggers occurred in any location. For example, Postmans Ridge resident Rod Alford experienced triggers and flashbacks even when he was in a different location such as an interstate city. He was also so distressed by heavy rain, thunder and lightning that he gets out of bed and puts on the lights to check his surroundings. Discovering that his symptoms are not geographically dependent, mean that moving house would not resolve his symptoms.

Psychological counselling to assist with resolving ongoing trauma triggers is a reasonable public expectation to assist survivors to make a complete recovery as quickly as possible from a disaster. Further research is recommended to quantify the potential burden of psychological harm to people affected by natural disasters and to explore effective and economically viable methods for addressing this public health problem.

8. Inadequate access to psychological care

The inadequacy of psychological care was most evident in Grantham where 13 people died in a small community of about 300 people. The effectiveness of the counselling team in Grantham was the only one evaluated because an Inquiry was held in 2015 into the disaster in Grantham. Witnesses told the Inquiry that a team of counsellors was sent in a week after the disaster. A second, different team, arrived the following week and a third, different team, the third week. A Grantham business woman told the inquiry that survivors who had seen a counsellor in the first two weeks did not go back in the third week. The counselling service was then stopped because no one wanted to see them. Cancellation of the service meant that deeply-affected survivors became reluctant to seek alternative help and felt stigmatised if they sought psychological care.

Publicly-funded, routine psychological care of disaster survivors would

help to diminish the sense of stigma of seeking psychological help by making psychological 'first aid' a socially-acceptable and ordinary aspect of post-disaster care. Further research is recommended to establish benchmarks for post-disaster counselling programs to ensure the services offered are fit for purpose.

9. Being trapped in the disaster zone due to depressed property values

Property values in the towns and districts affected by the flash flood fell dramatically and immediately. In Murphys Creek, a householder said the decision to stay was forced upon them because their unfinished, flooded house was not saleable after the flood.

> We hadn't completed the building when the flood came so it wasn't really a saleable item at that point. We thought we could just walk away and leave everything. We are not millionaires—but also we had bought this land with a purpose and we still felt the purpose was valid. We liked it. We still had that dream alive enough to rebuild.

Many people were trapped in locations connected with their memory of the traumatic events of the day of the flood and more than five years later, they were still enduring daily triggers of the trauma because they could not afford to move from the flood zone. So, even though their houses had been repaired, their property values were likely to remain low for an extended time.

People who took the costlier but health-preserving decision to leave the flood zone reported that they believed they were able to recover their physical and mental health sooner than if they had remained in the disaster zone. The benefit of leaving was reportedly derived from the reduction in environmental triggers to the memories of the trauma on the day of the flood. One survivor commented that he believed he would not be alive still if he had not moved when he did because of the effect of stress on his heart that had required an operation.

Publicly-funded support for people whose lives were endangered during a disaster would seem a reasonable expenditure of public money depending on appropriate eligibility criteria. Further research is recommended to establish eligibility criteria, costs and benefits and to establish a pilot project so that a cost-benefit analysis can be undertaken.

10. Carrying house insurance risk due to inflated house insurance premiums

At the same time that real estate values plummeted, house holders were shocked to discover they were not covered for floods and those who were insured experienced steep rises in their insurance premiums (Natural Disaster Insurance Review: Inquiry into flood insurance and related matters 2011). A federal government review of house insurance made 47 recommendations to improve household insurance cover for floods (Figure 1).

In Helidon, where some houses were struck by very fast-moving dangerous flood-

water deeper than their gutters, premiums rose to unaffordable levels. For example, Lloyd and Jean Warr saw their insurance premium rise to more than A\$34,000 per year after the flood—an amount they could not afford. They rebuilt in the same location but included an indoor ladder to the ceiling and a trapdoor onto the roof (Figure 2).

Further research is recommended to ensure that householders in locations that have been flooded are provided with economically viable options to move away from the flood zone or to gain access to affordable house insurance.

Figure 1. Post-flood annual house insurance premium quotes following the 2011 flash flood disaster in the Lockyer Valley in south east Queensland.

Conclusion

The in-depth interview data from the 30 interviewees in this study indicates that many people were demonstrably worse off after five years than they had been in the first year after the disaster. Initial assistance with emergency food and accommodation gave way to often intractable difficulties with housing, insurance, employment and chronic physical and mental health conditions. Media coverage of the event was extensive immediately after the event but dwindled over the years even though the problems being experienced by survivors were becoming worse. Lack of media coverage gave an impression that survivors had recovered when they were still seriously affected after five years, by a range of factors:

- bereavement of a spouse, child or close friend during or post-disaster;
- delayed shock due to their own near-drowning;
- shock caused by near-deaths of family members;
- loss of employment;
- loss of physical ability to return to their pre-disaster employment;
- loss of community cohesion;
- ongoing trauma triggers of the disaster event;
- inadequate access to psychological care;
- being trapped in the disaster zone due to depressed property values; and
- being unable to afford to insure their house and therefore facing a total loss in a subsequent flash flood.

Figure 2. Lloyd and Jean Warr on their roof at Helidon in the Lockyer Valley, 10 January 2011.

In many cases a combination of these difficulties overloaded survivors and meant those people who had been most severely affected by the disaster were unlikely to be able to recover their pre-flood situation and they were forced to adapt to a 'new normal' that might include protracted health problems, unemployment, homelessness or living in continual danger of a repeat deadly flood.

Disaster recovery focuses primarily on macro-recovery of national and state infrastructure. Personal and community recovery is largely addressed by ad hoc public appeals and government announcements, ad hoc and changing eligibility criteria for assistance and a lack of legislated principles for providing publicly-funded support. The unexpected and unprecedented nature of the 2011 flash flood disaster in South East Queensland meant that recovery plans were inadequate to address the complex needs of the victims. The combination of difficulties faced by survivors of this disaster created a complex of problems for individuals and families that were insurmountable to many people. The findings of this study indicate that consideration should be given to a public policy initiative that will provide financial support in a similar way to the current welfare schemes applied to workers who are injured and who need emergency medical care, rehabilitation, retraining and other supports in order to expedite their physical and mental recovery and return to the workforce. Further research is recommended into which aspects of disaster recovery are the most urgent priorities. Research is also needed to assess the viability of providing publicly-funded assistance to help victims obtain medical care, emergency housing, employment and other needs. The findings of this study have immediate practical application for governments, policy makers, disaster recovery experts, insurance companies, emergency housing providers, employer associations and post-disaster medical care.

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Acknowledgement

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4. Australian media coverage of two pivotal climate change summits

A comparative study between COP15 and COP21

Abstract: From an international perspective Australia's 'climate change wars' can be challenging to grasp (Chubb, 2014). Part of the explanation to the protracted divisions on meaningful action on climate change can be found in media coverage of the issue. This makes Australia an interesting case study from an international and journalism studies perspective.

This article compares the coverage in two major Australian newspapers of the two pivotal climate change summits in Copenhagen in 2009 and in Paris 2015. The primary research question was: in what way, if any, has the reporting of two major international climate change meetings in *The Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Daily Telegraph* changed over time?

The project used a mixed methods approach drawing on longitudinal content analysis data and interviews conducted with senior Australian journalists. The approach generated rich data allowing for a discussion using the 'wicked policy problem' framework (Head & Alford, 2013).

Keywords: Australia, climate change, climate summits, Copenhagen, Denmark, journalism, Paris, France

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Introduction

I went to a briefing [in Paris] with a representative from Greenpeace who praised the role of business and when that happens you know you're in a different world. Still a warming world, but very different to COP15 [Copenhagen climate summit in 2009]. (Reporter D, 2016)

T HE CLIMATE change summits in Copenhagen in 2009 and Paris in 2015 were in the lead-up to the events both claimed to be make or break moments for global action on reducing human induced emissions driving severe climate change. Yet the largest meetings and negotiations on earth played out very differently as illustrated by the quote above.

The Conference of Parties (COP) is organised by the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCC) in collaboration with the country hosting the conference. The COPs are held annually and every six years a major COP is scheduled where the goals for the following six years are set. Almost every recognised sovereign country participates in these summits. The COPs are the preeminent official forum for climate change negotiations. The first COP was held in Bonn, Germany, in 1995 where the UNFCC secretariat is based. To date 23 COPs have been held with COP24 scheduled for the end of 2018 in Katowice, Poland (UNFCC 2017).

Australia's commitment to the COP negotiations has varied greatly and has been dependent on the government of the day. The country has been through close to 20 years of disruptive 'climate change wars' (Kelly, 2017) where climate change sceptics and fossil fuel and mining lobby groups have fought it out both publicly and behind the scenes (Cohen, 2006) with environmental groups, some political parties, climate scientists and lately business forces, that want extensive action on curbing emissions.

The climate change wars are well documented and have of course been fought in media reporting as well (Chubb, 2010; Bacon, 2011; Chubb, 2014). This makes the media coverage of the COPs interesting to assess and analyse, especially those summits that are high profile attracting most world leaders. COP15 in Copenhagen in 2009 and COP21 in Paris in 2015 are two such conferences. As we shall see in the findings from the interviews below, the major COPs are world events where country leaders meet on the international stage while still playing to their domestic audiences.

This article describes the findings from a longitudinal content analysis study capturing the reporting from the COPs 15 and 21 in two major Australian media outlets addressing the core question: in what way, if any, has the reporting of two major international climate change summits in *The Sydney Morning Herald* (SMH) and the *Daily Telegraph* (DT) changed over time? To complement the content analysis an interview study was conducted where five senior climate change/environment/politics reporters were interviewed before they departed for COP 21 and again after their return.

Climate change is, of course, one of the greatest challenges humankind has faced (Hansen, 2009) and it is truly global in nature, which means that inaction is not an option for any stakeholder or country. To assist with the discussion and analysis, a part of policy studies labelled 'wicked policy problems' was

employed (Head & Alford 2013). Media coverage of climate change feeds into policy making, which makes it important to capture and analyse this reporting. Australian media coverage has shifted over time, reflecting the very different final outcomes of COP15 and COP21. It should be pointed out from the outset that this is an empirically data driven project and that the study does not seek to add to the wicked problems theory framework, but rather use the framework to inform the discussion of the data captured.

This article will first provide the background and context to the study, then move into a brief literature review and methodology description, followed by the data presentation and end with a discussion and a conclusion pointing to future research.

Background and context

The research conducted for this article is part of a 20 nation transnational research network that has monitored media coverage of climate change in the countries of study since 2007. This is how the research group describes itself:

> The MediaClimate project looks into global climate change coverage in twenty countries. It sets out to analyse climate change in journalism both (1) as a manifestation of the rapidly changing context wherein contemporary journalism takes place and develops and (2) as an illustration of the political reformation of the issue of climate change in the post-Copenhagen (COP15) era (MediaClimate, 2017).

The principal strength of the group is that it includes members from the OECD and emerging and developing countries from around the globe, which means that the three books the group has produced provide a truly global snapshot of the state of climate change reporting (Eide et al, 2010; Eide et al, 2012; Kunelius et al, 2017).

In each country, two major newspapers were selected on the basis of elite and popular style. In Australia, *The Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Daily Telegraph* were chosen based on these criteria and also because they represent different approaches in reporting climate change. This is discussed further below. The research aims of the content analysis were both quantitative and qualitative. The first goal was to map *how much* coverage of climate change the COPs generated. Here all climate change stories were included, both the ones specifically relating to the COPs and general climate change stories. The second aim was to capture *what voices/sources* the journalists used in their stories. In Boykoff's words, 'who speaks for the climate?' (2011).

To make sure that the data captured could be compared over time, building a longitudinally valid time series, the same coding instrument was used to code

both COPs. The data set is large. In total, the Australian part of the study identified and coded 247 articles during the COP15 event and 273 for the COP21 summit.

Previous work and framework

There is now a large, and still growing, international body of work investigating media coverage of climate change (see Boykoff & Boykoff, 2004; Oreskes and Conway, 2010; Bacon, 2011; Boykoff, 2011; Chubb & Bacon, 2012; Lester & Hutchins, 2013; Chubb, 2014; Hackett et al., 2017).

Boykoff identified and labelled 'balance as bias' (2004) showing that many journalists, while striving for the professional goal of objectivity, framed human induced climate change as still being a matter of scientific discourse and often interviewed one scientist arguing for the science and one opposed portraying it as a 50/50 argument when in fact for more than a decade there had been a 97 percent consensus among climate scientists that human induced climate change was indeed happening (Oreskes & Conway, 2010).

The case studies of environmental conflict in the media in Lester and Hutchins (2013) situated the conflict and communication of climate change in the local and global perspectives with particular emphasis on the role played by new networked media and activism. Chubb (2014) documented and outlined in devastating detail the hopes for meaningful action on climate change in Australia following the 2007 federal election and how fossil fuel lobby group interventions derailed the policy process leading to the eventual partial collapse of Australian climate change policy in 2014.

Following Boykoff's and Oreskes' pioneering work, studies across the globe (see for instance Eide et al, 2010; 2012, Kunelius, et al 2017) found that the main issue was not the quantity of stories that reported climate change, the issue was *how* climate change was being reported, of which the balance as bias example above is a potent example. In the case of Australia (which also applies globally) Hackett et al. (2017) identified a greater need for journalism to report on the adaptation to the climate crisis and act as a bridge builder between the different factions in the climate change wars mentioned in the introduction. As we shall see in the findings and discussion part of this article, although the reporting of climate change has changed over time in Australia, the issue of *how* reportage is produced is still a prominent issue.

The framework in which the findings in this article are discussed sits in policy studies in a particular subsection labelled in the 1970s as 'wicked policy problems'. The concept of wicked policy problems provides an interesting prism by which to regard media coverage of climate change, as reporting influences public opinion and climate change policy is dependent on the public understanding the urgency and extent of the change needed to be able to design effective policies that will be accepted and embraced by the public.

Scholars define a wicked policy problem as one where there is no single or clear definition of the limits of the problem and hence no ultimate single solution to it (Compston, 2009). Climate change is due to its complexity a stand out example of such a problem. Asayama et al elaborate:

> Climate change is a conflict between the market and the environment, between rich and poor countries and between present and future generations, just to mention some of the obvious dimensions. Because such fundamental stakes are at play, and due to the different ideas, values and worldviews involved in the debate (Hulme, 2009), it is immensely difficult to reach a consensus on specific policy responses to climate change (2017, p. 172).

The wicked policy problem framework will be used in this article to assess to what extent the media coverage analysed contributes to defusing the wicked policy problem or if the media contributes to making the climate change policy issues even harder to solve.

One important limitation in this study is that the findings cannot be generalised across the full media spectrum in Australia as only two outlets were analysed. Having said that, the two publications are far apart on the climate change reporting continuum in Australia and as such are representative of how much climate change reporting has been conducted in Australia during the last ten years in mainstream media. The findings are not applicable to niche media focusing on, for instance, the economy of climate change or environmental reporting in general. It should also be noted that the DT is owned by News Corp Australia who in the last decade focused its reporting heavily on climate change scepticism. The company controls 60 percent of the Australian newspaper market. The SMH is owned by the second largest, but much smaller media owner, Fairfax Media Limited. Studies show that News Corp's publications internationally also dedicate a lot of editorial space to climate change scepticism (McKnight, 2012). With this in mind, the findings in this study are highly relevant to countries with a high proportion of News Corp owned media. A possible further limitation is that the audiences of the two publications are quite different and it should be acknowledged that this fact most likely had some impact when resourcing and publication decisions regarding COP15 and COP21 were made. However, it could be argued that global meetings such as COPs 15 and 21 should have high relevance to all audiences and that this topic therefore is a valid one when comparing coverage by elite and popular media.

A mixed methods approach

As Neuman points out, a mixed methods approach is often the most potent research design to address research questions involving complex interactions

between human beings (2013). In this case the combination of quantitative and qualitative data further strengthened the research design (Denzin, 2013).

The core methodology used was a longitudinal content analysis covering both the COP15 Copenhagen and COP21 Paris climate summits. The choice of *The Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Daily Telegraph* as a representation of Australian media coverage of climate change, was partly determined by the need to pick two media organisations that were still publishing news in hard copy. In a number of the 20 countries in the full study, the dominant and most prominent journalism is still published in hard copy and to make the study internationally comparative, such outlets had to be chosen across all countries. As we shall see, in Australia both hard copy and online stories were captured and coded.

Another justification for choosing these two Australian newspapers was that they take vastly different approaches to reporting climate change. The DT being a News Corp Australia publication has campaigned actively for a number of years both against the validity of climate change science and action on climate change. The SMH had been far more neutral in its coverage and at times campaigned for the need for climate change action (Chubb, 2012; McKnight, 2012; Chubb, 2014). Even though the circulations of both publications have declined, they still have considerable reach and influence over public opinion, especially at the time of the two climate summits analysed in this study. At the time of COP15 the DT had a weekday circulation of 349,635 copies, the SMH had 209,011. At COP21 in 2015 the figures had declined to 241,371 for the DT and 112,299 for the SMH. Some of the drop in hard copy circulation was offset by an increase in digital substructions. In December 2015, the digital subscriptions for the SMH were reported to be 138,165. News Corp Australia does not release digital substructions figures for the DT (Ward, 2016).

The key words used to identify and capture the articles were for COP15: 'Copenhagen' or 'climate' and 'global warming'. The dates coded were 1/12/2009 to 22/12/2009, so five days before the summit started on 7/12/2009 and four days after it had finished 18/12/2009.

The same time frame for coding was used for COP21. Coding started on 25/11/2015 and finished 16/12/2015. The summit ran between 30/11/2015 and 12/12/2015. The key words used identifying stories were: 'Paris' or 'climate' and 'global warming'. In both cases the primary data base used was Factiva with ProQuest used as secondary database to cross check articles and increase the validity of the sample. The coder for both COP15 and COP21 also read each hard copy of the newspapers to make sure no articles were missed. As the time period for the two studies were the same, the publications are the same and the COP15 and 21 meetings carried similar expectations and weight in terms of international participation, the results are comparable. It should also be noted that the full sample population of articles in the SMH and DT were coded during

both summits, which limits statistical margins of error in the data.

For the COP21 meeting the content analysis was complemented by semi-structured interviews with senior Australian reporters in the lead up to and after COP21. The aims of the interview study were to capture how the reporters experienced the summit compared to their expectations, the main sources they used, in what way, if any, COP21 differed from COP15 and how the different stakeholders contributed to the meeting. For confidentiality reasons, see below, it cannot be disclosed which publications the journalists reported for, but they have worked for a variety of Australian media outlets that do connect with the publications coded in this study. This means their replies are relevant to the main research question in this project.

In total five reporters were recruited for the study and interviewed. Three of the journalists had covered the COP15 summit as well and the interview study was designed to map the reporter's experiences and perceptions comparing COP15 and COP21. One of the journalists attended his first climate conference in 1997 (COP3) in the lead up to the Kyoto protocol. The interviews complemented the findings in the content analysis, which were more quantitative in nature. Four of the reporters were senior journalists and one was a mid-career reporter. It was decided to anonymise the interviewees so they could talk completely openly about all aspects of their work and experiences at COP21, including their assessment of the role of politicians and the overall performance of the Australian delegation.

A lot of effort was spent on trying to recruit a reporter from a News Corp Australia publication. One News Corp Australia reporter initially agreed to be interviewed, but when the time for the first interview came did not respond in spite of several prompts from the author.

Results and findings

It was decided that the best way to provide overview of the data from the two summits was by using comparative tables. Although online publication of articles was common in 2009, the print stories and online stories were the same story. The editorial policy of 'digital first', that is publish the story online before it went to print, had not yet been bedded in. In 2015, digital first was a firmly

Table 1: Number of articles published and coded				
	COP15 Copenhagen, 2009 n=247 (print and online)		COP21, Paris 2015 n=273 (print and online)	
Point of measure	SMH	DT	SMH	DT
No of print articles	168 (68%)*	79 (32%)	61 (22%)	52 (19%)
No of online articles	Print and online same	Print and online same	157 (58%)	3 (1%)

Note: * Percentage of total number of articles published by both newspapers

established policy at both publications, illustrated by the number of online only stories published by the SMH.

What stands out in Table 1 is the low priority covering COP15 had in the DT, compared to the SMH from a quantitative perspective. DT published less than half the number of articles compared to the SMH. The downward trend for DT continued in the COP21 data set. During the Paris summit, the DT produced only 1/5 of the number articles that the SMH published.

What is also striking about the COP21 data is that the DT only published three articles online covering climate change and/or COP21 during the summit. This in spite of the digital first publication editorial policy being active.

The SMH went the other way—58 percent of the articles were published online. A further illustration of the SMH prioritising online articles was the fact that the newspaper's online news site ran a dedicated banner across the top of its news site during the full duration of the summit. Under this banner the COP21 stories were gathered for easy navigation for the reader.

In sum: from a quantitative perspective, the SMH significantly increased its coverage during COP21 compared to COP15, while the DT significantly reduced its reportage.

Table 2: Type of story				
	COP15 Copenhagen, 2009 n=247 (print and online)		COP21, Paris 2015 n=273 (print and online)	
Point of measure	SMH n=168	DT n=79	SMH n=218	DT n=55
Type of story				
News	95 (56%)	47 (59%)	140 (64%)	37 (67%)
Features/In-depth	19 (11%)	0 (0%)	18 (9%)	0 (0%)
Editorial/opinion	48 (29%)	29 (36%)	42 (19%)	13 (24%)
Other	6 (4%)	3 (5%)	18 (8%)	5 (9%)

The most revealing finding illustrated in Table 2 is the fact that the DT published 0 percent feature or in-depth stories analysing the negotiations during COP15 or COP21. Another interesting data point is that the number of editorials/opinion pieces in the DT shrank from 36 percent in 2009 to to 24 percent during the 2015 summit. A possible explanation to this can be found in Table 3 next page.

Table 3 reveals the biggest change of any data point comparing the two summits. The DT went from only 1 percent of the stories being produced by a news agency at COP15 to 51 percent at COP21. This further illustrates how the DT clearly allocated less resources to cover the Paris summit compared to the

Table 3: Origin of story				
	COP15 Copenhagen, 2009 Percentage of story origin		COP21, Paris 2015 Percentage of story origin	
Point of measure	SMH n=168	DT n=79	SMH n=218	DT n=55
News agency story	3%	1%	17%	51%
Staff reporter home desk	71%	87%	33%	42%
Reporter of COP	14%	0%	33%	0%
Other	12%	12%	17%	7%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Copenhagen meeting. Another telling number is the change in staff reporter at home desk produced stories—87 percent in 2009 compared to 42 percent in 2015.

The SMH went the other way and doubled its resources covering COP21 compared to COP15. This is most clearly illustrated by the number of stories produced by reporters at the COP – up from 14 percent in 2009 to 33 percent in 2015.

The DT had 0 percent stories produced by reporters at both COPs. This is particularly surprising at COP21 as News Corp Australia (the owner of the DT) had a reporter on the ground filing for the nationwide publication *The Australian*. The most interesting shift is the significant drop in voices from the national political system. This shift is probably explained by a change in favour of voices from civil society and a slight increase in voices from the business community.

Table 4: Voices		
Point of measure	COP15 Copenhagen, 2009 Percentage of primary/ first voices quoted in SMH and DT	COP21, Paris 2015 Percentage of primary/ first voices quoted in SMH and DT
National political system	55%	30%
Foreign political system	4%	21%
Transnational political system/foreign political system	5%	3%
Civil society	9%	22%
Business	6%	8%
Science/expert	20%	15%
Other	1%	1%
Total	100%	100%

This is a theme that reoccurs in the interviews below. It should also be noted that the number of international voices increased significantly in 2015 compared to 2009, which also explains the drop in the number of domestic voices. This change in primary voices (Table 4) is also reflected by some of the interview answers below.

The content analysis was complemented by interviews with five reporters accredited to cover COP21 for five different publications. The pre-Paris interview was conducted during October and November 2015 and focussed largely on their preparations for the summit. It was also an important opportunity to build rapport between the researcher and the interviewees. The second interview took place during January and February 2016. During transcription the replies were grouped into main themes addressing the research aims outlined above. The most important replies are presented in Table 5 to provide overview.

Discussion

The most important take away from this study is that SMH coverage has grown in resources, complexity and analysis informing its audience on climate change, while the DT has gone from actively campaigning against climate change action, to more or less ignoring it, abdicating the responsibility to constructively inform its audience about the Paris agreement. The magnitude of this development from a public interest journalism point of view should not be underestimated. The Paris Agreement on global action limiting the effects of climate change is arguably the most complicated achievement in human affairs since the writing, negotiating and passing of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. You could argue it is an even greater achievement based on the wicked nature of the climate change policy problem. In spite of the weight and importance of this event, one of Australia's largest circulation newspapers decided to all but ignore it from a resource and analysis point of view.

One possible explanation in the drop in DT coverage could be the high number of reporter jobs that had been cut in Australian newspaper news rooms between 2009 and 2015. However, these cuts apply to the SMH as well and it decided to increase rather than decrease its coverage of COP21 compared to COP15. So, in the end it appears to be more a question of prioritising what to cover rather than a resource question only.

This is illustrated by the severe drop in DT articles covering the Paris summit. During COP15 the DT produced 79 articles, this shrank to 55 during COP21. Another vital data point illustrating the DT's low priority of covering COP21 was the extreme increase in stories sourced from international news agencies. For the Copenhagen summit only 1 percent of the stories were from newsagencies, during COP21 51 percent, more than half the stories, were from newsagencies. And a final figure showing how the editorial leadership of the DT has lost interest in

Table 5: Two interview themes and key replies

Theme	Reporter A	Reporter B	Reporter C	Reporter D	Reporter E
Most important differences COP15 and COP21	The gamesmanship and the distrust of Copenhagen wasnt there in Paris. There were more heavy hitting business people working for the agreement than I thought there would be [in Paris] ... the business people see the shift into a renewable economy as major business oportunities. They see it as shifting capital. They don't see the technology as scary.	Paris is more manageable to Copenhagen. You knew more of what was happening behind closed door negotiations. Much less opaque compared to the chaos of Copenhagen. The French handled the tension between closed negotiations and dissemminating information well.	I saw Bjorn Lomberg [a Danish academic critical toward too much effort being spent on action on climate change] once at COP21, but that was it. These people have lost their influence. I went to a briefing with a representative from Greenpeace who praised the role of business and when that happens you know you're in a different world. Still a warming world, but different to COP15.		
Theme	Reporter A	Reporter B	Reporter C	Reporter D	Reporter E
Most important sources COP21	Background briefings mix of negotiators, environmental NGOs, observers in discussions and discussion participants from Australia and overseas—probably 50/50 Australian and overseas sources.	Sources that I've cultivated over many years, some inside the French team. A few international negotiators, advisers to smaller nations and NGOs	A 50/50 split between Australian and international sources. International sources are important to counter the parochialism of Australian sources, for instance the carbon tax that the domestic sources were concerned with.	Overall, most anyone you spoke to were quite happy to talk to media and journalists. Pretty much everyone spoke English, so it was easy to go beyond the Australian sources, and I did.	Sources within delegations I knew beforehand, they were quite valuable. Some sources in NGOs, more think tank end rather than green groups.

Theme	Reporter A	Reporter B	Reporter C	Reporter D	Reporter E
Most important sources COP21	You have to go beyond Australian sources to get different perspectives. Eg. when the Indians were said to be holding negotiations back—you need to talk to Indian negotiators. The climate change sceptics/deniers had no impact what so ever even though they had some presence.	On balance—I used mainly international sources. Australian sources are too focused on Australia.	A 50/50 split between Australian and international sources. International sources are important to counter the parochialism of Australian sources, for instance the carbon tax, that the domestic sources were concerned with. I saw it as part of my task to reconnect my readership with what was going on internationally after Australia dropped the carbon prize. Paris marked a turning point where it became important again for Australian businesses to know what's going on internationally.	Overall, most anyone you spoke to were quite happy to talk to media and journalists. Pretty much everyone spoke English, so it was easy to go beyond the Australian sources, and I did. One example was the pacific island nations that for obvious reasons wanted an ambitions target. Another example was a number of European sources that could provide details and colour from the negotiations. They were happy to share where the obstacles were.	Sources within delegations I knew beforehand, they were quite valuable. Some sources in NGOs, more think tank end rather than green groups. Scientific papers timed to come out for Paris. I used those papers for explainers. I got important different perspectives on the negotiations and the Australian delegation from international sources. The innovation initiative is one example – got that from a briefing call with the white house.

covering climate change is that the number of editorial and opinion pieces also dropped between COP15 and COP21. From 36 percent during Copenhagen to 24 percent during the Paris meeting. It should also be noted that the DT did not send a reporter to Copenhagen or Paris.

One possible explanation of the trends identified by the content analysis could be the decline in influence of climate sceptics and the fact that one of the core arguments for Australian inaction on climate change disappeared with the Paris agreement—that the rest of the world and the biggest polluters were not acting, so why should Australia? After the Paris agreement where 190 countries (all but two of the recognised sovereign nations in the world) signed up to the goal of keeping global warming to 1.5 degrees, the global inaction argument is now truly dead. This makes writing opinion pieces against action on climate change an increasingly difficult task.

The decline of the climate change sceptics lobby was strongly confirmed in the reporter interviews. However, the most important finding in the interviews was the consensus among all five interviewees that the new and growing alliances between environmental groups, NGOs and business and venture capitalists are now the most potent forces for rapid change and action on climate change. It was also interesting to note that the interviewees gave high marks to the Australian diplomats and public servants, while they were less impressed with the Australian ministers. A third important take away from the interviews was the importance the reporters allocated to a diversity of sources, with particular emphasis on finding and cultivating non-Australian sources. Perhaps they had learned from the Copenhagen coverage where the stories where dominated by domestic Australian political sources.

So, what happens if we apply the 'wicked policy' framework to the findings? In their seminal work on wicked problems, Head and Alford (2013), after a very thorough review of the literature, identify a continuum of wicked problems where type one problems represent the benign side of the continuum where the problem definitions are agreed upon by most stakeholders and where the policy solutions are relatively clear. Moving along the wickedness scale Head and Alford arrive at the following more complex problem types:

> Type 2 situations are those where the definition of the problem is clear, but the solution is not—typically because the relevant cause- and-effect relationships are hard to discern—and therefore learning and discussion are required by both the governmental managers and the stakeholders they lead. In Type 3 situations, both the problem definition and the solution are unclear, and more extensive learning and discussion are required for all concerned. (2013, p. 7)

It could be argued that climate change, its problems and solutions are a combination

of both type two and type three situations identified by Head and Alford. One possible avenue to address wicked problems is a holistic approach where dialogue between stake holders is crucial. One vital stake holder in climate change policy is the public/citizens. The main challenge in any dialogue with the public is that there is not one individual or entity representing the public. Given this challenge the role of the media and journalism informing the citizens in a factual way becomes crucial. The more divided or confused the public is on the topic, the harder the dialogue process becomes.

Based on this analysis, this is where climate change sceptic reporting has caused most damage, peddling doubt and questioning climate science with scant or no valid ground for the questioning. This process has been eloquently explored in-depth and some of the global powerful actors spreading misinformation exposed in Oreskes' and Conway's seminal work 'Merchants of Doubt' (2010). The misinformation and at times outright lies regarding climate science has made it even harder for policy makers to deal with an already deeply complex area.

In sum: the SMH increased reporting depth and resources spent on describing and explaining climate change helped to defuse and potentially make climate change a less wicked policy problem. Compared to COP15, the DT coverage of COP21 was more neutral (bar its column and opinion pieces). This was partly explained by the fact that the majority of the articles published by the DT were produced by international news agencies. But overall, the DT coverage did little to defuse the wickedness of the climate change policy problem.

There is some ground to be cautiously optimistic that the Paris agreement was the turning point for meaningful action on climate change globally. The question is of course if it is too little too late? Opinion polling in Australia since the 2015 Paris agreement show a steady increase in support for deep cuts to greenhouse gas emissions. A 2017 Lowy Institute poll showed that 57 percent of Australians view climate change as a serious threat to Australia's vital interests in the next ten years. A further 27 percent view climate change as a vital but not critical threat leaving only 13 pecent of Australians taking the position that it is not an important threat at all. This puts climate change as the perceived third biggest threat to Australia behind international terrorism and North Korea's nuclear program (Oliver, 2017). This is an indicator that climate change policy in Australia may become a less wicked problem in the years to come. Having said that, the current conservative coalition government is still deeply divided on the policy detail of how Australia will live up to its commitments under the Paris agreement. The challenge now is to implement the agreement and monitor that countries do deliver on their promises. Holding countries and their governments to account in relation to the Paris agreement and telling these stories is an area where media and journalism will play a crucial role as an important complement to the UN based climate change accountability system.

Conclusion

This article has described a longitudinal research project capturing media coverage of the major climate change summits in Copenhagen in 2009 and Paris in 2015. The media outlets analysed were the *Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Daily Telegraph*. The key findings were that the SMH has increased and deepened the complexity of its coverage of the issue, while the DT has gone from actively campaigning against climate change action to an increasing indifference to the issue illustrated by the severe drop in coverage during COP21 compared to COP15 both in a quantitative and qualitative sense.

The interviews conducted with five experienced climate change reporters pointed to crucial developments and major differences between the Copenhagen and Paris summits – the exponentially growing willingness among investors and the market to back and finance renewable energy and the strong alliances that have been formed between environmental groups and market forces in the time passing between COP15 and COP21.

One of the members of the MediaClimate research group mentioned in the background section above is Canada. Australia and Canada did until just before COP21 follow similar paths of 'climate change wars' and were both very reluctant participants in the global effort to curb climate change. This raises an interesting question. Is the reporting of COPs in Canadian media similar to the Australian media coverage? The data to investigate this is available, and work is currently under way to address this question.

Australia's shared path with Canada on climate change was well illustrated by the quote from the interview with reporter C below. The core questions in the forthcoming article: are Prime Ministers Turnbull's and Trudeau's different political realties in government reflected in the two countries'media coverage of climate change? And can it tell us anything about how this coverage will evolve and the possible impact it will have?

> Turnbull gave his speech at the same time as the Canadian PM Trudeau. His message was that Canada is back in the climate change action camp and we're here to help everyone. Turnbull gave his speech with one eye on back home and you could feel the restraint around him. A conflict between what he wanted to say and what he could say. And so he got overshadowed. It was a quite telling moment, because they were two new leaders that had replaced awful climate laggards, but Trudeau got to be free in his speech and Turnbull was restrained. (Reporter C, 2016)

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5. Coverage of extreme weather events and natural hazards in Pacific Island Countries

The need for media capacity-building

Abstract: There would be little disagreement over the media's crucial role in reporting extreme weather events and natural hazards, which have become more commonplace in Pacific Island Countries (PICs). However, for various reasons explored in this article, the media have generally failed to satisfactorily cover the unfolding of natural hazards and disasters. Using Fiji as an example, this article discusses media coverage of various cyclones, and the gaps in the reporting. The article argues that more training and capacity building for media personnel should be undertaken to ensure that people are well informed and prepared as they face the brunt of more frequent and intense extreme weather events.

Keywords: cyclones, devastation, Fiji, humanitarian relief, media, meteorology, Pacific Islands

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Introduction

ONE OF the gravest threats to the Pacific, according to scientists, is extreme weather events caused by global warming. Cyclones, already a major hazard, are expected to intensify in future. Tropical Cyclone Winston, which struck Fiji and Tonga in February 2016, was the strongest Southern Hemisphere cyclone on record (COP23 Fiji, 2017). With maximum average wind speeds peaking at around 306 kilometres an hour, Winston cut a swathe through Fiji on 20 February 2016, claiming 44 lives, demolishing livelihoods, destroying homes, and damaging the nation's all-important sugar crop. The toll was an estimated $1.4 billion—more than a third of Fiji's GDP—forcing the Prime Minister Voreqe Bainimarama to declare a 30-day state of emergency (COP23 Fiji, 2017).

News media play a crucial role in disaster communication, which includes warning the public about impending cyclones. This helps people take whatever safety precautions possible, which, in turn, minimises damage and saves lives (Reza, 2007). After a natural disaster, media reports help coordinate rescue and relief efforts. Without adequate pre-cyclone media warnings, and without sufficient post-cyclone media coverage, people and properties are more exposed and vulnerable, and recovery made more difficult. In the case of the earthquake that struck Papua New Guinea in February 2018, awareness about the tragedy's full impact was lacking because of the absence of media coverage. This shortcoming was blamed on a comparable lack of donations (Papua New Guinea earthquake…, 2018). 'It [the earthquake] is a silent emergency where the suffering is out of sight,' stated Anna Bryan, CARE's programme director in Papua New Guinea (Papua New Guinea earthquake…, 2018). This is just one incident that underlines media's pivotal role in disaster communication. As the eyes and ears of the public, media are expected to scrutinise not only the initial government response to a disaster, but also post-disaster relief and rehabilitation, including how donor funds are used. It is plausible that a strong news story or sharp editorial could be a catalyst for improved services, or for reviving projects stalled or slowed down by government inefficiency and/or state corruption. For instance, the BBC's broadcast of the devastating famine in Ethiopia in October 1984 provoked a huge international response, including Bob Geldof's Live Aid concert. The broadcast acted as an 'international siren' about the plight of the famine victims and spurred the biggest humanitarian relief effort in the world (Franks, 2006).

If cyclones are going to increase in size and strength as predicted, there would be a resultant expectation on the media to perform and deliver on a higher level than before. This raises questions about media's preparedness and capacity to deal with this immense responsibility. This exploratory article examines the issue of media capacity in relation to disaster communication, especially cyclones, by looking at specific cases of media coverage of cyclones, mostly in Fiji, where the authors live and work, and relevant examples from the region and elsewhere. The authors identify existing gaps in disaster communication, such as weaknesses in coverage and lack of training in this specific area, and consider the logistical challenges media face reaching remote areas, which also hampers coverage. The authors conclude that in light of the impending threat, these gaps have become more serious, and ought to be addressed urgently. While the article focuses on Fiji, it is relevant to other Pacific Island countries, which not only face a similar threat from natural disasters, but also lack a well-trained media corps in disaster communication.

The danger from extreme weather patterns

The mainstream scientific view holds that extreme weather patterns, potentially

caused by global warming, are in the most part a foregone conclusion. The World Meteorological Organisation Statement on the Status of the Global Climate in 2013 (WMO, 2014) stated that the first decade of the 21st century was the warmest on record since modern measurements began around 1850. This is supported by the findings of an Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change study which states that the world has witnessed more hot days and heat waves since the 1950s—and predicts that this trend is likely to continue (IPCC, 2017). Examples of dramatic climate and weather extremes experienced in the last decade include the European heatwave of 2003, Hurricane Katrina in the United States in 2005, floods in Pakistan in 2010, Cyclone Nargis in Myanmar in 2008, and droughts in the Amazon Basin, Australia and East Africa (IPCC, 2017; WMO, 2014). These trends raise questions about media's preparedness and overall capacity to inform the public about the looming threat as well as provide sustained coverage of the rehabilitation efforts.

The questions about media capability are more pressing and urgent in the developing country context: for one, journalistic capacity is reportedly generally weaker in these countries, in part due to the lack of training and development opportunities; for another, these are the very countries that are in most need of efficient disaster communication since their already exposed and fragile populations are predicted to be most at risk regarding weather-related disasters. The predicted weather pattern trend puts increasing pressure on the already under- strength journalist corps in developing countries to shape up. Relative to low socioeconomic conditions, the impact of weather-related disasters in poor countries may be 20-30 times larger than in industrialised countries (IPCC, 2001). The small Pacific Island nations are deemed the most vulnerable due to their fragile ecosystems and underdeveloped economies (Diamond et al., 2012). However, there is considerable scope for improving communication systems with upgraded equipment that enhance communication networks and flows between rural communities and urban centres that need to be used.Especially given the region's exposure to cyclones, which are a major concern since they can be extremely damaging and difficult to recover from.

Even as it stands, the seasonal cyclones have taken a heavy toll in the last two decades. Damage from Cyclone Heta, which struck Niue in January 2004 was estimated as NZ$89 million or 63 percent of GDP; estimated infrastructural damage in the Cook Islands due to a sequence of cyclones since 2005 is around US$8 million; estimated damage to Fiji from Cyclone Ami in 2003 is around FJ$104 million. Cyclone Gavin, which pummeled Fiji in 1995, occurred during a Spring Tide, resulting in 25 deaths and US$18.3 million in damage (Walsh et al., 2012). Between 1981-2016, Pacific island countries have been struck by 27 Category 5 and 32 Category 4 cyclones (Costella & Ivaschenko, 2015). At a Pacific regional health forum in Brisbane in February 2018, Dr Colin Tukuitonga,

the Director-General of the Pacific Community, revealed that cyclone losses suffered by some Pacific island countries amounted to some US$10 billion in 2009-10 alone—20-30 percent of the GDP (Duffield, 2018).

Gaps in coverage and readiness of media to address the threat

That the media have an essential role in reporting disasters such as cyclones is well recognised. Proactive media coverage does not just help minimise the death and destruction, but also galvanises post-cyclone relief efforts, both at the national and international levels, and facilitates the rehabilitation that must follow a major natural disaster, by monitoring and reporting on the progress, or lack of it (Reza, 2007). Extensive media coverage is crucial prior to, during, and after natural disasters. Before a cyclone, the expectation is to provide accurate and regular updates about the impending threat, with continued coverage during the cyclone to keep people in the know. After a cyclone has passed, the media are expected to not only report the destruction, but stick around, at least for several more weeks and months, if not longer, to relay important information about disaster relief and rehabilitation efforts (Cate, 1994). Inadequate media coverage before a cyclone means that the people will be less prepared, whereas insufficient coverage during a cyclone could mean that people are less informed about things like rescue efforts, emergencies, danger zones and evacuation centers. Insufficient coverage after a cyclone could slow and drag down the rehabilitation process as a whole (see Reza, 2007).

This highlights the need for all-round, ongoing coverage, first to allow people to take the necessary precautions, secondly to ensure that the affected people continue to receive the help that they need, and thirdly to bear witness to, and report, on any rebuilding efforts, both long and short term. This is important especially in the Pacific context, where the coordination of relief and recovery efforts, and the use of large aid flows, can be quite haphazard at times. Relief supplies are known to have been spirited away and re-building projects abandoned, if commenced at all in the first place (see Larmour, 2005). This trend suggests that the public is best served by sustained media coverage, well before the cyclone hits and well after it has passed, rather than concentrate coverage around the damage and destruction in the immediate aftermath of the cyclone. Reza (2007) argues for year-round coverage, not just when the disaster is about to strike (when it is too late to make last-minute arrangements).

In terms of the newsworthiness, cyclones have it all—impact, conflict, human interest, unusualness, and immediacy—rolled into one. However, as some have observed, the media coverage can fall short, and the overall media attention can be fleeting, with potentially serious consequences for those in the path of the disaster. Reflecting on the coverage of 'Cyclone Sidr' that hit Bangladesh on November 2007, Julie Reza, a UK-based science communications consultant

in global health and international development, stated that while in Britain, she first learnt about the cyclone from the BBC, rather than from the Bangladeshi national media (Reza, 2007). Upon revisiting the November 14 edition of the local Bangladeshi newspaper, *The Daily Star*, she noticed that even though the approaching storm was barely a day away, it was reported as the 10th article on the front-page index, after articles on a national political spat. The fact that the cyclone received scant coverage just a day before it was to strike shows how political disputes can outrank the coverage of an impending natural disaster, even one as powerful as Sidr, which eventually claimed 10,000 lives and caused widespread devastation (Reza, 2007).

Bangladesh's experience as a natural disaster-prone developing country is relatable to the experiences of some at-risk Pacific Island countries, where the lack of coverage and forewarning can also become a major problem, particularly in the remoter areas. While radio and television can, and do provide the quickest information about changing weather conditions and the implications of strong winds and heavy rain, most of these media outlets are urban-centered and not particularly geared to serving rural communities, especially the far-flung outer islands.

In Fiji's case, it has been observed that if the major cities are relatively unaffected, then the routine programme based on entertainment, news and sports continues to run, with little information on what may be transpiring in the more remote parts of the archipelago. This situation underscores Rooney, Papoutsaki and Pamba's (2004) concerns about a largely urban-based media that tends to neglect the needs of the rural people. While they were referring to the Papua New Guinea news media, there are similar concerns in other PICs. The femLINK-pacific executive producer-director Sharon Bhagwan Rolls has observed that the effectiveness of commercial radio and television in disaster communication 'depends on their willingness to break their commercial format for public service' (Bhagwan-Rolls, email communication, February 14, 2018).

A cavalier media attitude has been manifest during a number of cyclones that have devastated areas other than the capital and major cities and towns in Fiji. In 1979, Cyclone Meli developed in the northwest part of Fiji and travelled southwards towards the west of the main island, Viti Levu, and onwards in a south-easterly direction. As it had missed the capital city Suva altogether, media personalities on one particular radio station played the latest pop music and joked about the 'harmless' hurricane. It was only two-three days later that the news surfaced of the church in Vabea village, Ono, on the island of Kadavu, collapsing on people who had taken shelter there. Twenty-one people, mostly women and children, lost their lives in the very place they had sought refuge (Survivor's stories about Cyclone Meli, 2016). This tragedy underscores concerns about media's fixation on elite sources and focus on development in urban centres,

sometimes at the expense of the grassroots and non-urban, underdeveloped areas. Traber (1985) bemoans media that tend to serve the ruling elite by concentrating on politicians' statements in major cities and the rituals of public life whereas Pamba (2003) criticises urban-based media's lack of focus on developmental issues. However, in fairness to Pacific media, sometimes a lack of newsroom resources and logistical challenges faced in reaching remote areas can hamper disaster reporting, as in case of the 2018 earthquake in the Papua New Guinea Highlands (Papua New Guinea earthquake, 2018).

Another apparent weakness in the coverage is the translation of scientific language and jargon into layperson language, by both the meteorologists and journalists (see Scientists need to brush up, 2016). Fiji's Nadi-based Regional Meteorological Centre is a hub for tracking tropical depressions and cyclones. In terms of capacity outside of ANZ and New Caledonia/Kanaky, the Nadi centre has both the best qualified personnel and the most sophisticated satellite technology to monitor weather conditions on a continuous basis. The centre plays a critical role in alerting Pacific people generally and Fijians in particular about changes in the weather conditions. However, there are serious issues relating to the communication about deteriorating weather conditions and the emergence of cyclonic conditions to the public. It is not unusual for journalists to interview meteorologists before, during and after cyclones, with the latter often unable to explain what the different categorisation of cyclones means in real terms. Fiji's Neville Koop, the managing director and meteorologist at Na Draki Weather, believes scientists must do a better job communicating with the public in preparation for future severe weather events in the Pacific:

> Scientists should also explain how forecasting and warning systems work so people gain scientific literacy. If you cannot explain to people something by coming down to their level, you might as well not say anything. (Scientists need to brush up, 2016)

Koop stated the failure to grasp scientific language and an apparent lack of faith in science could be dangerous in future weather events due to rumour-mongering and the circulation of inaccurate, if not outright false information, particularly on social media. This included claims that Cyclone Winston was a 'geo-engineered', man-made event. Says Koop:

> The key challenge for scientists and governments as they respond to climate change is to create policy based on the best available science while communicating to the public in a way that relates to their daily lives. (Scientists need to brush up, 2016)

In order to address this communication gap, a number of Pacific regional developmental agencies banded together to organise media training sessions in

recent years (see Nasiko, 2017). The initiative to improve disaster communication is timely since it is a neglected area in some respects: The Fiji government's Disaster Recovery Framework: topical Cyclone Winston (Ministry of Economy…, 2016), drawn up in coordination with key partners—the World Bank, the United Nations, the European Union, the Asian Development Bank and the Pacific Community—has a section, Communication Strategy, that makes scant mention of the news media, or problems associated with scientific jargon. There is still inadequate recognition given to the potentially significant role of the news media in disseminating jargon-free meteorological information to the general public.

Besides meteorologists' widespread inability to simplify scientific jargon, some journalists fail to sufficiently engage with the weather experts to explicate what is it that they are seeking to inform the public about. There is a need to probe about atmospheric pressure, wind speed and destructive power in real physical terms, rather than in 'knots' and 'categories' alone, since they mean little to the public, especially the uneducated. There is also a need to explain precipitation, possibilities of flooding, the movement of the cyclone and how accurate the model of a cyclone's direction is. In the case of Cyclone Winston, Fijians were largely confused by the track of this 'drunkard cyclone' as it had travelled eastwards outside the archipelago, only to return and move rapidly through the Koro Sea and the Bligh Passage, bringing death and destruction in its wake (Fiji: images of flattened villages, 2016; Scientists need to brush up, 2016). Neither the meteorologists nor the media provided adequate information to Fijians to help them better protect themselves in ways appropriate for a cyclone of such severity. As an educated victim of Cyclone Winston, which struck Fiji in February 2016, wrote: 'Most people had not heard of a Category 5 Cyclone. Maybe some had, but even if they had, they certainly were not aware of the destruction it could cause' (Devi, 2016a). It was only after she and her husband had to vacate their teacher's quarters and seek shelter in the leaky police station, and experienced the destructive natural force at work, that she realised the fierceness of Winston, including destructive waves and tidal surges which caused massive damage to several villages on Koro Island (images of the devastated and desolate villages are to be found in both the Fiji Sun and The Fiji Times, from 25 February and 15 April, 2016 as well as on the internet).

Quite remarkably, although the Ra and Tailevu coasts and hinterlands are on the main island of Viti Levu, telephone and other forms of communication to these areas were lost during and after Cyclone Winston. It was only days, and even weeks later, that the full extent of the destruction of these regions and of Koro and other islands became known to those living in urban areas (Ministry of Economy, 2016). While there were shortfalls observed in pre-cyclone reporting, the media reported quite well on the extent of the devastation caused by Winston and the

humanitarian efforts in the immediate aftermath of the cyclone, particularly of New Zealand and Australian military personnel, who responded expeditiously to the emergency. However, besides *The Fiji Times*, other media outlets, having covered the initial humanitarian and rehabilitation efforts, tended to direct their attention to other matters. The routine bread-and-butter rounds—politics, sports, crime and entertainment—eventually re-took center stage.

That the coverage is comparatively greater in the immediate aftermath of a cyclone than before it strikes, and tends to diminish as things start to return to normal, could be explained through the news values framework that the media usually apply to define news priorities—that is, what events and issues should receive more coverage over others. Impact and magnitude are the prime news values, and towards this end, the immediate aftermath of a cyclone holds the greatest news interest for the media—when the full impact of the devastation in the wake of the cyclone is fully visible. It makes for vivid images and compelling news and feature stories, compared to the pre-strike situation, when it is a suspenseful and fearful waiting game at best, with nothing much to see or report. After reporting on the carnage caused by a cyclone, media coverage tends to to recede in the coming weeks and months, as media eventually return to their normal routines.

On occasion, some media have been observed to buck this trend. For example, *The Fiji Times* continued to highlight over a much longer period of time than usual, the situation in rural areas, where classes were still reportedly being held in tents, and in parts of the country people were still living in makeshift shelters, more than a year after Winston had passed. Ironically, this unusual persistence in reporting the ground reality of rural communities was criticised by the Fiji Prime Minister Voreqe Bainimarama (Heavy rain scares villagers, 2016; PM accuses newspaper, 2018). The somewhat outlandish pronouncements of senior officials of multilaterals like the World Bank and UN agencies—that the government of Fiji had been exceedingly successful in its humanitarian and rehabilitation efforts—were well covered by some media outlets, even though such assertions were based on extremely short visits to the country (for instance Ms Kwakwa, Vice-President for East Asia and the Pacific during her 17 October, 2016 visit—see *Fiji Sun* and *The Fiji Times*, as well as FBC online) There was little, if any media commentary on the fact that two years on, rehabilitation work was yet to be fully completed, and that in some places, the basic necessities were still lacking. This is another example of the somewhat shallow coverage of the rehabilitation work months, even years after a cyclone has passed. In the case of Cyclone Winston, the media tended to slavishly report the comments of the bureaucrats and recycle press releases without much original work or investigation of their own. This reflects the problem in general of urban-based journalists' over-reliance on press releases and media conferences, and uncritically reporting how aid and development agencies

have spent, or plan to spend their aid funds on development programmes (see Papoutsaki, 2008; Perrottet, 2015). Such reporting can be misleading when it comes to disaster relief. Fly-by-night experts rarely have the time to do a proper situational analysis, and the government bureaucrats will likely trot out a positive spin of developments. For the media to solely rely on such risky sources of information, without any proper verification, is tantamount to downplaying the seriousness of the situation, and fundamentally failing to fulfil their watch-dog role.

Current state of the training for media and future directions

If predictions that cyclones are likely to intensify are anything to go by, then the apparent gaps in reporting should be of major concern, and steps taken to address the situation. For instance, the recent Pacific Climate Conference in Wellington heard that scientists may need to create a new Category 6 for cyclones as the effects of climate change make them more extreme (Blake-Persen, 2018). New Zealand Climate Change Minister James Shaw cited Cyclone Winston as a case in point. With winds more powerful than the 230km/h upper-limit of a Category 5 cyclone, Winston should have been a Category 6 cyclone. However, there is no Category 6 classification in existence.

In the past, training in disaster communication has not been a top priority for most major media training providers in the Pacific, such as the Pacific Media Assistance Programme (PACMAS) and the Pacific Island News Association(PINA), but recent forecasts about the new and increased threat posed by even stronger cyclones highlight the need for a change in direction. Communications through mainstream media is seen as crucial for not only sounding the alarm about cyclones, but also for post-cyclone recovery and rehabilitation, including government accountability in the delivery of cyclone relief services and overall reconstruction. For example, it was Radio New Zealand International that raised the alarm about hungry victims of Cyclone Hola in Vanuatu resorting to stealing food since they had not received any relief supplies nearly three weeks after the disaster (Hungry Hola victims, 2018).

Given media's enhanced role in cyclone coverage in future, there is not only a requirement to address the current gaps in the reporting, but also to step up the training to strengthen media capacity for the future so as to make, among other things, disaster reporting more prominent and more mainstream, rather than treat it as an afterthought.

The IPCC report recommends a multi-level, multi-pronged approach, with narratives as an important part of a communications strategy. The report recognises there are uncertainties in disaster communication and states that this presents particular challenges which need to be addressed, and that planning needs to start today if a network of journalists is to be ready in five years' time (IPCC expert meeting, 2017). There has been little sign of any such planning in

the Pacific in recent years, despite the region's increasing vulnerability, although the pace seems to be gradually picking up. The few disaster relief focused regional media training so far has been organised jointly by the Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), the Secretariat of Pacific Community (SPC) and the Forum Fisheries Agency (FFA). This includes a June 2015 workshop, with a follow-up workshop in August 2017, both in Honiara. The 2017 meeting, on the theme, Information Making Impact: Pacific Island Media and Meteorological Services Media Training, attracted 30 regional journalists from eight countries (Nasiko, 2017). Topics included 'understanding national warning systems from national disaster management Offices.' The workshop attendees made up the Pacific media team for the 4th Pacific Meteorological Council and 2nd Pacific Meteorological Meeting in Honiara the following week in February 2018 (Nasiko, 2017).

The training was a milestone event that reflected the growing awareness about the potential threats posed by extreme weather conditions, the enhanced role of the media in mitigating this threat, and the decisive actions taken to build media capacity in the region in this particular area. For example, in an interview in *The Fiji Times*, The Pacific Meteorological Council chairman Ofa Fa'anumu recognised the media's importance in climate reporting, and called for a working relationship with the national meteological services to bridge the communication gap with the public, with journalists acting as conduits. Said Fa'anumu:

> In my experience, the people will tend to listen more to a person they can relate to and that is what we find a bit difficult in mediums such as radio. (Nasiko, 2017)

Interestingly, it is organisations like SPREP, SPC, the FFA and The Pacific Meteorological Council that are currently taking the initiative in media training, apparently because in their line of work, they are more acutely aware of the looming danger, compared to the development agencies that work directly in building media capacity, which would have many other priority areas to focus on. Community media organisations like femLINKpacific (www.femlink-pacific.org.fj/index.php/en/) have set up their own 'Women's Weather Watch' update to address what they see as a gap in the news media communications network. According to the femLINKpacific website, 'Women's Weather Watch is a model for monitoring approaching storms and disaster management in their communities and providing real-time information to address the continually overlooked area of the involvement and consultation of women before, during and after natural disasters' (femLINKpacific, 2015). The initiative started in 2009, after Cyclone Mick hit Fiji, when it was noted that women were not being included in the planning and coordination of relief efforts (femLINK

pacific, 2015). It is part of femLINKpacific's campaign for the equal participation of women in all aspects of disaster preparation, management and rehabilitation. This is seen as vital because the women are often responsible for the management of their families, and evacuation strategies must be gender inclusive, particularly to ensure the safety and protection of women, children, the disabled and the elderly (femLINKpacific, 2015).

femLINKpacific executive producer-director Sharon Bhagwan Rolls sees their small Weather Watch efforts as an example of how broadcasters can be involved in preparedness and information sharing (S. Bhagwan Rolls, email communication with the authors, 14 February 2018). During Cyclone Gita this year, femLINKpacific's CSO and broadcast partners in Tonga were running information and community updates dedicated to preparedness. Bhagwan Rolls stated that the feedback from Tonga indicated that community radio combined with SMS alerts—messaging into the process of interviews to cover explanations of meteorological info as well as preparedness and protection information—are crucial (ibid.). Bhagwan Rolls stated that it was vital that mainstream media received focused training to complement the efforts of community media, which do not have the same reach as mainstream media.

There are further signs that the training momentum for mainstream media is picking up. The tentative programme of the Pacific islands News Association's (PINA) 5th Pacific Media Summit in May 2018 in Tonga had two climate reporting related themes out of the 16 slots, even if neither were fully focused on disaster reporting. The topics included Climate reporting—experiences of COP23, and Social media as a tool to keep tabs on the health of oceans and climate change. This is a limited step, but still a step in the right direction. However, predictions of more violent cyclones warrant sustained, coherent, and focused efforts to properly address the situation, rather than ad-hoc arrangements, especially since media capacity is still lacking in this area. Even as Cyclone Gita was brewing from a tropical depression into a cyclone close to the Fiji group in February this year, there was hardly any on-the-hour weather bulletins on Fiji's commercial radio stations. One of the islands in the path of the cyclone was Ono-i-Lau. Fijian academic Professor Sitiveni Ratuva stated that the media were 'treating Ono-i-Lau and its 2,500 Fijian citizens as non-entities, almost as if it's just part of a foreign country. There's virtually no coverage of their fate' (S. Ratuva, email communication with the authors, 13 February 2018). Likewise, coverage of the impact of rapid floods in low lying areas of western Viti Levu as a result of extremely heavy rains brought on by Cyclone Jossie over the Easter weekend on 31 March to 1 April 2018 was grossly inadequate.

Concluding remarks
In her opinion aricle, Reza (2007) posed a myriad of poignant questions regarding

the coverage of cyclones in Bangladesh, one of the most disaster-prone countries in the world. At the heart of the questions is the welfare of vulnerable people who are the least protected, and who tend to suffer the most. The questions posed by Reza are basic, and they apply equally to Fiji and the Pacific. That such questions should arise is indicative of the serious gaps in the reporting. Areas the questions cover include: methods used to predict and warn people about cyclones; what should the people in towns and villages do to prepare; changes and improvements in cyclone preparedness (based on lessons learnt from past cyclones); where are the cyclone shelters situated, how do they work and how are they maintained; provision of food, water and security; who is providing aid and how are relief efforts coordinated; what health precautions should people take; and what will be the economic consequences?

These questions provide a guideline to journalists and training providers on what needs to be prioritised now and in the future, with regard to disaster communication, in the service of the people. The questions underscore earlier arguments made in this article—that covering cyclones is about far more than just focusing on the immediate aftermath. The pre and post-cyclone coverage is just as important, if not more, to assist the people in their preparation and rehabilitation. Issues pertaining to media coverage is a shared responsibility that needs to be jointly addressed by government, households and communities, civil society, the private sector and the media, since the impact of worsening natural disasters affects society as a whole. The international risk management firm Munich Re forecast overall losses from natural disasters in 2017 to US$330 billion—the second-highest figure ever recorded for natural disasters (Natural catastrophe review, 2017). Besides, the media sector lacks the capacity to improve things on its own, and needs support from other sectors.

Some promising steps have been taken to bridge the gap in communication by meteorologists and the media in the reporting of extreme weather events. This includes media training provided by some regional organisations discussed earlier in this article. Also, the Fiji-based Regional Meteorological Centre has established a communication unit and recruited communications staff to better inform the public. However, there is still much to be done regarding notifications and warnings in layperson friendly language. If this gap is addressed, there could be positive outcomes of a better informed and prepared public. femLINKpacific Women's Weather Watch is an example of a model of better communication from meteorologists that highlights the potential for collaboration between mainstream media and community organisations.

As the IPPC (2017) report states, national systems are at the core of countries' capacity to meet the challenges of observed and projected trends in exposure and vulnerability. Effective national systems comprise multiple actors from national and sub-national governments, the private sector, research bodies, and

civil society, including community-based organisations, playing differential but complementary roles to manage risk, according to their accepted functions and capacities. By pooling their resources, these organisations could provide a better public service in a critically-needed area.

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6. Backpack reporting of Typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines

Implications of convergent technologies on disaster journalism

Abstract: This article offers an analysis of digital technologies' implications on disaster reporting using the perspective of a journalism-documentary practitioner. The study uses Typhoon Haiyan disaster as a case study and is based on an ethnographic analysis of the author's backpack news production in post-disaster regions in the Philippines. It supports the notion that media convergence adds valuable new elements to storytelling and presentation of news but it only refines and not replaces traditional newsgathering methodologies. Drawing on the theories of emotional discourses in disaster reporting (Pantti, Wahl-Jorgensen & Cottle, 2012), media convergence and technological determinism, this article argues that journalists practising the backpack-style are confronted with more technical issues and even higher stress-level working in disaster zones, but being solo provides more opportunities to practise humanistic storytelling. Backpack journalists immersing in disaster zones can collect more personal narratives from survivors of a disaster who feel less intimidated by their use of informal equipment.

Keywords: backpack journalism, disaster reporting, human rights journalism, multimedia, Philippines, storytelling, technological convergence, Typhoon Haiyan

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Introduction

This research is interested in the relationship between multiskilling in news media and its impact on disaster reporting. It draws upon the notion that news routines are evolving as a way to adapt to the emerging technologies that are available for news workers and to enrich the content of journalism (Pavlik, 2000). In particular, the typhoon disaster coverage presented

here is focused primarily on online text production and the convergence of media outputs (text, video, audio and interactive graphics) in ubiquitous internet platforms. In the beginning, convergence in journalism refers primarily to the practice of integrating newsrooms owned by a parent company. But the term has metamorphosed and has undergone major redefinition over the years (Kolodzy, Grant, De Mars, & Wilkinson, 2014; Stevens, 2002). Today, the term 'converged journalism' does not necessarily indicate that journalists occupy the same space under the same roof in order to produce multimedia stories. Mono-media organisations composed of multiskilled or backpack journalists producing multimedia contents are also practising the new convergence. As a matter of fact, it is cited that the concepts 'convergence' and 'multimedia' are to a great extent synonymous (Infotendencias Group, 2012, p. 25). Journalism has indeed entered a new era of convergence—the turn to the digital, the interactive and the multimedia type of storytelling and the independent, multiskilled and technology-empowered backpack news production. But how does the new style of reporting using convergent technologies modify the workflow patterns of journalists covering natural disasters? And with the increasing number of climate-related disasters worldwide, is backpack style-journalism a good alternative? Can it produce better narratives?

Disaster overview

The Typhoon Haiyan disaster (also called Yolanda) that devastated mostly the central regions in the Philippines provides a distinct case study that demonstrates the impact of technologies on work routines of journalists in disaster zones. Unlike the daily grind of journalism, natural disasters pose greater challenges to journalists due to limitations in terms of infrastructure that makes information less accessible. The typhoon disaster that took place in November 2013 is arguably one of the most highly covered events in the Philippines by local and international media. In fact, many innovations in news reporting have been exercised in the reportage of Haiyan from flying unmanned aerial vehicles or drones that captured a bird's eye view of the devastation to exercising interactivity in news presentation (Strong & Zafra, 2016). Typhoon Haiyan showcased the ever typical impact of disasters to developing nations: the consequences on human health including death tolls and physical injuries, the consequences on agriculture and livelihood, and the consequences on settlement and housing (Alexander, 1993). Government data revealed that Typhoon Haiyan killed 6,300 individuals and caused overwhelming damage to infrastructure and agriculture. Haiyan also displaced four million Filipinos and forced more than 100,000 people to live in evacuation centres (UNOCHA, 2013; NDRRMC, 2013). These issues have been reported extensively by the media that covered the disaster. While the presence of local and international media covering the

disaster contributed largely to generous aid funding from foreign governments and organisations, it nonetheless fuelled media fatigue among survivors who were continuously asked repetitive questions about their experience. The wrath of the disaster, the scale of the devastation and the participation of journalists in constituting the narratives of the survivors made this even more promising as a case study on journalistic practices.

Media convergence: Definition and historical background

While it is true that many researchers have a general understanding of the meaning and implications of media convergence, it is still an ambiguous term even two decades after it was first introduced. Scholars and media practitioners argue that a single definition does not matter and may be difficult to achieve because convergence is defined by the 'media market place, and the marketplace conditions are different from one location to another' (Quinn, 2005, p. 8). A popular and common notion of the term is the blurring of boundaries between and among different media and communication platforms (Quandt & Singer, 2009). Media convergence has been defined in a number of ways such as: 'The combination of technologies, products, staff and geography among the previously distinct provinces of print, television and online media' (Singer, 2004, p. 286); the cooperation between print and broadcast media for the delivery of multimedia content through the use of computers and the internet (Lawson-Borders, 2006); and the modified storytelling strategies and techniques of the formerly considered medium-specific platforms (Zelizer & Allan, 2010). In the past, a newspaper company produced content solely for print publication and a television network was limited only to its broadcast outlet. But in the 21st century journalism, boundaries between media channels are blurred and journalists are increasingly expected and required to produce multimedia content and deliver news across platforms.

The origin of the word convergence as applied to communication industries has been a point of debate among media researchers. Many scholars, however, cite Ithiel de Sola Pool's popular 1983 book, *Technologies of Freedom*, as a proof of early discussions on convergence (Gordon, 2003). Pool, who was later referred to as the prophet of media convergence by media scholar Henry Jenkins (2006), was credited as one of the first authors who wrote on the concept of convergence of modes.

> A process called the 'convergence of modes' is blurring the lines between media, even between point-to-point communications, such as the post, telephone and telegraph, and mass communications, such as the press, radio, and television. A single physical means—be it wires, cables or airwaves—may carry services that in the past were provided in separate ways (Pool, 1983, p. 23).

The practice of convergence began in the mid-1990s when companies around the world started some forms of cross-media synergy and interaction (Deuze, 2007). An example was a partnership between a television station and a newspaper owned by at least two separate companies. The convergence here was a form of business arrangement, in which one media cross promotes another (Quinn, 2005a). Although earlier discourses on convergence associated the term as a dangerous word due to its perceived nature as inevitable and necessary (Silverstone, 1995), the media industry was quick to embrace convergence, albeit using different styles. But there was no single model of convergence among media organisations. Convergence journalism took place in a 'variety of newsrooms, in a variety of manners' (Kolodzy, 2006, p. 10). Thus, there is no absolute template to implement convergence in journalism since different cultures, companies and countries may exercise diverse forms and layers of convergence (Boczkowski & Ferris, 2005; Quinn, 2005).

What has been labelled as full convergence in its early days is the physical movement of news outlets, owned by the same company, into a single roof that enabled efficient news production across platforms. This convergence model has drawn several academic studies focusing on the changes happening within fully combined newsrooms. Two major strands of research emerged (Erdal, 2009). The first is the organisationally-oriented branch concerned in analysing how convergence introduces changes in the organisational structures and routines of the newsrooms (e.g. Zhang, 2012; Erdal, 2009; Dupagne & Garrison, 2006; Klinenberg, 2005; Bhuiyan, 2009; Singer, 2004; Duhe, Mortimer & Chow, 2004; Larrondo, Larrañaga, Meso, & Agirreazkuenaga, 2012). Examples of these converged newsrooms are multimedia desks in Tampa headquarters in Florida and the World Company in Kansas, USA (Colon, 2000; Gage, 2006), Turun Sanomat Group in Finland, NordJyske in Denmark, Ming Pao Group in Hong Kong, and the Guardian Media Group in the United Kingdom (Quinn, 2005). In the convergence continuum model of Dailey, Demo and Spillman (2005), these examples are classified as fully converged newsrooms wherein partners cooperate not only in the newsgathering stage but also in the dissemination of news. The second research strand, on the other hand, examines the impact of digital communication technologies on the individual routines and practices of multiskilled journalists (e.g. Robinson, 2011; Huang, Rademakers, Fayemiwo & Dunlap, 2004; Pavlik, 2000; Wallace, 2013; Reich, 2011).

Multiskilling and technological convergence

There has always been a constant effort, among news managers, to routinise journalism work given the perception that it helps 'control the flow of work' (Tuchman, 1973, p. 110). Technology is a particular element of this routinisation. Research on new media and journalist routines, however, is still a young

but fast emerging field of scholarly inquiry. Ethnographic studies have been the common research approach, together with cross-media content analysis and in-depth interviews (Quandt & Singer, 2009). Most scholarship in this field argues that 'technological developments generate editorial effects' (Boczkowski, 2004, p. 207) and that content is transformed due to technological changes (Pavlik, 2000). Rather than studying the physical convergence of newsrooms, this production-focused paradigm explores the online and multimedia adaptation of news organisations, such as using the web as a news platform and training journalists to become multiskilled workers.

Multiskilling can be subdivided into three categories: a media multiskilled journalist capable of filing news reports for multiple media; a technical multiskilled journalist performing technical duties on top of traditional reporting functions; and an issue multiskilled journalist similar to a general assignment reporter (Domingo et al., 2011). It is argued that companies adopt multiskilling mostly to improve cost-effectiveness, to reorganise the newsroom and as a convenient excuse for job cuts (Avilés, León, Sanders & Harrison, 2004; Lee-Wright & Phillips, 2012).

Furthermore, use of multiskilling backpack journalists most often working alone provides an advantage to newsrooms who have fewer staff (Kumar, 2011) although at the 'price of newsroom collaboration and camaraderie' (Bock, 2012, p. 33). For instance, photojournalists are now being trained to record videos and are also expected to be proficient in digital software in order to produce multimedia contents (Wesley, 2013). Because backpack journalists perform both technical and reportorial jobs, they are referred to as the embodiment of convergence (Boczkowksi, 2004a; Deuze, 2004).

Although multiskilling is highly advantageous among multimedia news organisations, others are sceptical. Converged journalists working for BBC regional newsrooms assert that multiskilling can lead to higher stress levels for news workers (Wallace, 2013). Other studies have highlighted the negative perception of multiskilling such as the increased work pressure for journalists, specialists reassigned as generalist reporters and criticisms that it provides less value for news workers (Deuze, 2008). Consequently, it should be seen as a refinement of an existing method only and not a replacement of established news gathering practices (Kennedy, 2010).

Multiskilled journalists also called 'one-man-band' and 'Inspector Gadgets' (Quinn, 2005) long existed in documentary filmmaking with young reporters from smaller markets shooting, writing and editing their film with the goal of eventually landing a career in bigger markets (Bock, 2012). The so-called 'single-authored news production' also gained greater acceptance in recent years and was institutionalised as a practice in traditional newsrooms. In television, the practice is credited to the personal digital production experiment

of Michael Rosenblum, a former CBS news producer turned media consultant who conducted multiskill training for journalists at the BBC (Hemmingway, 2005; 2008, p. 79). Rosenblum's model of 'single-authored-news production' is similar to the concept of backpack journalism wherein the demarcated roles within the news production that blurred previous boundaries were assumed by a single person (Hemmingway, 2008). Since then, this practice is referred to in various terminologies such as video journalists, MOJO or mobile journalists, multimedia journalists, OMBs or one-man bands, Do Platypus, SoJo or solo journalists and APJ or all platform journalists (Martyn, 2009; Tompkins, 2012; Smith, 2011). Despite being perceived as 'jack of all trades and master of none' (Huang et al. 2006), backpack journalists are still often deployed to cover war and disaster zones.

Methodology

The findings of this research are based on an ethnographic case study of the author's backpack news production in post-disaster regions in the Philippines. The choice of ethnographic methodology was based on the desire to provide a rich and reflective description of the process of backpack reporting including the context of its application. The production took place in September 2014, ten months after the disaster, and for a period of one week including inland travels. The author's fieldwork covered two post-disaster communities in Central Philippines: Tacloban, the city that suffered more than 2000 deaths due to storm surge and had the worst damage to infrastructure, and the coastal town of Guiuan, where the typhoon made its first landfall. The investigative story produced by the author talked about the status of recovery of the Philippines after the disaster and probed why, despite the billions of dollars of aid funding from various sources, recovery remained slow. The story produced for this research pinpointed the controversial and complex issue of land tenure in the Philippines that hindered the relocation planning of the government and forced the vulnerable population to return to no-build zones.

The data derived from the author's field work, observation and interviews were analysed using the theories of emotional discourses in disaster reporting (Pantti, Wahl-Jorgensen & Cottle, 2012), media convergence and technological deterministic framework. Practitioners in particular use technological determinism in explaining the changes in their work because technology is a visible and tangible component of their routines and also because of the deep historical roots to examinations of the relationship between technology and reporting (Örnebring, 2010).

Discussion

Backpack journalism in disaster zones
The capacity of one person to multiskill is primarily driven, if not determined,

by technological developments. The popularity of the so-called 'one-man bands' capable of producing multimedia content is also made possible by the availability and affordability of new technologies. Nowadays, digital journalists are required not only to think creatively, visually and narratively from news-gathering to presentation, but also to 'think technically' (Bock, 2012, p.5). To illustrate the impact of digital and lightweight equipment on my field work in post-disaster regions in the Philippines, it is important to distinguish backpack from reporting with a news crew. A news crew, if not broadcasting live from the field, typically consists of TV presenter and/or producer, a videographer and an assistant videographer. The number of crew members may be slightly higher depending on the type of story or whether it is local or international cov-erage. Conventional and convergent technologies often differ from each other in terms of the complexity of equipment and accessories used in field work, the degree of preparation prior to filming and the amount of time needed to pack up after each coverage. My routine in documentary journalism, for instance, means carrying bulky cameras (often two-camera set up), professional tripods, three-point lighting kit, complex audio equipment such as clip-on and shot-gun microphones, and other essentials such as memory cards, extra batteries, charger, lenses, cables and other accessories. Even in covering natural disasters, television crew still carry the same basic set of equipment, but prefer portable rather than complex lighting gear. My backpack reporting toolkit used in the Philippines was simplified and was reduced to the most essential:

- a DSLR (digital single-lens reflex) camera with an 18-55mm lens ca-pable of taking quality photographs and full high-definition videos
- a mini personal tripod to create professional looking moving and still images
- lavalier or wireless lapel microphone as a primary audio device
- smartphone as back-up audio and video recording
- earphone
- charger, memory cards, extra batteries
- computer installed with photo and editing software
- notebook and pen

An important consideration for me during my coverage was the selection of the equipment to use in the Philippines. Because I knew very well (from pre-liminary research) what stories to cover, interviews to conduct and places to visit; it worked to think backward and determine ahead what equipment would be necessary for my news production. I reiterate that the list I provided above is not a textbook-based backpack reporting toolkit but rather a product of both my production knowledge and anticipation of the environment that I will cover.

I considered several issues such as the length of international travel from New Zealand to the Philippines, domestic travels within my destination country and the availability of public transport in the field.

These pieces of gadgetry had a huge impact on my own backpack journalism routine. Social immersion, for instance, was more feasible with lightweight equipment. Even my choice of using a personal and mini tripod instead of a bigger-although-steadier one, was proven advantageous in many instances such as practically carrying less weight when travelling and blending with the crowd when filming in public places. My coverage of two places in the Philippines, the coastal town of Guiuan and the city of Tacloban, was smoothly completed partly because of the portability of my newsgathering tools. More importantly, I gained local insights and backstories while taking public transport from one place to another, which added value to my knowledge production. Observations made while being solo provided greater depth and nuance particularly to my long-form article, which I chose to present using first person narrative technique. Due to this, it is easy to conclude that my immersion in post-disaster communities gave me the advantage of being an insider that made my reporting upfront and credible. I highlight that the core of backpack journalism's convergent toolkit is the digital camera—an extension of the reporter's mind and body that facilitates the dual purpose of truth-seeking and engagement at the same time. Similar to Creech's (2017) analysis of camera as mode of truth production, my lightweight digital camera granted me affordances that turned my visuals more granular and contextual.

Because I was doing the field work alone, I also enjoyed the liberty of deciding merely for myself and not for a news crew. Hence, I exercised a unique layer of independence different from my earlier experience as a journalist. I concur with Wallace (2009) that backpack journalists are able to exercise creativity and greater control of news production. More importantly, small equipment was unobtrusive and did not attract attention from the crowd. This notion reminded me of how veteran journalist Cyndy Green highlighted 'the cloak of invisibility' in backpack journalism (cited in Kennedy, 2010, p. 3). In comparison with big cameras that attract attention when filming in public places, the use of smaller equipment does the contrary. As Tompkins (2012) has argued, there is the benefit of blending with the crowd using a small consumer-sized camera. These experiences confirmed that 'one-man-band' reporting was not only cost-effective but also a flexible option for news coverage (see Avilés et al., 2004).

Obstacles in solo disaster journalism

Although I have illuminated the advantages of being solo in disaster zones, it is equally important to note that it should be seen as a refinement of an existing method only and not a replacement of established newsgathering practices (Kennedy, 2010).

First, backpack journalists are faced with serious technical issues and

limitations in the field and even greater when in disaster zones. For instance, not all existing camera brands allow the user to monitor the audio while it is being captured. While interviewing the vice mayor of Tacloban, the lavalier microphone failed to record audio due to poor batteries. These technical problems are less likely to happen with a crew that looks after the technical side of production. I agree that the mechanical errors add another layer of work for a backpack journalist such as syncing the audio and the video interview during post-production. A back-up audio recorder (e.g. smartphone) is desirable when conducting sit-down interviews, which is also an efficient device to review the interviews during spare time such as in between long travels. As cautioned by Avilés et al. (2004), multiskilling leaves less time for traditional journalistic practices such as cross-checking of sources and finding contextual information. When reporting disaster as breaking news, these technical issues also disturb the supposed speed of converged journalism.

Second, the loaded tasks shouldered by the backpack journalist demand more attention to technology rather than content. While news managers usually require multitasking and not multiskilling as criteria for retention, both of them are frequently demanded (Lee-Wright & Phillips, 2012). Multitasking—completing multiple tasks at a time—involves a number of technical jobs such as setting up the tripod, framing interview background, connecting cables and wires, audio-video recording, getting proper exposure and focus, audio monitoring, as well as stopping the recording momentarily to avoid overheating. Regardless of prior training in production, my backpack reporting experience in the Philippines demonstrated that multitasking adds to increased work pressure (Deuze, 2008), leads to higher stress levels among journalists (Wallace, 2013) and may also compromise precision in journalism (see Meyer, 1973). It can be argued that increasing the depth and accuracy of news is far more demanding in disaster reporting wherein stories unfold faster and access to official sources is more difficult. And with the focus on technology, the capacity of the journalist to conduct deeper investigation or ask difficult questions is consequently reduced (Wallace, 2009). I also needed to remind myself that I was dealing with sensitive and vulnerable subjects who lost their loved ones during the typhoon and needed to be treated gently. Apart from that, I was also working in a physically difficult terrain with less tourist infrastructure.

And third, being independent is liberating but it is a big departure from the group dynamism and supposed 'multifacetedness' of news production. It is possible that a news organisation would deploy a backpack journalist to cover a disaster story because it is a more efficient, cost-saving and flexible option nowadays (Avilés et al., 2004). However, as Bock (2012) argues, this decision is done at the expense of newsroom collaboration and camaraderie. This means that backpack reporting, although it saves time and money, requires longer working

hours for journalists. My experience shows that although backpack journalism gives me the flexibility to work independently, the probability that a journalist would produce a more comprehensive report given a limited time is higher when working with a crew. In this case, I highly suggest assigning backpack journalists to feature stories to be able to work with ample preparation. However, they are also ideal to be assigned to cover breaking disaster stories but working in tandem is more efficient.

Multimedia as the centre of backpack reporting

Historical assessments reveal how technology changes the nature of news content. One interesting transformation is how the 'immersive and interactive multimedia news reports' on the web are supplanting the once-basic inverted pyramid news (Pavlik, 2000, p. 232). Converged technologies allow the simultaneous creation of multiple media for online distribution and also offer a new style of narrative journalism.

The outputs of my backpack reporting are comprised of the following: a short news documentary about the Philippines' post-disaster recovery, still photos, a long-form feature article and several interactive contents (see Figures 1-3). The article uses the first-person narrative style, an emerging form of contemporary multimedia journalism. Because disaster events merit contextual journalism, innovations should also be exploited by backpack journalists. For instance, the huge volume of data such as the aid contributions from foreign governments was transformed into an interactive story map (Figure 2). It shows 64 donor countries that contributed in rebuilding the Philippines, and is comprised of 128 data entries stored and layered on top of the Google base map (Google Maps Engine API, 2014). Each clickable content bears a photo of the country's flag for better visualisation. The process, which took several hours to complete, involved collating and assigning data for each country using Google Maps and then individually drawing a yellow curved line to illustrate the sources of funds. It is effective in illustrating the power of the web to hold and showcase complex a volume of information. As Lewis and Westlund (2014, p. 450) noted: 'Data - whether "big" in the sense of being too complex for traditional database management software, or simply "big" in its potentially transformative import—has taken on particular relevance for news'.

Instead of merely presenting the chronology of key events after the disaster as a rundown of dates, my audience was given the power to interact with the story through a timeline. The Timeline JS was used to convert a modest list of typhoon-related events into a non-linear and interactive story (Figure 3). It is an open-source tool that offers journalists an easy way to create a visually-rich and interactive chronology of key dates (Timeline JS overview, 2014). It reminded the audience about the news that they might have missed after the international

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Figure 1. The disaster in context, infographics in slideshow format

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Figure 2. Interactive map showing sources of foreign aid for Typhoon Haiyan survivors in the Philippines (in US dollars). Data provided by gov.ph/faith.

media hype on Typhoon Haiyan. Instead of putting the data as a text or graphics, the interactive timeline offered greater engagement with the readers. Google Spreadsheet (similar to an Excel document) is required in setting up a timeline.
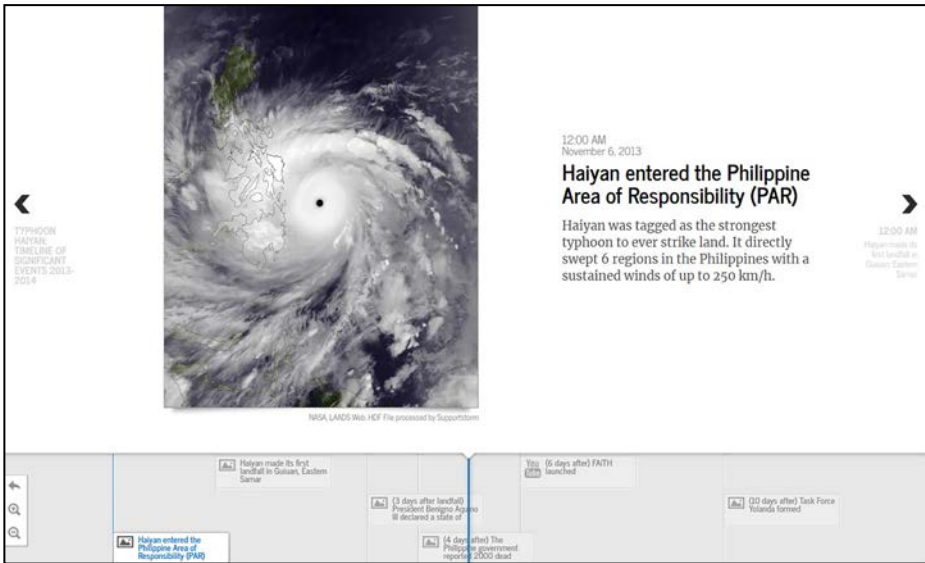
NORMAN ZAFRA

Figure 3. Screenshot of interactive timeline created using Timeline JS

All applications, software and online tools that I used to create these interactive media are publicly available which means journalists are given enough resources to enhance the content of their disaster reporting.

Before the prevalence of web and convergent technologies, journalists were practising medium-specific storytelling, with each platform using a 'set of sign systems' (Erdal, 2009, p. 178). Broadcast journalists report the news through video and audio while newspaper journalists use texts as their primary means of reportage. Historically, the production of multimedia news has been mainly attributed to the emergence of three new platforms: desktop computers, portable devices and interactive television (Gordon, 2003). These media offered the potential for unlimited space and time, immediate publishing, audience interaction, user content, multimedia content delivery options and user's greater control over content. The practice of repurposing or reproducing content (Erdal, 2009) for the web has grown exponentially over the years as a response to the migration of news consumers to digital platforms as well as the information-seeking attitude of the audience (Quinn, 2004). This has a significant impact on the mindset of a backpack journalist. The multimedia trend influences the journalist's desire to capture more media as much as possible, organise, and then decide which one is publishable after the coverage. However, multimedia is not necessarily the agent of this mindset. In Tuchman's 1973 article titled 'Making news by doing work: Routinizing the unexpected', she noted that journalists naturally choose to cover as many stories as possible.

> Such a practice is tempting, for the newsman wants to turn in as much copy as possible and this is accomplished more easily by skimming the surface of many stories than by digging down a potential 'blind alley' to provide intensive coverage of one event-as-news (Tuchman, 1973, p. 124)

Similarly, backpack journalists may be inclined to overshoot and rely on the capacity of the camera to take endless media, or in the words of Lee-Wright and Phillips (2012, p. 69) – shifting the "emphasis from newsgathering to output production". I argue that without enough experience and skills in editorial judgment, this attitude may compromise the depth of reporting.

Humanising disaster narratives

Stories about disasters are a magnet of attention in the journalism circle due to their dramatic, inspiring and heroic elements and yet also criticised due to the potential to focus on the demeaning stereotypical representations of the poor victims and less emphasis on important issues (Stewart & Hodgkinson, 1988; Bennett & Daniel, 2002). The duty of journalism during a disaster is clear. The high predictability of natural disasters, specifically typhoons, means that journalists perform a crucial role in the public constitution of a disaster including how it is communicated to and perceived by its audiences (Pantti, Wahl-Jorgensen & Cottle, 2012). Humanising its news presentation is a key element of disaster journalism as it brings to the public sphere a collection of emotions that the public can engage with. Emotional discourses in disaster journalism are also valued because of the capacity to push political actors to respond, to commit and to act with moral judgments during a crisis, and to stimulate interest and public understanding of the news (Pantti, Wahl-Jorgensen & Cottle, 2012). Thus, the mediatisation of disasters is more than the act of representation as it also triggers 'collective empathy' and 'critical engagement' (Cottle, 2012, p. 261). However, it is important to balance emotions in reporting to ensure that its 'affective and informational' objectives are achieved (p. 87). And while emotion may challenge the traditional view of journalism as impartial and objective, the presence of a disaster legitimises its use as a narrative element (Pantti, 2010). Journalists have been cautioned to use it proportionately, to test it against facts and to ensure that the story is the centre of the reporting and not the storyteller (Ward, 2010).

It is in this theoretical perspective of emotion and disaster that backpack style of reporting could be positioned as strategic. Although working alone poses a number of risks in the technical side of journalism, it is good to note its advantage in humanising disaster narratives. As a journalist using consumer-sized camera, the community showed more willingness to accept my invitation for interviews despite having no local guide to back up my credibility. Unlike my prior coverage of disaster in the Philippines wherein social workers or

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Figure 4. Typhoon survivor in Tacloban appeared natural in front of the camera and felt casual enough to clip her child's fingernails during the filming.

humanitarian NGO officers usually accompany the crew in the field, being solo is a liberating experience that allowed me to know the community deeper, including their issues that need more public awareness. Hence, I was able to bypass the gates of humanitarian non-profit organisations that usually stand as information providers and mediators between the journalist and the community (Van Leuven & Joye, 2014).

When I visited the homes of my subjects in evacuation and transitional sites, I was treated as a guest rather than as news worker whose primary mission is to produce a story. Being solo, it was easy to create a feeling of familiarity among my interviewees who felt less intimidated by a DSLR than professional cameras used in mainstream television. One of the typhoon survivors featured in my documentary, told me that during the aftermath of the typhoon, some victims felt a fatigue to answer the same type of questions from media and disaster researchers (Personal communication, 3 September 2014). Reporting solo and using lightweight equipment, however, were advantageous in soliciting a fresh story angle, personal narratives and getting intimate with the subjects. As Lee-Wright and Phillips (2012) noted, there is a demand for personal anecdotes in journalism in order to engage with the audience. My experience in television revealed that the mere presence of a news documentary crew composed, for instance, of a director, a producer, a television host and a videographer, could overwhelm and intimidate disaster survivors, may alter the surroundings and could contribute

to a person's tendency to appear tensed and unnatural in front of a camera. On the contrary, I was able to create a comfortable atmosphere during the sit-down interviews and banter with my subjects. In fact, my interview with a survivor in a transitional housing site in Tacloban City became more of a personal and free-flowing conversation rather than a rigid recorded interview. Before the interview, she offered me her home-made coconut candies and introduced me to her neighbours. Interestingly, while taking her b-roll shots, she felt casual enough to clip her child's fingernails as we chatted and filmed (Figure 4). These observations illustrate how backpack journalism redefines the nature of source-journalist relationship. In addition, my experience in disaster zones confirms the social constructionism theories and that because I share similar demographic qualities with my subjects, and being a Filipino myself, I felt welcomed and was given preferential access to their community (Thomson & Greenwood, 2016). I argue that these variables complemented the natural capacity of backpack reporters to practice humanistic journalism, combining emotion and context in reporting and getting to know the subject of the story deeper (see Pantti, Wahl-Jorgensen & Cottle, 2012; Tumber & Prentoulis, 2003). As Ward (2010) states:

> A journalism of disasters is not a journalism of Olympian detachment. It is not a journalism fixated on stimulating the emotions of audiences. It is a humanistic journalism that combines reason and emotion. Humanistic journalists bring empathy to bear on the victims of tragedy – an empathy informed by facts and critical analysis.

In addition, being a solo journalist allows the collection of personal anecdotes which I gathered through casual conversations with typhoon survivors. In Guian town, a casual conversation with the housekeeper of the pension house where I stayed turned out to be a compelling anecdote of survival. He recounted that his family tied themselves together using extension wires so that their bodies could easily be recovered by their relatives. In a very casual but poignant interview, he also revealed the struggle of being isolated and powerless during the disaster. 'We first ate coconut, then bananas. Then we saw some chickens, pigs and cows that were washed in by the floods; we butchered and cooked them right away so we can have food,' my interviewee said in Filipino. On my first day in Guian, I also took photos and videos of Catholics celebrating a mass outside their devastated church, walked around the vicinity and took shots of the recovery like a typical traveller. These experiences verify my earlier argument that backpack journalism is an effective alternative to capture the community's typical way of life, the people's natural character and unfiltered emotions. While mainstream journalists take advantage of humanistic storytelling as well, my analysis shows that there are moments of spontaneity and authenticity that could be captured easily by a backpack journalist.

In summary, disaster reporting, whether using conventional or convergent technologies and filed by 'one-man-band' or a production crew, follow the same principles of solid journalism. Both practices observe same news values and typical strategies of information gathering and audience engagement. However, significant differences arise in terms of production routines and legwork, access to resources, and most importantly a redefined relationship between the source and the reporter.

Conclusions

This article acknowledges the notion that multitasking news workers are as old as journalism itself. As emphasised by Schudson (1978, p. 65): 'Early newspapers had been one-man-bands, one man acted as printer, advertising agent, editor, and reporter.' Perhaps, it is safe to claim that the demarcation of skills, given the affordances of new media, will remain immaterial as new technologies alter old methodologies of reporting. The case study presented here examines disaster reporting as unexpected but routine function of journalism and shows how a differing practice of solo reporting adds valuable new elements to storytelling. It uses the idea of the 'one-man band' to illustrate the relationship between technology and reporting in disaster zones. Although backpack newsgathering means less newsroom collaboration, technology-focused news gathering, susceptible to technical issues (Avilés et al., 2004; Bock, 2012) and potentially unsustainable, it still offered the advantage of collecting more natural and personal narratives from typhoon survivors and more importantly allowed the exercise of humanistic storytelling. The emphasis on human condition, the personal anecdotes, and first-person reporting are some of the qualities of humanistic reporting highlighted in this article (Killenberg, 2008, p. 18). In other words, with sufficient preparation and training, solo journalists are able to pursue areas off the 'beaten track' or beyond the reach of a news crew and collect stories that emerge out of their natural immersion in disaster zones.

Not only information-gathering routines are changing alongside new technologies but also online journalism, a sector exposed to a climate of constant story innovation and redevelopment (Ureta & Fernandez, 2017). New media afforded journalists with the capacity to exercise new styles of reporting such as converting complex disaster data into visual journalism, even though it is often outside their skillset. Although many news outlets prefer paid software in the creation of interactive content, I assert that free and open-source applications are excellent alternatives. By having a variety and combination of formats, digital audiences could now feel the story through still and moving images, understand deeply the story through text, and gain context through data visualisation. These changes are liberating many traditional journalists who previously practised medium-specific storytelling.

Indeed, the lure of hybridising reporters is high in this information age (Sànchez Marín, Micó Sanz, & Justel Vázquez, 2018) and perhaps practical due to disrupted model and economic challenges facing journalism (Phillips, 2015). Despite dissidence among news workers feeling negatively about working solo in the field, news managers can negotiate the practice when there is ample training given and when there is full acknowledgement of its limitations as a practice (Sànchez Marín et al., 2018). Since backpack reporting requires a higher level of judgment and technical and editorial skills compared to working with a production crew, I highly suggest returning to the 'job shadowing' approach when conducting multiskill training, wherein novice and experienced journalists are paired up for a specific field coverage. The 'shadow journalist' acquires tacit knowledge through participant observation while the shadowed one benefits from the opportunity to review the efficacy of his or her routine.

Converged journalism is developing evidently faster than imagined even a decade ago. The innovations in news production, from fieldwork to storytelling and even to the point of distribution, have tremendously altered both the job description and the products of new media journalists. While the reason to deploy backpack journalists to disaster zones appears to be more economic rather than strategic, it might be best for news managers to consider multiskilling as desirable but not mandatory criterion to retain news workers. It is true that the skillset of journalists must be upgraded to keep pace with emerging technologies but content is still the king and should be treated as a priority in journalism training.

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7. Social media and disaster communication

A case study of Cyclone Winston

Abstract: This article presents an analysis of how social media was used during Tropical Cyclone Winston, the strongest recorded tropical storm that left a wake of destruction and devastation in Fiji during February 2016. Social media is increasingly being used in crises and disasters as an alternative form of communication. Social media use in crisis communication varies according to the context, the disaster and the maturity of social media use. Fiji's experience during TC Winston contributes to the growing literature as it shows how social media was used during each stage of a disaster in a developing country. The article finds that before the cyclone, people used social media to share information about the cyclone and to be informed about the cyclone. During the cyclone, individuals used social media to share their experiences with some citizens capturing the cyclone as it happened and even one citizen live-tweeted her ordeal during the cyclone. Finally, following the cyclone, the hashtag #StrongerThanWinston was coined as a rallying point to bolster a sense of national solidarity.

Keywords: crisis response, Cyclone Winston, cyclones, Fiji, disaster communication, Pacific Islands, social media

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Introduction

T his article presents an analysis of social media use in disaster communication during one of the most destructive tropical cyclones to ever be recorded in the world. On 20 February 2016, Tropical Cyclone Winston made landfall in Fiji—a category five cyclone that was the strongest cyclone to be recorded in the Pacific (Robie & Chand, 2017). The cyclone affected both Tonga and Fiji, but it was Fiji that bore the brunt of the cyclone. Hitting Fiji in the early hours of morning, the cyclone left a wake of devastation causing US$460 million in damages to private property, infrastructure and disrupting water, power and sanitation

supplies (Radio NZ, 2016). The cyclone also caused the deaths of 44 people and left thousands of Fijians homeless (NDMO, 2016).

The article examines how social media was used before, during and after the cyclone. The affordances of social media that allow people to create content and make certain topics popular facilitated faster dissemination of information and allowed multiple perspectives to be shared and distributed on social media (Keim & Noji, 2011). Furthermore, the dynamic, interactive and visually appealing nature of social media content has led to innovative uses of social media at each stage of TC Winston. Before the cyclone, respondents from rural areas revealed that they were more informed about the impending cyclone because of social media rather than through traditional media. During the cyclone, some Fijians used social media to live-tweet their experiences and share pictures and videos of the cyclone as it happened. The main social media platforms used were Facebook and Twitter. This was picked up by media organisations that broadcast this to the world. Following the cyclone social media was used by various groups in quite innovative ways. Affected Fijians used social media to show the impact of the cyclone and the damage caused. Social media was also used to organise fundraising events and crowd source for funding to assist those affected. Development organisations and country agencies used social media to highlight their relief efforts, and finally, the hashtag #StrongerThanWinston was coined to bolster a sense of national solidarity in the wake of the disaster.

Social media and natural disasters

Social media is a broad term that encompasses technologies that facilitate the creation, dissemination and sharing of content via online communities and virtual networks (Obar & Wildman, 2015). Social media is often described as Web 2.0 as it is an evolution from the traditional online websites where content was owned and controlled by the website owners (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010). Furthermore, social media focuses on building networks and communities online (Leonardi et al., 2013). These networks are based on traditional offline relationships but are created via online connections (Ellison, 2007). The social network sites of individual users are thus personalised based on the individual's personal interests but also based on the user's connections, relationships and networks (Xiang & Gretzel, 2010).

A relatively young technology, social media has now become a ubiquitous and pervasive part of modern day communication (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010). Social media is also playing an important role as a tool for disaster communication (Houston et al., 2015). Scholars have researched how social media was used in various natural disasters. Sutton, et al., (2008) found that social media usage may be conceptualised in two categories: (1) (Personal Communication) passive dissemination of information; and (2) systematic usage as an emergency

management tool. Sutton et al. (2008) argue that because of the speculative nature and the infancy of these applications, dissemination of information is the primary way that social media is used in disaster communication. However, later research has found that the maturity of these technologies and users growing use of social media has led to increasing innovative and active uses of social media during natural disasters by the public and the government (Lachlan et al., 2016). Bird et al. (2012) conducting a survey of social media use during the 2010/2011 Queensland and Victorian Floods in Australia, found that Facebook was used to provide real-time information on the flood that helped local authorities provide relief effort and mobilise their resources to assist communities affected by the flood.

Social media for disaster communication is thus continually evolving and its application is also shaped by the context, users and the nature of the crisis. While research has examined the use of social media at the different stages of a natural disaster, most studies have been conducted in developed economies, where ICT infrastructure is more developed, and citizen and government use of social media for disaster communication is more sophisticated (Acar & Muraki, 2011). This article contributes to the growing body of literature by examining the innovative ways in which social media was used in a developing Pacific island country during the strongest recorded tropical cyclone ever recorded in the Southern Hemisphere to date: Tropical Cyclone Winston (TC Winston).

Methods

Data for the study was drawn from multiple sources and is primarily qualitative in nature. Data was collected from semi-structured interviews conducted with individuals residing in rural areas of Fiji, social media data from Facebook and Twitter, and the authors also used their own experiences of being active social media users during the cyclone.

The semi-structured interviews were conducted with rural villagers in the province of Ba. The province of Ba is located on the western side of the main island Viti Levu and was one of the worst affected provinces from TC Winston (Esler, 2016; Sattler, 2016). Interviews were conducted with 15 rural villagers and sought to identify how social media was used as a disaster communication tool. Table 1 below provides demographic details of our interlocutors in Ba. We have de-identified them and given them pseudonyms for referencing their quotes in our discussion.

An analysis of social media pages—Facebook and Twitter—were also examined to explore social media usage during TC Winston. The two most trending hashtags related to TC Winston were #StrongerThanWinston and #TCWinston. These hashtags were used as the search terms on the social media pages and the search results. We also used other search terms such as Cyclone Winston and Tropical Cyclone Winston on Facebook's search function. The search results

No.	Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Occupation
Table 1: Demographic details for interlocutors in Ba				
1	Make	F	19	Domestic Duty
2	Naca	F	17	Student
3	Lesi	F	40	Domestic Duty
4	Sia	F	30	Domestic Duty
5	Sala	F	24	Domestic Duty
6	Laini	F	17	Student
7	Ini	F	26	Nurse
8	Dan	M	28	Unemployed
9	Mary	F	25	Domestic Duty
10	Tu	F	27	Domestic Duty
11	Tia	M	23	Farmer
12	Suli	M	30	Farmer
13	Mori	M	31	Soldier
14	Lui	M	38	Farmer
15	Luke	M	54	Security Officer

were then analysed to explore the way social media was being used by various parties during the disaster.

Lastly, except for one author, the other authors were all in Fiji during the cyclone. The authors witnessed first-hand the devastation of the cyclone and were also part of the unprecedented use of social media during the cyclone both as consumers and creators of content during TC Winston. These experiences inform the primary data collected from the interviews and the data extracted from Facebook and Twitter.

Disaster preparedness and social media: Ba district before TC Winston

On the 20 February 2016 word of an impending cyclone had yet to reach the people of Votua in the province of Ba. Unbeknown to them was the fact that the largest cyclone to ever hit the Southern Hemisphere was heading in their direction (Sattler, 2017). As the day went on, the villagers completed their daily routines of fishing and cleaning. Amidst the normal hustle and bustle, the few people who had access to mobile internet took time to sign into their Facebook accounts to update themselves on familial events and news in general. Laini, a young lady from Votua describes how she had logged onto Facebook to 'update her status'. Upon logging in, she scrolled down her news-feed to update herself on the lives of her Facebook connections, she received a very different update

from the typical Facebook social networking. She saw post after post from friends and family who were better connected to news updates, relating to an imminent cyclone scheduled to make landfall that very afternoon. The posts ranged from people warning their friends and family, to simply being posts about how families were preparing to 'greet' the cyclone. She recalls calling out to a neighbour to ask if anyone had heard about the cyclone, to which the neighbour replied saying that his son had just called from Suva to check if they had prepared. For much of the community, word of this impending disaster, was too long in reaching them. Pita (pseudonym), one of the youths from Votua, also recalls being online when a family member he was chatting with had told him to make sure that the family was prepared and to expect flooding during the cyclone. In such instances as shown by Luisa and Pitas stories, the typically mundane digital chatter of social media provided a means to warn citizens of the impending cyclone.

Social media is an often-disregarded tool of 'those young people' (Haddon, 2015). The dialogue on social media is often seen to simply be 'social'. Over time, these mundane chatter tools have evolved to become powerful means of disseminating information. Social media platforms have come to play a role in politics, education, and now, disaster awareness. Research by Yila et al. (2013), highlights that as far back as 2009, social media was being employed in Fiji to disseminate information on floods taking place in the Ba province of Fiji. Given that in 2009 social media was still a very new technology to Fiji and the Pacific, the speed at which individuals harnessed this tool for keeping informed

Figure 1: Internet users in 10 Pacific countries, 2000-2016
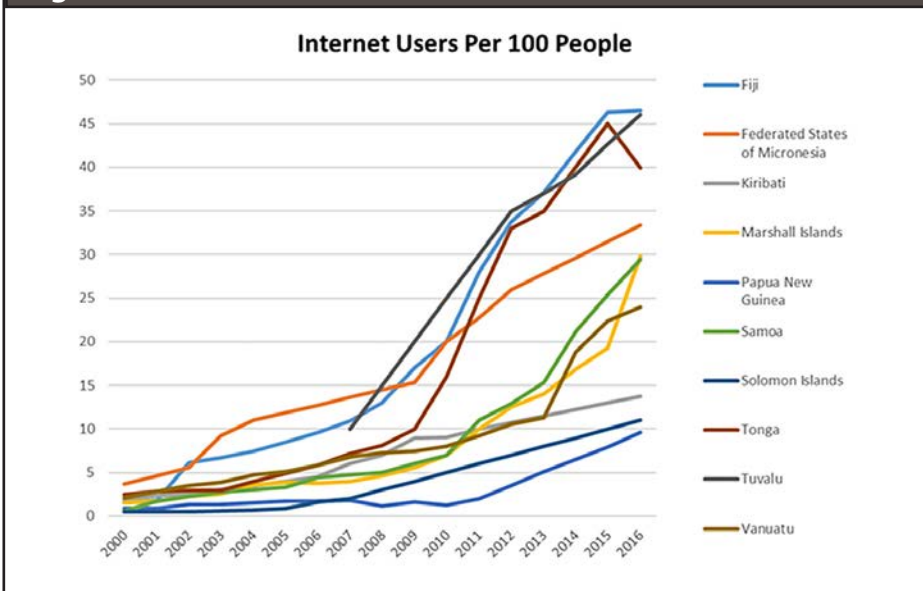
Note:. Internet users per 100 people in 10 Pacific Island Countries. Source: World Bank

is noteworthy. Figure 1 shows the exponential growth of internet connectivity based on World Bank data from 2000 to 2016.

While there is a large body of research focusing upon the use of social networking sites during and after natural disasters (Veil et al., 2011), there is a paucity of research that encompasses the use of social networking sites prior to natural disasters.

There were even links on social media that allowed users to track the course of the cyclone as it was approaching. Interlocutors preferred using social media instead of traditional media because of the dynamic, rich and interactive content on social media as compared to traditional media. For instance, while mobile network operators sent national text messages to all mobile phone users in Fiji, most respondents were already aware of the cyclone through social media or ignored the text messages as mobile network operators inundated users' message boxes with daily promotional text messages.

Social media live updates during the cyclone

With the emergence of social networking sites and advancements in digital technologies, social media is becoming an effective tool for disseminating information during disasters (Bird et al., 2012). There is growing academic literature on the importance of the role social media and digital technologies play during natural disasters. In the Pacific, Watson (2012) documented how the introduction of mobile phone services in rural PNG villages, combined with increasing internet accessibility in urban centres and the improvement of websites with suitable, timely information regarding natural disasters, has transformed the accessibility of information, knowledge and communication for many people in PNG.

Bird et al. (2012) conducting a survey of social media use during the 2010/2011 Queensland and Victorian Floods in Australia, found that Facebook was used to provide real-time information on the flood that helped local authorities provide relief efforts and mobilise their resources to assist communities affected by the flood. Bird et al. (2012) demonstrate the important role played by Facebook forums in providing valuable information during and after disasters. In Fiji, Yila, et al. (2013, p. 95) reveal the uptake in the usage of social media for dissemination of information of the floods in Ba from 2009 to 2012. They reveal that some individuals were using social media to extend information, awareness and support. According to them, the increasing usages of digital technologies including social media were facilitating 'new forms of response, creating new forms of social capital' (Yila et al., 2013, p. 95).

Early warnings were distributed through national and social media, and close collaboration between Fiji Meteorological Services (FMS), the private weather forecaster NaDraki, and the National Disaster Management Office. The

Fiji Meteorological Office, a statutory government agency, used various means including through the Fiji Meteorological Service Facebook page, to provide official weather reports prior to TC Winston. A private weather and climate organisation also provided independent weather updates via the NaDraki Weather Facebook page. These two organisations were the most popular Facebook pages that provided regular updates on TC Winston. The Fiji Meteorological Service Facebook page has an audience of over 32,000 followers while NaDraki Weather is more popular with an audience of over 88,000 followers.[1] The Fiji government Facebook page[2] also provided general weather updates in the lead up to and during TC Winston. Apart from providing weather updates, the Fiji Government page also provided details of evacuation centres in affected areas.

On the eve of TC Winston, one person questioned why the government website was failing to provide updated information when compared to the Facebook page, one of the administrators of the Fiji Government page commented that 'we have a link from our [government] site to this Facebook account. Because our updates have to be constant we update through Facebook, which we have set up to allow even those without Facebook to access our page. This way, our updates are more constant and engaging—thanks' (Fiji Government Facebook Page, 2016).

During recent natural disasters, social media has played an increasingly popular role in the crisis communication ecology (Bruns et al., 2012; Palen & Liu, 2007). Research has shown how affected members of the public use these platforms to share up-to-date information and images on their statuses with friends and family (Takahashi et al., 2015). Social media, in particular, have become important channels for communication, playing complementary roles to those played by traditional media (Veil et al., 2011). This is particularly salient considering that in 2013, the social media platform Twitter unveiled a new service called Twitter Alerts, designed to prioritise information from credible organisations during crises when other communications channels are not accessible. Similarly, in October 2014, Facebook introduced Safety Check, a service that allows users to communicate that they are safe and check the status of their acquaintances during a crisis (Facebook, 2014).

Fijians from different parts of Fiji shared their first-hand experience of TC Winston on social media, primarily Facebook. In carrying out this role, people recognised that social media platforms provided a means by which they could broadcast information without the need of a media agency, in the form of personal commentary, photos or stories and to share these with the world. The function of citizen journalism coincided with the notion of communicating information about their own personal wellbeing through social media or using information available in social media to monitor the wellbeing of others.

There was a particularly interesting case where a young female living on the

Western side of Viti Levu, named Cayla Tikaram, live tweeted her experience during the TC Winston while huddled with her family in a cupboard. The story was picked up by *The New Zealand Herald*, *Daily Mail* (UK), and even CNN (*NZ Herald*, 2016). There were also residents in Taveuni and Savusavu that recorded and uploaded videos of the cyclone onto Facebook [3]. Ironically, these individuals were able to do this because the areas where they live is not connected to the national electrical powerlines and therefore uses diesel generators. While there was a nationwide electrical blackout in Fiji, these individuals were able to live tweet, record and upload the effects of the cyclone as it happened on social media. The international media and international community were able to see the impact of the cyclone as it happened, and this contributed to the immediate response in relief efforts.

#StrongerThanWinston: Rallying response

Following a natural disaster, social media have been shown to be used by individuals to indicate their status, request for assistance, share their ordeal and post pictures and videos of the aftermath (Acar & Muraki, 2011; Qu et al. 2011). Social media are also used by those who were not physically present at the location of the natural disaster to show their sympathy from a distance towards those affected. In post-recovery situations, social media have also been shown to facilitate communication between the public and the government (Annamalai, Koay, & Lee, 2014).

The #StrongerThanWinston hashtag was the 'brain child' of a Fijian disaster risk management official. Hughes and Palen (2012) argue that social media have changed the role of Public Information Officers (PIOs) of National Incident Management Systems. Conducting interviews with 25 PIOs, the study finds that social media have expanded the scope and nature of work activity and communication that exist between PIOs, media and members of the public. The official had been part of the Fijian Government delegation that visited and assisted with the relief efforts after Cyclone Pam in Vanuatu. This experience informed the official's observations about the necessity of communications in fostering unity in coordination efforts for disaster risk management.

Vanuatu had the #WithVanuatu hashtag which garnered online support mostly on Twitter. However, the official believed that the #WithVanuatu hashtag created division rather than unity within Vanuatu. As the official put it, 'it seemed to make the people a separate entity altogether'. The call for #WithVanuatu seemed more of an appeal to those outside Vanuatu, which in a way deflected from those within Vanuatu who faced the disaster. The official claimed that this narrative was perhaps more targeted for humanitarian groups and external actors. This experience shaped and informed the creation of the #StrongerThanWinston hashtag to an extent.

For several days after the devastation of Cyclone Winston, there were no comprehensive aerial images of the damages. This was until the Royal New Zealand Air Force captured full scale images of the decimated island of Koro. The official shared how their noisy briefing room suddenly fell silent as the images of flattened homes and ruined vegetation were projected on their briefing screen. Their team was briefed that a category 5 cyclone has the 'strongest' intensity and that the images they had seen matched the expected devastation of such a category. The *strongest* category matched a *stronger* people, despite its devastation and havoc. This laid the conceptual foundation of #StrongerThanWinston in seeking to embolden and empower not only Fijians who were directly affected but also those who were in a better position to lend a helping hand. The official noted how social media galvanised public opinion and emotional sentiment in Fiji much faster than any other medium in times of disaster.

The expanse of internet access, affordability and live updating capabilities of digital technologies, provided the impetus for the #StrongerThanWinston narrative, which spread like wild fire on Fiji's digital landscape. This began with an unassuming Facebook post, which caught onto Twitter and ultimately began trending within Fiji's social networking sites. Fiji's largest Facebook Group— Chat (Fiji) (www.facebook.com/groups/LETSTALK11/)[4], has over 200,000 active accounts, the #StrongerThanWinston hashtag had over 70 posts in the nine months after Cyclone Winston. The highest post garnered well over 1500 reactions and more than 140 comments. On Fiji's 'Twittersphere' the hashtag gained well over 2400 mentions and has been retweeted well beyond that figure. The official confirmed that the narrative had gone viral first, and then it was used in official government agency statements. It was as if the message was vetted by the public first then regurgitated by the state, which only heightened its intensity and popularity.

By that point the #StrongerThanWinston narrative captured a three-tier focus. First, it emphasised the people being stronger than the disaster, which situated Fijians not so much as victims but as overcomers of the devastation. Second, it galvanised the idea that part of being stronger as a people was in helping one another as Fijians. This fed directly into the government's efforts at mobilising public unity and cooperation towards its relief efforts. Third, the narrative became an easy and convenient frame for intergovernmental organisations, disaster relief agencies and other external actors.

The digital public responses towards #StrongerThanWinston varied, predicated on social networking platforms and focus. Out of these responses there is a notable set of trends observed. The first and most prominent were individual personal accounts and documentation of destruction. These included a wide variety of images and videos of people's homes, property and some of their livestock being caught in the devastation. This was followed by the empowered trend, where statuses

and tweets began to project the narrative of being #StrongerThanWinston. It was also fascinating to note the distinction in class and location in the variety of digital discussions. This was evidenced when some digital Fijian citizens in the urban and more privileged areas were reproached by others for relentlessly lamenting the power disruptions, while many others were without homes and some had lost their loved ones, as a post on one of Fiji's earliest Facebook forums indicated.

Another trend in the #StrongerThanWinston digital discourse, touched on Fiji's foreign policy. As the relief efforts, pledges and promises began trickling in, many began to not only laud the Australian and New Zealand response but also question other international partners that seemed delayed in their offer of support. The Australian and New Zealand assistance was extensive and immediate in the wake of the disaster. Australia had committed a total of AUD $35 million with a wide range of technical support that assisted the government's relief efforts (Australian Government, 2017). New Zealand provided the much-needed aerial support and medical services that were crucial, especially for the outer islands (New Zealand Government, 2016). Both governments were visible with their defence forces on the ground and in the water, for the outer islands.

The immediate presence and efforts of these two countries was well received and it began a trend of digital discussions that questioned Fiji's foreign policy assertions. After Fiji's suspension from the Pacific Island Forum in 2009, the Australian and New Zealand Government was never seen in the same light as it once was by the Bainimarama administration (Green, 2013). With the Look North Policy and the looming presence of China, Fiji began seeking alternative partners away from Australia and New Zealand (Tarte, 2011; Wesley-Smith & Porter, 2010). Fiji was welcomed back into the Pacific Island forum after its 2014 elections, but Prime Minister Bainimarama was blunt in calling for the removal of Australia and New Zealand as members. The public impression of these sentiments erupted in the digital discussions as many questioned the absence, if not glacial response, of alternative partners compared to their Australian and New Zealand counterparts. As a social media user posted, 'Where is China and Russia in our hour of need?', referencing a news link of Bainimarama's statement against Australia and New Zealand. Another user asserted, 'NZ and Australia's humanitarian efforts are above politics in such times'. In this regard, Australia's and New Zealand's success in public diplomacy was evidenced by this trend in digital discussions.

These sentiments are a snapshot of the wider digital discussions that permeated Fiji's digital landscape. The birth of the #StrongerThanWinston hashtag and narrative proved successful in rallying a sense of empowerment and public support. This was evident in the online observations and data gathering that was done in the months following Cyclone Winston. In addition to this #StrongerThanWinston was mentioned, posted, tweeted and shared well over 2000 times across Fjii's social networking sites. However, alongside this narrative emerged nuanced trends

in public responses, expressed by users as digital citizens. These trends mark an interesting interplay of public engagement, perception and communication in disaster relief efforts. On one hand online users expressed their horror and pain at the devastation, while at the same most viewed it as an act of God, as opposed to the connections to climate change. These sentiments sought to promote the idea of 'sin', 'shame' and belief. While this was clear, the public appeared to directly engage and rally around being 'stronger' than the given adversity caused by the devastation, through social media. These aspects tended to conflict on certain terms considering the predominantly secular approach of state and non-state agencies. Despite the contending trends that ran alongside the #StrongerThanWinston hashtag, the underlying empowering and unifying narrative was a major success. This was evidenced by widely known public support that was overwhelming, to the point that individual families visited villages on their own and made direct personal forms of assistance.

The #StrongerThanWinston was also used prominently by international NGOs and foreign governments. NGOs and foreign governments co-opted the hashtag to show their relief efforts following the cyclone. Even NGOs who did not intend to take on journalistic roles became, as Spyksma (2017) describe 'unintentional journalists'. Using the case study of the NGO 350.org and Cyclone Pam in Vanuatu, Spyksma argues that members of 350.org, by producing reports about the passing of Cyclone Pam in Vanuatu, 2015, filled a void in global news reporting from the Pacific region. The eyewitness reporting was intended to highlight the impacts of climate change through the severity of Cyclone Pam. While the intention was advocacy for climate change action, Spyksma (2017) argues that the NGO became unintentional journalists as they filled a gap in international reporting by putting Pacific voices at the centre, in contrast to traditional reporting of international media organisations.

Spyksma further argues that the act of reporting on Cyclone Pam 'created a discursive space that disrupted the status quo of climate change reporting in and about the region: by using global structures to amplify local voices' (p. 16). Spyksma (2017) also describes how 350.org used Facebook to report about Cyclone Pam. 350.org created a live blog on their Facebook page to respond to audiences wanting to be constantly informed about the relief and recovery efforts. YouTube was also used where videos before and after the storm were uploaded. Interestingly, Twitter was not described at all as being used by 350.org and while this is surprising in Western countries, it is not in the Pacific, where Facebook and YouTube are the most popular social media platforms (Author, 2016).

As noted by Alexander (2014), social media can create a sense of social cohesion that promotes therapeutic initiatives, fosters a sense of online and office identity and enhances voluntarism. Following TC Winston, there was an outpouring of donations and support from Fijians living abroad and the international

community. Countless fundraising events were organised using social media to help raise funds and collect items that would be useful to affected Fijians. This is consistent with other studies that have found social media fundraising campaigns have elicited considerable responses from public donors (Gao et al., 2011; Lobb et al., 2012). The hashtag became the rallying point for individuals around the world as Fiji tried to rebuild and restore normalcy following the Cyclone.

Conclusion

This article has provided an analysis of how social media was used before, during and after Tropical Cyclone Winston. The article contributes to the growing literature on social media and disaster communication by providing a case study of TC Winston. It shows innovative and serendipitous uses of social media during the cyclone from informing citizens about the cyclone, allowing individuals to broadcast their experiences during the cyclone and as a rallying point that brought the nation and the international communities together to assist Fijians recover from the cyclone.

Social media did not replace the traditional modes of communication but rather was complementary to these conventional forms of communication. Social media also complemented mainstream media by allowing Pacific voices to tell their stories and share their experience with the cyclone. This form of reporting has been highlighted as necessary in the Pacific to counter what Robie (2014) describes as 'carbon colonialism', referring to Western media outlets' coverage of the impact of climate change in the Pacific. Robie (2014) argues that global inaction to climate change can be attributed to the manipulation of the media due to the 'vested interests such as the coal industry and political-economical ideologues pushing neoliberal growth policies' (p. 32). In a similar vein, Spyksma (2017) argues that personal stories from Pacific Islanders are needed to counter the dominant media discourses that obfuscate developed countries' role in global warming. Social media has created a space for Pacific Islanders' voices to be heard and the severity of Cyclone Winston being a consequence of anthropogenic climate change.

While revolutionary in disaster communication, social media also has limitations, especially in developing countries, where internet coverage is limited and costs of accessing social media are prohibitive (Finau et al. 2016). Furthermore, some authors have argued that social media may lead to the spread of false information and rumours that could lead to public anarchy (Bird et al. 2012). However, the data from the study reveal that information shared on social media was quite accurate and that people relied on information shared by their relatives, friends and trusted pages. While there were rumours circulating on social media, these fake stories emerged following the cyclones and related to conspiracy theories about the cause of the cyclone (Cox et al., 2018).

Notes

1. As at 21 April 2018, Fiji Meteorological Service (@FijiMetService) had 53,070 followers www.facebook.com/FijiMetService
2. The Fiji government Facebook page (www.facebook.com/FijianGovernment/) has more than 133,000 likes, and the NaDraki weather page (www.facebook.com/NaDrakiFiji/) has more than 103,000 likes
3. YouTube video of resident in Taveuni video recording the Cyclone: www.youtube.com/watch?v=kRrTUvFlTCM
4. www.facebook.com/groups/LETSTALK11/

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8. A plan nobody hopes they will need

New Zealand and climate change migration

Abstract: At the Second Pacific Climate Change conference in Wellington in February 2018, New Zealand's Minister for Pacific Peoples, 'Aupito Tofae Su'a William Sio, said New Zealand must have policies in place to deal with the possibility of climate-induced migration from the Pacific Islands. He described having such a policy in place as being akin to a factory preparing an evacuation plan in case of an earthquake: A vital precaution for something everybody hoped would never be needed. But what would that policy look like, how far forward would planners have to think, what issues are involved and who would be responsible for making sure it was effective? This article examines four key areas of concern that will have to be dealt with if an effective policy on climate change-induced migration is to be developed: Public perceptions, the law, maintaining Island culture and identity and changing the existing media narrative on social change. It identifies three groups of key players in the process: Legislators and legal experts, churches, and journalists.

Keywords: churches, climate change, journalism, law, media, migration, New Zealand, policy, social justice, South Pacific

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I N MARCH 2018, New Zealand's Royal Society Te Apārangi warned that even if all the country commitments from the 2015 Paris Agreement were met, the latest data showed that by the end of the 21st century the global climate was likely to be operating at 3°C above pre-industrial levels. This is substantially higher than the Paris target of less than 2°C. The temperature rise will affect billions of people. The president of the Royal Society, Professor Richard Bedford, said:

> Here in the South Pacific, we are acutely aware of the risks of climate change and sea level rise to our Pacific Island neighbours and we urge all nations to take immediate action on climate change. (Royal Society, 2018)

According to Professor Hans Joachim Schellnhuber, director of the Potsdam Institute for Climate Impact Research, Asia-Pacific is the most vulnerable region.

If the current climate change scenario did not improve, Schellnhuber predicted that up to one billion people would be forced to migrate by 2100 (Fernandez, 2017).

At the Second Pacific Climate Change conference in Wellington in February 2018, New Zealand's Minister for Pacific Peoples, 'Aupito Tofae Su'a William Sio, said New Zealand must have policies in place to deal with the possibility of climate-induced migration from the Pacific Islands (Sio, 2018). Sio has campaigned on this issue for some time, but said in an interview after the conference that he was working to get fellow ministers to agree to the idea. Sio said many Pacific islands, especially the Cook Islands, Niue and Tokelau, which constitutionally are part of the realm of New Zealand, may look to this country if their populations had to relocate because climate change made their countries uninhabitable. He said New Zealand had to recognise that migration and resettlement might be necessary and its policies on issues like migration and employment must be sufficiently flexible to deal with the situation. Nobody knows how many people may be involved in that movement, but it is unlikely to involve the kind of apocalyptic numbers mentioned by Schellnhuber.

In this the minister, who is of Samoan origin and one of four Pasifika members of Cabinet in the new Labour-led coalition government, was reiterating long-standing calls for New Zealand to prepare for the possibility of climate change-induced migration from the Pacific. Bedford and Bedford (2010, p. 126) described the possible resettlement of many tens of thousands of people as 'a daunting prospect' and were followed in 2013 by Auckland University of Technology academic Vernon Rive who warned that a failure to plan for the possibility of climate-led migration to New Zealand would have consequences which New Zealand and the Pacific may come to regret. Rive also noted, as has the minister, that

> . . . migration is very much a last resort and that for the most part Pacific people would prefer to continue living in their home countries with dignity and safety. However, if migration was necessary it should be carried out with respect for the resilience of people who are no strangers to re-establishing themselves in new environments in response to changing environmental conditions. (Rive, 2013)

Boncour and Burson (2010, p. 5) have argued for the need to manage climate change migration and to understand the implications for host countries and how to manage the complex process of adaptation to their new environment. More recently, 'Akeli (2018) has described climate-induced migration as a critical issue of concern for the Pacific, especially for communities whose legal and physical existence is threatened.

Sio said long term planning needed to take into account requirements for infrastructure and the question of whether New Zealand was mentally and psychologically prepared for what could happen. He said New Zealand needed to envision what could happen because talking about the possibility of climate change-induced migration now could help pre-empt problems later on.

> How do we act in an emergency we don't want to happen? Every factory has an evacuation plan it doesn't ever want to use. (Cass, 2018a)

McLeod (2010, p. 154) argues that working with the Pacific diaspora in New Zealand will be vital to helping climate change migrants settle.[1] Evidence shows that Pacific Islanders who have settled in New Zealand tend to support settlers by hosting them, helping them find jobs and adjusting to New Zealand. According to Sio (Cass, 2018a) New Zealand has a responsibility to work with the Island nations and help ensure their views and aspirations are heard at international fora. Sio described Vanuatu and Tuvalu as the canary in the coal mine that would sound the alarm for climate change, saying: 'Remember the canary in the coal mine. When it dies, we are all in danger.' (Cass, 2018b) The Minister visited Tuvalu and Kiribati in 2016 and has since shown videos he made recording the effects of climate change on the islands and their people as part of his education campaign (Sio, 2016a; 2016b).

Public perceptions

Sio's concerns about preparing New Zealanders mentally and psychologically for climate change-induced migration are reflected in Allwood's (2013) study of the New Zealand public's perception of large scale climate change-induced migration. Allwood found that interviewees generally welcomed the idea of having Pacific island migrants move to New Zealand because they were from countries which New Zealand has historically assisted. However, his findings show that they had quite specific caveats. He found that interviewees were intimidated by the potential number of migrants and how they might segregate themselves from the surrounding community (Allwood, 2013, p. 78).

Interview results showed that people thought relocating whole communities to one place would not be welcomed. Participants worried that migrants would not want to integrate and thus isolate themselves from New Zealand communities. They felt there was limited knowledge and understanding of the backgrounds of the migrants coming from the Pacific Islands. They regarded existing New Zealand cultural groups as dominant and expected migrant groups to be subordinate. Participants wanted large scale migration, but not if it changed their way of life (Allwood, 2013, p. 59). The study showed people were concerned that trying to accommodate thousands of people who could possibly be unskilled may create a financial burden for the New Zealand economy. If migrants had job skills and

some finances to rely on they would be able to contribute to the New Zealand economy (Allwood, 2013, p. 61).[2]

Allwood's findings can be compared with a more recent survey of attitudes towards migration in general which showed that while New Zealanders were generally positive about migrants, 53 percent felt they were putting pressure on public services and 54 percent did not want an increase in immigration numbers (Ipsos, 2016). They are also consistent with surveys in other countries on accommodating refugees. According to a report by Chatham House (2017), recent research showed that around the world there was generalised support for the idea of taking in refugees as a humanitarian duty, but this was counterbalanced by fears of a loss of belonging and identity caused by an influx of refugees. In countries which had suffered terrorist attacks there were security concerns as well as fears of loss of jobs and the effect on public transport and health systems (Chatham House, 2017).

Who will be responsible?

Who, then, will be responsible for preparing New Zealand for the possibility of climate change-induced migration? I would suggest that three groups will have a vital role to play. Firstly, legislators and legal experts must work to create a legal framework within which such migration can take place. Churches, which are central to Islander identity and culture, have been identified as playing a vital role. The media in New Zealand and the Pacific will have a major role in preparing the public for climate change migration, albeit in a way that may require the New Zealand media to adopt a developmental function and operate as a conduit for the necessary social change.

Legislators and legal experts

Much of the responsibility for preparing for the possibility of climate-induced change will, inevitably, fall on legislators and legal experts. Bedford and Bedford (2010, p. 94) have argued that amendments to existing immigration laws are likely to be more successful than waiting until a crisis is reached before taking action. Establishing a legal framework to assist those Island populations which want to re-establish their communities in New Zealand will require a major effort on the part of local and international legislators. 'Akeli (2018) suggests focussing on providing a bridge for migration through visas as a way of offsetting the stresses that affect the most vulnerable people, such as children and the elderly, during sudden or forced migration. The two migration schemes which could be most readily adapted appear to be the Recognised Seasonal Employer Scheme and the Pacific Access Category Resident Visa.[3]

Under the Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) scheme the horticulture and viticulture industries may recruit workers from overseas for seasonal work

when there are not enough New Zealand workers. In 2017, 11,000 RSE workers were employed in New Zealand, more than double the number allowed when the scheme started in 2007. Countries whose citizens are eligible for the RSE scheme are Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, Papua New Guinea, Samoa,   Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu and Vanuatu (Immigration New Zealand a). A limited number of citizens from a handful of island states can apply for a Pacific Access Category Resident Visa. This is essentially a lottery, with citizens of island states aged between 18-45 applying to be registered for a ballot. The visa is indefinite and gives winners the right to work, study and live in New Zealand. The current limits are 75 i-Kiribati, 75 Tuvaluans, 250 Tongans and 250 Fijians. (Immigration New Zealand b)

There is currently no legal framework under which people can claim refugee status in New Zealand because of climate change. There have been two high profile cases in which Islanders have sought leave to stay in New Zealand on the grounds of climate change, but these were dismissed, in one case after several appeals. However, the courts have allowed people to stay on other grounds where there is a family connection. Ioane Teitiota unsuccessfully appealed a decision of the Immigration tribunal on the grounds of climate change in Kiribati (Scoop, 2015).

A family from Tuvalu was allowed to stay on humanitarian grounds at the discretion of the court, which

> …accepted that 'exposure to the impacts of natural disasters can, in general terms, be a humanitarian circumstance', that under certain circumstances could make it unjust or unduly harsh to deport a particular individual. It recognised that Tuvalu was particularly vulnerable to the adverse impacts of climate change and environmental degradation, including 'coastal erosion, flooding and inundation, increasing salinity of fresh ground-water supplies, destruction of primary sources of subsistence, and destruction of personal and community property'. (McAdam, 2013; Scoop, 2017)

At the time of the Tuvalu family case, New Zealand's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade said clearly that it did not have an explicit policy to accept people from Pacific island countries due to climate change (Rive, 2013). On a global scale there is in fact debate about whether it would be feasible or even wise to have climate change recognised as a basis for claiming asylum. Some action on developing a legal response to climate change has come from the Nansen Initiative, a Scandinavian project which has carried out consultations in a number of regions, including the Pacific. The Nansen Initiative notes:

> Every year around the world, millions of people are forcibly displaced by floods, wind-storms, earthquakes, droughts and other disasters. In the context of climate change, such movements are likely to increase. National

and international responses to this challenge are insufficient and protection
for affected people remains inadequate . . . (A) serious legal gap exists
with regard to cross-border movements in the context of disasters and the
effects of climate change. (The Challenge, n.d.)

Providing a legal framework that protects the status of climate change refugees
will also be important, as will defining and protecting the statehood of the mi-
grants. It is clear that those Pacific Islanders considering migration see it in the
light of continuing and recreating their societies and cultures in a new home, not
abandoning or losing them. Where Island states physically disappear or are oth-
erwise rendered totally uninhabitable, questions will inevitably arise about the
continued legal existence of those polities. Given China's illegal creation of a
military base on the Spratley reefs in the Philippines Sea, it is not too far-fetched
to ask what would happen if it or another naval power anchored an aircraft car-
rier battle group over a submerged island and declared it was now theirs. Even
below the strategic level there are very real considerations about the legal status
of refugees. Would they continue to be Tongans, Samoans, i-Kiribati or New
Zealanders, or both? Would migrants lose their right to have their citizenship
recognised if they were no longer able to live in that country? Burson (2010,
p. 172) argues that potential host countries should enter early on into bilateral
agreements with countries from which climate change migrants may come and
that climate change migrants must be protected from becoming stateless:

> If the international community declares these states to continue to exist in
> some legal sense, perhaps for purposes of continuing to confer nationality
> and preserving rights to control and exploit land and marine resources,
> their populations may lack an effective nationality (de facto statelessness),
> but will not be de jure stateless. (Burson, 2010, p. 168)

Robie (2017) argues that Australia—and especially New Zealand with its large
Pasifika population—need to plan for the possibility of large numbers of cli-
mate change-induced migrants. New Zealand should start preparing policies for
dealing with such an eventuality as soon as possible.

Barnett and Chamberlain (2010, p. 58) argue that whatever approach is taken,
it must help climate change migrants by working with peoples' abilities to explore
possibilities to respond to their problems and to re-imagine their possibilities in
front of them. They suggest creating a set of policies to provide climate change
migrants with choices and by increasing the human, financial and social capital
they require to be able to adapt to climate change.

Churches
Outside of the Parliamentary-legal nexus, churches have taken well-publicised
social justice-based stands on climate change and migration, such as Pope

Francis's 'Don't be afraid!' campaign (Associated Press, 2017) churches have been identified by a number of researchers as institutions that could play an important role in communicating climate change issues and helping during the transition period. As one of the few places where people of all New Zealand's communities come together, they are also one of the few places where a narrative of welcoming migrants and integrating them into the existing community as a moral imperative can be sustained away from the expediency of politics and the restrictions of mainstream media practices. (Winfield & Zoll, 2017) Church-based communities are recognised as focal points for identity and culture and for preserving and developing those aspects of Island societies in whatever setting the diasporic peoples find themselves. Given their absolute centrality to the lives of so many people, the Christian churches in the Pacific and those in New Zealand will play a vital role in communicating messages about climate change.

Of paramount importance to helping Islander migrants adjust to New Zealand is being able to maintain their culture, language, values and spirituality in the new context. According to McLeod (2010, p. 157.), building churches and communities have been identified as key to maintaining culture, as religion and spirituality are integral to Pacific identity. Churches also provide and encourage a sense of belonging. Chatham House (2017) said churches could play an influential role among people who were concerned about climate change-induced migration, especially when people distrusted politicians or NGOs or thought they were being pushed down a particular path by a social or political elite.

Both Catholic and Protestant faith communities have strong commitments to taking action on climate change and creating a sustainable, equitable and just society. As Howell and Kleinsman (2018) pointed out at the 2018 Wellington climate change conference, Pope Francis's *Laudato Si* (Pope Francis, 2015) and the World Council of Churches' *An Economy of Life* (Mshana & Peralta, 2015) share a concern for the future of the planet based on the principles of economic, social and climate justice. *Laudato Si* calls for multiple approaches to confronting the crisis, arguing that:

> We need to realise that the solutions will not emerge from just one way of interpreting and transforming reality . . . If we are truly concerned to develop an ecology capable of remedying the damage we have done, no branch of the sciences and no form of wisdom can be left out. (Pope Francis, 2015)

Both documents see capitalism as a major source of environmental and social degradation, rejecting what they describe as a culture of rampant consumerism, greed and selfishness. They also believe that there is a moral imperative to change to a simpler life. Pope Francis ends *Laudato Si* with a 'Prayer for the Earth' which contains these lines:

… protect the world and not prey on it,
that we may sow beauty,
not pollution and destruction.
Touch the hearts
of those who look only for gain
at the expense of the poor and the earth. (Pope Francis, 2015)

How effective or widespread church action on the issue is in the Islands is a matter of debate. Speaking in Wellington, Anglican priest Fr Laiseni Liava'a was critical of what he saw as the inactivity of churches in his native Tonga, arguing that climate change was still a relatively new issue at the local church level (Liava'a, 2018). Fr Liava'a, who worked as the National Climate Change Coordinator of Tonga's Third National Communication Project from 2013 to 2014, said in a later interview that climate change was still very much managed and communicated as an elite level issue while the majority of the people at the grassroots level were left uninformed (Cass, 2018c). In this he was echoing Jackson's (2010) assertion that climate change was known about and understood by specialists, the educated and those with access to international media, but not by ordinary people.

The head of the Catholic church in the kingdom, Cardinal Soane Patita Mafi, said the church had been active, with Caritas involved in community projects in villages and parishes to mitigate the effects of climate change. Projects included planting trees along shorelines as soil protection and to screen buildings from the wind (Grantham, 2018).

In New Zealand, Gillard and Dyson's research (2012) shows opportunities for churches to act as intermediaries for new arrivals, to support communities and foster identity among the diasporic community. Gillard and Dyson believe their work on i-Kiribati migration to New Zealand to be widely relevant to other diasporic Pacific communities. Their report, which was prepared for the Presbyterian church, demonstrates a desire by interviewees for the church to play a role and a recognition of the importance of communities in the resettlement process.

> Global warming and rising sea levels play on the minds of I-Kiribati in New Zealand and at home in Kiribati. I-Kiribati in New Zealand are a vanguard of the Kiribati migration, setting up networks and preparing for others to follow. The reality of the crisis is gaining acceptance at home in Kiribati (Gillard & Dyson, 2012).

Whether participating in concrete action or in promoting issues surrounding climate change-induced migration to their congregations, the churches are well placed to continue promoting the idea that climate change refugees should be welcomed as a religious, ethical, moral and social justice obligation.

Church-based media organisations such as the World Association for Christian Communication also have a role to play. Working from what is essentially a developmental or transformative viewpoint, they offer a continuing critique of mainstream western journalism and its reporting on issues such as migration. WACC has always emphasised communication as an integral part of human rights and in its assessment of the coverage of migrants and refugees in Europe it underlines the rights of migrants within the broader media narrative:

> For refugees…this means being able to express themselves fully and without restrictions, being adequately and respectfully portrayed by the media and having each individual's personal story acknowledged. This goes far beyond the refugee or migrant label. (Pierigh, 2017)

Journalists

Journalists writing about climate change regard it as an important, but difficult task. New Zealand climate change journalist Samantha Hayes described her goal as being to help people understand climate change, how it affects them and what actions they can take. However, she acknowledged the difficulties surrounding the story, describing it as 'a scientific slow burn, wrapped in politics and vested interests, surrounded by visions of a fiery apocalypse…Journalism has never had a more important or difficult task' (*The Spinoff*, 2017).

The difficulties of communicating climate change, dissatisfaction with the media's role, the nature of engagement between scientists and the public have been the subject of numerous conference papers and journal articles. More recently, Walters et al. (2017) have argued that scientists who actively engage with the media to promote information about climate change are regarded by other scientists as deviants. In the face of such difficulties, it could seem impossible to make the public understand the science behind climate change and climate change-induced migration. However, climate change can be a human as well as a scientific story. Hayes' colleague Charlie Mitchell said:

> In terms of New Zealand, one of the major climate change issues worldwide is forced migration, and that may become a reality for Kiribati in the coming decades. Over 110,000 people live there, and we're their closest wealthy neighbour. Where else are they going to go? (*The Spinoff*, 2017)

Hendricks (2017) argues that concentrating on the human angle may be the best way to tell the story in terms people understand, to 'focus on the framing, not the facts'. Corner (2016) argues that reporting on people will change climate change from 'a scientific to a social reality'. The UK Climate Change and Migration Coalition (2012) sees climate-induced migration as an important way to humanise the issue. Other international reports see the media as playing not

just a humanising role, but one which prompts change and response to the issue. Sakarelli (2017) argues that:

> Mass media are important forums for the application of ideas and narratives about climate change to the political and economic status quo, therefore media coverage of social impacts of climate change can assist building awareness and momentum for practical action.

If, as Sio (2018) argues, New Zealand has to be prepared psychologically and mentally for the possibility of climate change-induced migration and of providing a carefully thought out response to people who choose to recreate their communities in New Zealand, the media may be called on to play not just its traditional reporting role, but the kind of function that Sakarelli (2017) describes; producing an educative, developmental narrative that may run for decades as sea levels rise and communities decide whether to migrate. A number of experts have argued that the media will have to adapt different strategies to communicate the story of climate change and climate change migration. Brüggemann (2018) extols the virtues of 'slow journalism,' 'a media that builds community sustainability, resilience and adaptability in the face of the challenges of a time of global climate change'. He describes this as 'constructive' journalism, focussing on solutions and providing information about what is being done about climate change.

The educational role of journalism is already acknowledged (Hutt, 2017), but Jackson (2010) argues that the Pacific media need to do more to make people aware of the issue, to act as informant for the public and to create a healthy space for discussion. She claimed that while the effects of climate change were generally known to specialists, those working in the environment sector through non-government organisations, the private sector, government and academics, this was less true for people who relied on local media for news.

The diasporic media, such as the Auckland-based Tongan news service *Kaniva Tonga*, can serve as a vital link between New Zealand and the Islands in terms of government policy and people's stories. Research by Cass (2015) and Papoutsaki (2016) has shown that diasporic media provide a bridge between the country of origin and New Zealand and have played a part in influencing elections. Social media, especially Facebook and island-specific chat rooms also play an important part in building bridges between existing diasporic communities and island communities. They could be extremely useful in educating people about climate change and changes in government policy and migration rules.

The Chatham House report was concerned about the role of the media in portraying migration movements and noted the danger of what are now known as 'fake news' stories being circulated by right wing agitators and the polarisation of the debate in the media. (Chatham House, 2017) Similarly, Danilova

(2016) argued that the media could serve to reinforce the image of migrants as criminals and underline anti-immigrant rhetoric. The Chatham House report (2017) said that people involved in surveys were concerned that the far right was better financed, more technically literate and better at using migration to frighten people in order to gain political power. It also argued that pro-migration campaigners had not been very successful in persuading people who were worried about migration.

How the migration story is told clearly presents challenges. As noted above, this is a profoundly human story which may require the mainstream media to perform very differently or to adapt existing working practices. Nobody would pretend this will be easy. Journalists working on climate change such as Hayes (op cit) are already aware of their role as educators, which is a fundamental function of developmental journalism. However, it is likely that negotiating a change in the behaviour of journalists and media outlets will be resisted by many media workers on the grounds that it violates their principles of neutrality and impartiality. As an example, the World Association for Christian Communication (WACC) recommends that journalists working on climate change adhere to what it calls 'the five core principles of ethical journalism: accuracy, independence, impartiality, humanity and accountability'. (Pierigh, 2017) Some journalists might well consider that humanity and accountability are incompatible with independence and impartiality.

The answer well may lie with journalists of tomorrow who will be reporting on the effects of climate change and may very well also be reporting on the arrival of climate change-induced migrants in countries like New Zealand. WACC recommends working with journalism students 'to ensure that the next generation of media professionals will have developed a sensitivity to the topic of migration'. (Pierigh, 2017) This is already being done through the Pacific Media Centre's Bearing Witness project at Auckland University of Technology, a collaborative venture with the University of the South Pacific's journalism programme, the Pacific Centre for the Environment and Sustainable Development (PaCE-SD) and documentary collective Te Ara Motuhenga (Robie & Chand, 2017). For students involved with the Bearing Witness project, the human side of the story is very personal. As USP journalism and politics student Vilimaina Naqelevuki put it:

> Climate change for me is something personal. It's something that affects my country and the Pacific and the world as well. Climate change for me means loss of life, and loss of loved ones. (Cleaver & Hutt, 2017)

Conclusion

While sudden, large scale migration to New Zealand on a European scale is unlikely, these are important issues to keep in mind. If people are to be prepared to take a positive view of the possibility of climate change-induced migration,

then those negotiating that preparation will have to be mindful of how fear and racism can distort people's perceptions. One only has to see how successive right wing governments in Australia have used xenophobia and the largely bogus threat of terrorism to justify migration polices that have been condemned as 'cruel' and 'shocking' by the UN (Wahlquist & Doherty, 2017).

One of the issues the media will have to face is how to frame the migration story. Of particular concern will be the use of language and the terms used to describe climate change migrants. Leaders from vulnerable island states have rejected the 'climate refugee' label and instead emphasise the 'resilience' of their peoples. In reality, Pacific Islanders reject the label of 'climate refugee' and prefer to be seen as proactive and resilient peoples, searching for their own regional solutions while campaigning for strict mitigation measures. The UNDP has long recognised 'climate refugee' as problematic, but says other words are equally loaded, saying that 'climate migrant' "carries negative connotations which reduce the implied responsibility of the international community for their welfare (Brown, 2007). Ober and Sakdapolrak (2015) say that leaders of vulnerable island states prefer to emphasise the 'resilience' of their peoples. There has been a marked move in recent years to use the term migrant rather than refugees because of what is seen as the pejorative connotations of helplessness in the latter word. Howell and Kleinsman (2018) argue for the use of the word 'ambassadors':

> 'Refugees' says come and enjoy our charity and become like us. 'Ambassadors' says we regard you as valued contributors. Your story of loss may awaken our sleepwalking.

Developing and maintaining a policy to prepare New Zealand for the possibility of climate change migration will require the participation of several sectors of society. As demonstrated in this article, the groups under consideration all have potentially intersecting and mutually supportive roles in preparing for trans-Pacific population movements. Legislators and lawyers will have to work together to create paths to facilitate migration. New Zealand legislators could use the existing RSE programme as the basis of a programme worked out in collaboration with Island governments to ensure the steady flow of trained workers who could integrate into the New Zealand economy. Churches will have to work with the government to provide support services, to promote different methods of reporting on climate change and migration and to educate coming generations through schools that welcoming climate change refugees is a moral obligation. News media, whether mainstream organs or diasporic media, will have to re-evaluate how they tell the story by adopting new practices and attitudes. This will not be an easy task and more research and self-reflection

would be useful. Sio's call for the creation of an emergency plan is the latest in a line of warnings that action needs to be taken. If he can assure the co-operation and co-ordination of the kinds of groups identified here, it may be possible to develop a coherent policy in time.

Notes

1. Moving to New Zealand will not remove the threat of climate change. Islanders living in New Zealand face the same threat. In Auckland, New Zealand's largest city, Pacific Islanders make up 14.6 percent of the population. Many of them live in areas like Mangere and Manukau, which are likely to be flooded as sea levels rise due to climate change. On top of coastal inundation, Auckland will face the threat of flooding as heavy rain becomes more common (Newshub, 2018; Stuff, 2015; Appleby, 2015). In 2015, the head of Victoria University's School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences, Dr James Renwick, warned that without urgent mitigation measures, three metres of sea level rise would become a near-certainty within a century. The report by the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment suggests the best way of dealing with coastal flooding is a 'managed retreat' and abandoning affected areas (Parliamentary Commissioner, 2015).
2. Countries facing the possibility of climate change migration are actively working to make their people ready to work and integrate into their new environment. Former President Anote tong of Kiribati told the Australian Broadcasting Corporation his country planned to 'train migrants, to up-skill them, so that they can be worthwhile citizens when we relocate them as a community, not as refugees'(ABC, 2014).
3. Seasonal employment agreements for migrant workers also exist in Australia. Until now recruitment has been annual, but there is a move to have three-year visas granted in Australia. (Cass, 2018d)

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Bearing Witness 2017
Year 2 of a Pacific climate change storytelling project case study

Abstract: In 2016, the Pacific Media Centre responded to the devastation and tragedy wrought in Fiji by Severe Tropical Cyclone Winston by initiating the Bearing Witness journalism project and dispatching two postgraduate students to Viti Levu to document and report on the impact of climate change (Robie & Chand, 2017). This was followed up in 2017 in a second phase of what was hoped would become a five-year mission and expanded in future years to include other parts of the Asia-Pacific region. This project is timely, given the new 10-year Strategic Plan 2017-2026 launched by the Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP) in March and the co-hosting by Fiji of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (COP23) climate change conference in Bonn, Germany, during November. The students dispatched in 2017 on the 'bearing witness' journalism experiential assignment to work in collaboration with the Pacific Centre for the Environment and Sustainable Development (PaCE-SD) and the Regional Journalism Programme at the University of the South Pacific included a report about the relocation of a remote inland village of Tukuraki. They won the 2017 media and trauma prize of the Asia-Pacific Dart Centre, an agency affiliated with the Columbia School of Journalism. This article is a case study assessing the progress with this second year of the journalism project and exploring the strategic initiatives under way for more nuanced and constructive Asia-Pacific media storytelling in response to climate change.

Keywords: bearing witness, climate change, COP23, environmental journalism, Fiji, Pacific Islands, Pacific Regional Environment Programme, SPREP, storytelling

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Introduction

ONCE upon a time,' began a post-COP23 *New York Times* analysis rather whimsically, 'all the countries of the world tried to get together to save the planet from climate change' (Webster, 2017). The problem was, admitted

the *Times*, the nations 'couldn't stop sniping at each other'. So they put forward a novel solution by 'telling each other stories in an attempt to cut carbon emissions'.

This was the *New York Times'* manner of introducing the notion of *talanoa*, a traditional Fijian and wider Pacific practice of negotiation. The article headline declared both optimistically and rather glibly 'Fijian storytelling can save world'. Opinions have been divided on the success of Fiji as the first Small Island Developing State (SIDS) to co-host the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (COP23) and while some criticise the failure of President Voreqe Bainimarama to meet some of the predicted objectives (COP23 president, 2017; Darby, 2018; Morgan, 2017; Prasad, 2017), there has been cautious optimism about *talanoa* as potentially providing a chance for developing countries to have a greater say going forward to 2020 when the Paris Agreement formally takes effect. Reported *Carbon Brief*:

> With Fiji being the first small-island state to host the climate talks, hopes were high that it would give added impetus to the negotiations. High-level speakers … were preceded by a speech from a 12-year-old Fijian schoolboy named Timoci Naulusala, who reminded delegates that 'it's not about how, or who, but it's about what you can do as an individual'. (Timperley, 2017)

According to climate analyst Jocelyn Timperley, two outcomes from COP23 in Bonn in November 2017 were regarded as 'significant achievements' by Fiji. These were a Gender Action Plan (UNFCCC, 2017a), which 'highlights the role of women in climate action and promotes gender equality in the process', and the Local Communities and Indigenous Peoples Platform (UNFCCC, 2017b), which aims to support an exchange of experience and sharing of 'best practices on mitigation and adaptation'. Fiji also launched the Ocean Pathway Partnership (COP23.com, n.d.) in a bid to boost the inclusion of oceans within the UN climate change framework. However, Timperley (2017) also noted the reconfiguring of the 'facilitative dialogue' as the '*talanoa* dialogue', a one-off process in 2018 (Figure 1): 'This was to reflect a traditional approach to discussions used in Fiji for an "inclusive, participatory and transparent" process.'

The notion of *talanoa* as a qualitative research and communication tool is widely adopted in a Pacific context. It is also used in a media and journalism storytelling context (Robie, 2013; Ugavule, n.d.). As defined by Seu'ula Johansson-Fua within the Kakala Research Framework of the University of the South Pacific,

> *Talanoa* is a generic term referring to a conversation, chat, sharing of ideas and talking with someone. It is a term shared by Tongans, Samoans, and Fijians. *Talanoa* can be formal, as between chiefs and his or her people, and it can be informal, as between friends in a kava circle. *Talanoa* is

Figure 1: The Talanoa Dialogue
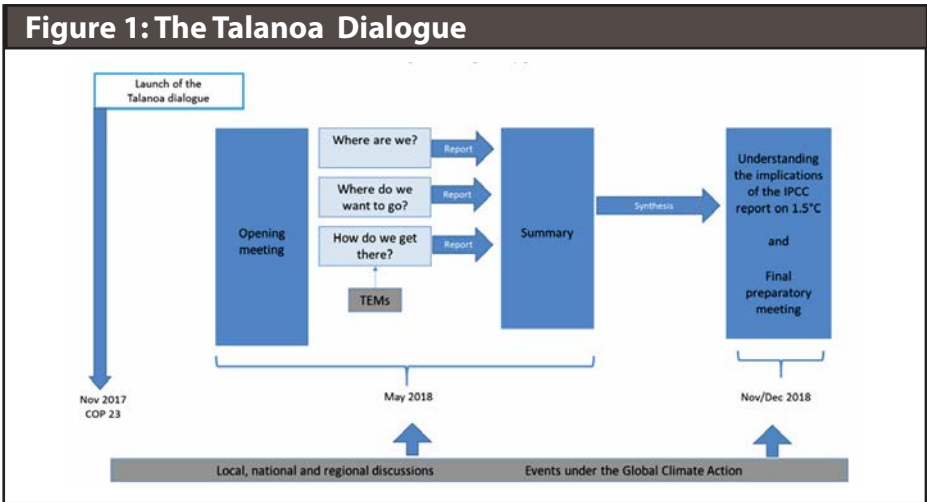
Note: The Talanoa Dialogue leading up to COP24 in Poland in November/December 2018.

also used for different purposes; to teach a skill, to share ideas, to preach, to resolve problems, to build and maintain relationships, and to gather information. (Johansson-Fua, 2014, p. 56).

Leading into the COP23 conference, Bainimarama had made a plea for climate cooperation in a speech at the UN General Assembly in New York in September 2017,referring to a Fijian *drua*, or traditional oceangoing craft. 'We are all in the same canoe together,' he said (Darby, 2017). Pointing to the catastrophic Hurricane Irma that had ravaged the eastern Caribbean and Florida in mid-August, followed within days by another category 5 Hurricane Maria that struck Dominica and Puerto Rica, Bainimarama urged leaders to consider the toll of ignoring climate change. By preserving narrow national interests, everybody would lose: 'We will be powerless to protect our own people from the consequences of climate change' (Ibid.).

Fiji had just the previous year suffered its own devastating Severe Tropical Cyclone Winston, the worst storm ever in the South Pacific, and second strongest cyclone to make landfall after Super Typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines in 2013. When category 5 Winston savaged Fiji on 20 February 2016, it whipped up winds of 300 kilometres an hour when it came ashore on Koro Island, situated between the main islands of Vanua Levu to the east and Viti Levu to the west (Climate Council, 2016; Tropical Cyclone Winston slams Fiji, 2016). Typically, cyclones approach Fiji from the west, but Winston left its trail of destruction starting from the east. Many villages were flattened and islands flooded by storm surges. According to the Fiji government's Post-Disaster Needs Assessment Report released three months after the cyclone struck, 542,000 people—equivalent to 62 percent of the total population— had their lives impacted on, with 44 deaths being confirmed (Fiji Government, 2016).

> The storm brought down the power and communications systems link-ing the islands, with approximately 80 percent of the population losing power, including the entire island of Vanua Levu….Entire communities were destroyed and approximately 40,000 people required immediate assistance following the cyclone. [Also] 30,369 houses, 495 schools and 88 health clinics and medical centres were damaged or destroyed. (Ibid.)

The scale of devastation also highlighted the shortcomings of media reportage of extreme weather and climate change globally with one analyst, US Public Citizen's climate director David Arkush stressing that the following year 2017 was when 'climate change began to spin out of control' (cited by Johnson, 2018) while the media failed to 'connect the dots on evidence right in front of our faces' (Temple, 2018). It was a year that experienced 'record-shattering hurricanes, enormously destructive wildfires, and extreme droughts' (Johnson, 2018). In New Zealand, the Science Media Centre (2018) noted in response to world extreme weather reports (NIWA, 2017; IPCC, 2017) that the year was the fifth-warmest on record for the past century with all five of these years being within the last two decades, 'consistent with the greenhouse-warming trend that we see globally'.

In response to the devastation and tragedy wrought in Fiji by Cyclone Winston, the Pacific Media Centre initiated the Bearing Witness journalism project and despatched two postgraduate students to Viti Levu to document and report on the impact of climate change in April 2016 (Robie, 2016; Robie & Chand, 2017). This was followed up a year later in April 2017 in the second phase of what was hoped would become a five-year mission and expanded in future years to include other parts of the Asia-Pacific region (*Asia Pacific Report*, 2017; Robie, 2017). This project is timely, given the new 10-year Strategic Plan 2017-2026 launched by the Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP launches new 10-year strategic plan, 2017; SPREP Strategic Plan 2011-2015, 2011; SPREP Strategic Plan 2017-2026, 2017) in March 2017 and the co-hosting by Fiji of COP23 climate change conference in Bonn. The students despatched in 2017 on the 'bearing witness' journalism experiential assignment to work in collaboration with the Pacific Centre for the Environment and Sustainable Development (PaCE-SD) and the Regional Journalism Programme at the University of the South Pacific included in their reportage a multimedia package about the relocation of a remote inland village of Tukuraki (Hutt & Cleaver, 2017b) (Figure 2). This article is a case study, another in the series of *Frontline* journalism-as-research projects, this time assessing the progress with this second year of Bearing Witness and exploring the strategic initiatives under way for more nuanced and constructive Asia-Pacific media storytelling in response to climate change.

Figure 2: Vilimaina Botitu and three of her children in the Viti Levu village of Tukuraki.

Rationale and methodology

Climate change is the most serious challenge confronting the microstates of the South Pacific. At least three Pacific Island states, Kiribati, Marshall Islands and Tuvalu, are regarded and frequently cited as the 'frontline' of global climate change in a struggle against 'carbon colonialism' (Dreher & Voyer, 2015; Robie, 2011, 2014, 2017a; Walsh et al., 2011,; Burnside-Lawry et al., 2017). Western media, particularly in Australia and New Zealand, have produced reportage lacking in substance and nuance when tackling climate change in the Pacific (Nash, 2015). What is published or broadcast tends to be 'framed in ways that centre the interests and concerns of more powerful countries' (Dreher & Voyer, 2015, p. 58). Dominant frames portray small island states as 'proof' of climate change, as 'victims' of climate change, as 'climate refugees, and as 'travel destinations' (p. 59). Whereas preferred frames by Pacific Islanders themselves are in more positive terms such as human rights, climate justice and innovative and adaptive responses.

While framing is widely regarded as the most common conceptual tool applied to climate change communication, including with news media coverage (Gunster, 2017; Hackett at al., 2017; Olausson, 2011), it is insufficient alone as a strategic approach. Climate change is not just a scientific, technical

or economic issue, argues Canadian journalism professor Robert A. Hackett. It poses profoundly ethical and political challenges to human institutions, including journalism (Hackett et al., 2017, Singh, 2017). Another Canadian, Shane Gunster, argues that instead of focusing scholarly analysis on the *science* of climate change, it would be more effective for civil engagement if the focus was on the framing of climate *politics* (Gunster, 2017, p. 59). Gunster argues that climate justice 'defines the root cause of climate change not as emissions but as inequality'. He describes it as structural inequality that 'violates the core normative principle of distributive justice' (p. 62). On top of this, countries that contribute most to this injustice dominate the discourse about mitigation and adaptation while the most vulnerable, such as Pacific nations and other coastal developing nations, have the least resources to adapt to climate change (Loo, 2013; Lugo-Ocando, 2017). .

Hackett has pressed for fundamental shifts in journalism priorities towards 'greening democracy' and has suggested sharing some of the tools characteristic of Peace Journalism (PJ) such as 'an analytical method for evaluating reportage of conflicts, a set of practices and ethical norms that journalism could employ in order to improve itself, and a rallying call for change' (Hutt, 2016; Hackett, 2017; Lynch, 2014; Romano, 2010; Shaw et al., 2011). This approach has also been explored to some degree by Shaw, specifically writing about parallels between Peace Journalism and Human Rights Journalism (HRJ) (Shaw, 2011). There are key challenges for journalism educators too, who need to think outside conformist teaching frameworks and have a radical approach (Ings, 2017), and beyond the 'news from nowhere' pessimism (Lynch, 2014, p. 31). From subtle to obvious shifts in wording with climate change stories, argues cultural politics of climate analyst Maxwell T. Boykoff, media portrayals possess great potential to influence reader perceptions and concern. Critiquing the notion of 'who speaks for the climate', he says that in turn, these media changes can feed into public awareness and engagement, as well as politics and policy (Boykoff, 2011, p. 11). Singh (2017) argues for less 'gratuitous coverage given to presidents, prime ministers, diplomats, heads of regional organisations and other bureaucrats' which needs to be balanced with in-depth coverage of grassroots people who are actually experiencing the effects of climate change first-hand. Former President Anote Tong of Kiribati reflects this message in the eloquent documentary *Anote's Ark* (2018) about the fate of his nation of 115,000 people in which he hopes to 'rouse world leaders from their inaction'.

The Bearing Witness project has also related well to a journalism-as-research strategy (Bacon, 2012; Das et al., 2010; Nash, 2015, Nash, 2017) and a 'bottom up' approach with marginalised groups (Harris, 2014). Nash, for example, analyses 'silences and absences' as the norm for 'those not in a position to exercise power in the world of journalism', which are often present in conflicts of

interpretation (2017, p. 147). Drawing from historian Michel-Rolph Trouillot's observations on 'truth-seeking practices' (p. 145), he stressed the 'making of contemporary significance' stage in this process. In a Pacific context, the project has used the 2015-2026 SPREP Pacific Plan as a touchstone in the context of a challenge to journalists to play a greater role in communication about climate change resilience and human rights in the region. The Pacific Media Centre developed a plan for a two-week climate change field trip for two postgraduate student/graduate journalists to gain firsthand experience of reporting on climate change issues in Fiji in April 2017. Drawing on previous field trips organised by the PMC, including the 2016 Bearing Witness mission and the experience of journalism programmes at institutions such as a 2015 New Caledonia and Vanuatu reportage by Queensland University of Technology (Duffield, 2016), this was an exercise in professional development. Fiji was selected for the climate project for logistical and media resource reasons, given that the centre already had a long-established relationship with the USP regional Pacific journalism programme with available accommodation on the Laucala Bay campus close to the centre of environmental research. Also, USP is currently engaged in a major Pacific-wide climate change baseline media research project and there was a synergy between these two initiatives.

Another partner at USP was the Pacific Centre for Environment and Sustainable Development (PaCE-SD), which was established as a centre of excellence in 1999 for 'environmental education, research and community engagement' in the Pacific region. The director, 2010 Nobel Peace Prize co-laureate Professor Elisabeth Holland, has led the centre in carrying out environmental and climate change research to 'empower [Pacific] people with the adequate knowledge to be able to adapt to the impacts of climate change and to also pursue sustainable development' (About us, n.d.). Communications officer Sarika Chand was the principal collaborator for the project.

The PMC project adopted the name 'Bearing Witness', drawing on the Quaker tradition of taking action over 'truth' based on conscience and being present at the sites of injustice. This seemed highly appropriate given that the field trip was seeking to provide an alternative framing of climate change journalism in terms of resilience and human rights. An inspiring example of this 'bearing witness' frame for climate change is the Collectif Argos (2010) photojournalism portfolio on climate refugees, many of the images were portrayed in their book of the same name. The concept is also widely adopted by environmental groups, such as Greenpeace. According to a definition by Gray Cox in his *Pendle Hill Pamphlet*,

> Quakers view truth as something that happens, it occurs … truth is not a dead fact which is known: It is a living occurrence in which we participate … the guiding concern of people bearing witness is to live rightly, in ways that are exemplary. (Cox, 1985)

Bearing Witness 2017 project video outputs

'We're running out of time' (2min57sec): Bearing Witness 2017 BCS (Hons) graduate journalist Kendall Hutt and Julie Cleaver talk to Pacific Media Centre director Professor David Robie about the climate change project in 2016, reviewing progress, the objectives and the plan for 2017.
Reporter: Kendall Hutt
Camera/editor: Julie Cleaver
www.youtube.com/watch?v=R7Mhg33-67A

Pacific climate expert says report will help countries meet targets (1min32sec): The commitment of more than 190 nations to reducing global emissions will continue to be addressed following a special climate change report. Resource: Dr Morgan Wairiu, an expert in food security and climate change with USP's Pacific Centre for Environment and Sustainable Development (PaCE-SD), was a lead author of the report.
Reporter: Kendall Hutt
Camera/editor: Julie Cleaver.
www.youtube.com/watch?v=zrlOJAwx4HA

USP student journalist voices on climate change (2min 47sec): Pacific journalism students in Fiji say reporting climate change is crucial for survival of the region. USP students say educating people about the issue throughout the region is a key factor when it comes to serving the Pacific.
Reporter: Kendall Hutt
Camera/editor: Julie Cleaver.
www.youtube.com/watch?v=gasKsJ1rA7Y

Fiji's Tukuraki after the landslide (3min28sec): In January 2012, Tukuraki village on Viti Levu was almost wiped out by a deadly landslide. Tukuraki was then hit by Cyclone Evan. Four years later, Tukuraki was again devastated by Tropical Cyclone Winston, scattering the community. The inland village near Ba is now in the process of relocating.
Reporter: Kendall Hutt
Camera/Editor: Julie Cleaver.
www.youtube.com/watch?v=G0weZjJiK-I

The project—Bearing Witness: Experiential climate change journalism
As in 2016, two student journalists, or rather one student journalist completing an honours year and a journalist who graduated with an honours degree within four months of the end of the project, were selected for the 14-day second year mission between April 17-30, 2017. At the time of the project, Kendall Hutt was contributing editor of the Pacific Media Centre's *Pacific Media Watch* freedom project (www.pacmediawatch.aut.ac.nz). She had gained her Bachelor of Communication Studies degree with a major in journalism in 2015. The following year she was awarded an Honours degree in Communication Studies and also won an Inclusive Journalism Initiative (IJI) exchange trip to Finland in 2016. She topped her year in the Asia Pacific Journalism Studies course, saying she was 'captivated' doing Pacific stories after reporting on media freedom in the region.

Julie Cleaver completed her Bachelor of Communication Studies degree in 2016 and travelled to Denmark and gained first class honours in fourth BCS year. Although she did not undertake the Asia Pacific Journalism Studies paper as other Bearing Witness students have done, she had an internship with RNZ Pacific in 2016 and a strong interest in climate change and Pacific issues: 'While there I found, voiced and wrote articles about domestic violence in Fiji, protesters in American Samoa and developments in the Marshall Islands. I also used my Bahasa Indonesian language skills to track down sources in West Papua and Indonesia for other reporters.'

Ironically, as Hutt and Cleaver were preparing to leave for Fiji, weather authorities were issuing cyclone warnings that recalled the threat of TC Winston the year before. *Asia Pacific Report* said: 'As schools, universities and other educational centres closed early today in the face of warnings over high winds and power outages with the full force of Cyclone Cook bearing down on New Zealand, the Pacific Media Centre confirmed its climate change Bearing Witness project would go ahead this weekend' (*Asia Pacific Report*, 2017).

Hutt and Cleaver arrived in Suva, Fiji, on 17 April 2016, during Easter weekend. They faced a challenge in making contact with the project partners at the University of the South Pacific, but were given an early briefing by Sarika Chand, communications officer at the Pacific Centre for Environment and Sustainable Development (PaCE-SD).

The Bearing Witness project team's first assignment was reporting on April 18 about a Pacific Centre for Environment and Sustainable Development (PaCE-SD) seminar addressing 'Disaster risk reduction from a physical planning perspective: Fiji'. Joeli Varo, a Lands Officer for the government's Sustainable Land Use Planning and Development Unit, argued that there were two ways in which Fiji could both mitigate and adapt to flooding. These involved 'hard measures', such as sea walls, and 'soft measures', such as ensuring compliance with building regulations. He said:

> I would say we need a combination of both, because in our urban areas they need hard structures – they need sea walls because we cannot do soft measures in those areas. We cannot plant trees, we cannot retreat, we cannot relocate, and we just have to implement hard measures. For rural area settings, there is still room for relocation and retreat. We can apply soft measures there. (Quoted by Cleaver & Hutt, 2017)

On April 21, Kendall Hutt filed a report about a talk by the Marshall Islands Students Association (MISA) for *Asia Pacific Report* critiquing 'current political inaction' towards addressing land-based contaminants in the ocean. According to Brooke Takala, a MISA member and doctoral candidate at the University of the South Pacific who specialises in education for sustainability: 'The time to act is now. We have to act now' (Hutt, 2017a).

MISA had launched a campaign with the hashtag #MISA4thePacific prior to the lead up to the UN Oceans Conference in New York in June. Supporters were encouraged to submit art, music, photography and poetry urging action over the Sustainable Development Goal 14.1, which seeks to prevent or significantly reduce marine pollution for 2025. Explained Takala:

> If we don't prioritise SDG 14.1, all of our other sustainable development goals are moot. There's no point. If we have radiation leaking into our ocean and poisoning our food systems there's no food security, there's no water security, there's no maternal health, there are no opportunities. This has to be prioritised. (Ibid.)

MISA's call to action highlighted the prolonged suffering from radioactive fallout of many Marshall Islanders in the aftermath of post-war United States nuclear testing on Enewatak and Bikini atolls by the US between 1946 and 1962. In 1949, the UN secured an agreement with the United States to govern the islands of Micronesia as the strategic Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. While governing the Marshall Islands, the US conducted 67 atmospheric and underwater nuclear tests (Robie, 2017a).

More than seven decades on from the first nuclear tests, many islands and atolls in the Marshall Islands remain uninhabitable. During the USP student event, MISA members highlighted an 'inability' to address the large quantities of plutonium leakage from the 46 centimetre thick concrete dome—known locally as 'The Tomb'—on Runit Island on Enewatak Atoll, which was supposed to have sealed off 84,866 cubic metres of toxic waste left over from 12 years of nuclear and thermonuclear bombs tested by the US (Jose, Wall & Hinzel, 2015). It was described in a *Guardian* investigation as appearing like a 'drowned UFO … underground radioactive waste has already started to leach out of the crater'.

Takala said she wanted the US to finally take stock of its 'unfinished business'

in the Marshall Islands and recognise that Castle Bravo, a 15-megatonne hydrogen bomb tested on Bikini Atoll in 1954 with a blast 'one thousand times bigger than Hiroshima', was not simply an 'accident' (Hutt, 2017a).

> For me personally, as a mother of a young Enewatak boy whose land rights are on that island with a nuclear waste storage site, I want the world to know that the US has stolen my child's future and that they need to be held accountable. And I think when we share that message that it is this child's future, all of our children's futures at stake, and that we cannot let this go. (Quoted by Hutt, 2017a)

On April 22, Hutt and Cleaver profiled with both a text report and video progress on a new climate research report due to be released in 2018 examining the commitment of more than 190 nations to reducing global emissions, and offering advice how countries may be able to further cut emissions (Hutt & Cleaver, 2017). Dr Morgan Wairiu, a Solomon Islander and deputy director of PaCE-SD, one of only two Pacific Islanders working on the project, said the report would enable countries to augment their efforts in keeping the global average temperature below 1.5°C. as agreed under the Paris Agreement of the Committee of Parties (COP21). He noted that if current aggregate emission reductions by countries under their Intended Nationally Determined Contributions (INDCs) continued at the current pace, or 'business as usual' as some commentators are saying, a global average temperature would be on track for 2.7°C. This would have a serious impact on 'frontline' Pacific Island countries.

> For Pacific Island countries, because of our vulnerable ecosystems, we can manage up to 1.5°C, but beyond that we're going to start losing our ecosystems and livelihood, our resources, and then the survival of our people… Some countries will disappear from the face of the world.

In a multimedia report about the views of Pacific journalism students at USP, the four interviewees from three countries (Fiji, Tuvalu and Vanuatu) said reporting climate change was crucial for the 'survival of the region' (Cleaver & Hutt, 2017b). They added that educating people about the issue throughout the Pacific region and the world would be a key factor when it comes to 'saving' the Pacific. For example, one third-year Fiji student, Shivika Mala, double majoring in journalism and politics, said:

> Covering climate change is important for me because my country's life and my country's people's lives are at stake, so I need to let institutions outside my country know that we are facing the effects of climate change, and its severe effects that we're facing.
>   Climate change is happening. This is the reality and it's about time

journalists, and other people who don't necessarily believe in climate change, start doing their research and start understanding the challenges, the implications, and the impact it has on not only the Pacific countries, but other countries as well. (Quoted by Cleaver & Hutt, 2017b)

For Semi Malaki of Tuvalu, who is also studying a double major in journalism and politics in Fiji, climate change has already become a reality in his home country, and the lives of the people has changed:

For us in Tuvalu it's more to do with the security and survival of our people, because we all know climate change causes the sea level to rise. People now are now less dependent on root crops and more dependent on imported foods from overseas, and that's had a lot of impact on our diets. This has health impacts on non-communicable diseases, like lots of Tuvaluans have suffered from diabetes and high blood pressure due to the change in their diets. (Quoted by Cleaver & Hutt, 2017b)

Cleaver and Hutt's main story came on April 27, after the graduate journalists had travelled more than 215 kilometres to the highlands of Viti Levu near Yakete, Ba, to visit the isolated community of Tukuraki, devastated firstly by a landslide in 2012 which destroyed 80 percent of the village and tragically killed a young family of four people. Anare Taliga (38 years), Mereoni Robe (23 years), Losena Nai (18 months) and Makelesi Matalau (6 months) died in that disaster. 'The landslide also wiped out the village access road, fresh water resources and homes' (Tukuraki village location, 2016). However, that was not the end of Tukuraki's misfortune (Fiji's devastated Tukuraki village moves, 2017). The community was hit by Cyclone Evan just 10 months later, and then in February 2016 it was again struck by Cyclone Winston, the most savage storm recorded in the Southern Hemisphere (Burnside-Lawry et al., 2017). Tukuraki is unique in that it is the only inland village among 48 communities in Fiji designated for priority relocation. All the rest are coastal. A F$756,000 (NZ$519,000) relocation project moving the village to a safer and 'less disaster prone' site closer to Nalotawa District School has been financed by the European Union and the ACP Group of States-funded Building Safety and Resilience in the Pacific Project (BSRP) implemented by the Pacific Community. Eleven new homes, a community centre, a retaining wall and playground were built in the new location (Fiji's devastated Tukuraki village moves, 2017).

    With assistance from the project management and PaCE-SD's Sarika Chand, Cleaver and Hutt were able to visit the village and carry out interviews and report on the villagers' experiences. 'Being in Fiji, it is clear climate change is not just some phenomenon scientists and politicians debate, it is changing the lives of people in the Pacific,' recalled Kendall Hutt (Hutt, 2017c, p. 3). She considered

'bringing this reality to the wider public' is really important and especially to people who 'do not necessarily believe climate change is real' in countries such as New Zealand. She added:

> I was brought to tears by a Tukuraki villager [Vilimaina Botitu] telling her heart-wrenching story of losing her uncle and his family in a deadly landslide after a week of heavy rain and her community's suffering through six years of limbo as they waited to be relocated. I comforted a journalism student after hearing that her home, the island of Narikoso [Ono island, Kadavu, Fiji] will be swallowed by the sea due to rising levels.(Ibid.)

In an initial story and video filed after the visit to Tukuraki, Cleaver and Hutt reported:

> After six years in limbo, the villagers of Tukuraki in the Fiji highlands of Ba on Viti Levu are three months shy of moving into their new village in July [they did not actually move until October].
> Located 10 kilometres from their former village, which was hard-hit by a landslide in early 2012, Cyclone Evan in the same year and Cyclone Winston in 2016, the villagers can now look forward to 10 new homes, a community hall which doubles as an evacuation centre, and a Methodist church.
> The new village is located around 60 kilometres north of the self-proclaimed 'sugarcane capital of the world' Lautoka, and allows the villagers to have access to clean, running water, flush toilets, and showers. (Cleaver & Hutt, 2017c)

Later, after reflecting on their return to Auckland, Cleaver and Hutt reported with a more in-depth feature in both *Asia Pacific Report* and in the AUT students' magazine *Debate* on May 6. This was followed up with a mini-documentary in March 2018. The opening sequence of the *Debate* feature said:

> Vilimaina Botitu was fast asleep when the earth from a nearby hill tumbled down, burying her uncle's house in mud, trees and rock.
> Her small village of just 10 houses, located in the mountainous highlands of Ba, Fiji, had been pummelled for a week prior to the landslide in January 2012. The people of Tukuraki are no strangers to heavy downpours. Even as we sit cross-legged on a flax-woven mat in Botitu's new temporary home, located just 10 kilometres away from the old village, the rain moves in quickly and heavily, seemingly out of nowhere. But on the day of the landslide, Botitu knew something was wrong.
> 'I begged Uncle Anare to bring his family to stay with me, because where I live it is safe,' she tells us through tears, but he didn't listen. He just said, '"If God thinks it is my time to go, then I am okay with that."' (Cleaver & Hutt, 2017d)

Uncle Anare and three family members died that night and Vilimaina Botitu herself is in tears as she recalls that night and her terrible experience of bathing the four members of the Taliga family and preparing them for burial. Her story is poignantly retold in the feature by Cleaver and Hutt, and also by Cleaver's documentary.

Discussion

The Bearing Witness team worked under considerable pressure while in Fiji. For Julie Cleaver it was especially challenging and rewarding.

> As we were only in the country for just under two weeks, we had to film as much as possible in a short amount of time. This meant that every day was filled with interviews, editing and meeting different people. Sometimes we would wake up at 8am and go to sleep at 11pm as we were up all night editing videos – but this was a lot of fun. (Cleaver, 2017).

For both Cleaver and Hutt, the mission demonstrated that climate change was not just an abstract issue, but a 'lived' and 'daily' experience for many Fiji islanders. There was an impression in New Zealand that they were 'removed from the human element' of the issue. Out of the Pacific, the issue was too often lumped as 'extreme weather patterns, non-governmental pressure on political powers and the urging by scientists to take more notice' (Hutt, 2017c). However,

> when you are on the ground in the Pacific, you are confronted by people's emotions, so you truly understand the real-life effects of climate change. You know that people in the Pacific are losing their islands, their homes and everything that goes with it: lifestyle, identity, culture and legacy. (Hutt, 2017c)

Hutt felt guilty coming from New Zealand and was apologetic about the 'actions of my Western, industrialised country and its seeming drill, frack [and] mine policy'. She recalls that she had difficulty knowing that her country, and others, and 'perhaps, my lifestyle' were such 'tangible, seemingly irreversible effects' of the Pacific way of life.

> I personally cannot fathom facing this reality, but for people in the Pacific it is already a reality and they are adapting to climate change. They are not victims. Governments are relocating people inland and, in extreme cases, to other islands in the Pacific, despite knowing that that country may well suffer the same fate in time. (Hutt, 2017c)

A priority of the project in future is to ensure that the Bearing Witness teams give maximum effort to community visits. It is essential to 'witness' climate change by experiencing the 'most vulnerable and hard-hit' areas.

> Moving from being 50 minutes out of Suva [in 2016] to over five hours
> northwest with the project this year made a difference to the scope of stories
> we were hearing and telling. We heard from villagers from the remote com-
> munity of Tukuraki, who are the first inland village to be relocated due to
> climate change in a unique move by the Fijian government. (Hutt, 2017).

Ideally, future editions of this Bearing Witness project could share the experi-
ences and stories of communities in Fiji's more remote islands and in other
Pacific countries. At the very least, expanding the project to include a different
location every year would be an advantage, and possibly increasing the num-
bers of teams involved, would be a strong contribution. This would help under-
standing of the impact of climate change in the Pacific—'not just a snapshot
from one country'.

Six months after the Bearing Witness mission to Tukuraki, the community
shifted to their new category five cyclone-standard village, a model for relocation,
and it was officially opened on October 29. Inia Seruiratu, High Level Climate
Change Champion for COP23 and Minister for Agriculture, Rural and Maritime
Development, and National Disaster Management and Meteorology, said: 'The
achievement of creating a disaster resilience of the community that has been
led by the community itself is testament to the resilience of the Tukuraki' (Fiji's
devastated Tukuraki village moves, 2017). Pacific Community Deputy Director-
General Dr Audrey Aumua added: 'This community knows and understands
disaster but what makes this relocation remarkable is the partnership led by the
Fiji government with SPC and the European Union to achieve real, measurable
disaster resilience at the community level' (Ibid.)

A footnote to the mission was the Bearing Witness team Julie Cleaver and
Kendall Hutt winning the 2017 Trauma Journalism award by the DART Asia-
Pacific agency, a component of the Colombia Graduate School of Journalism.
Judge Cait McMahon noted: 'Cleaver and Hutt's victim-focused story of climate
change in Fiji through the eyes of one woman and her family's tragedy was sensi-
tive, well researched and of a high professional standard. Hearing the survivor's
voice without interference from the journalist resulted in a well-produced and
intelligently edited piece.' (Dart AsPac, 2017)

Conclusion

Climate Crisis journalism is one way democracy and journalism strive to face
up to the planetary emergency now upon us. The Bearing Witness project is
a successful way of 'greening' media initiatives to engage with this challenge.
This project adopts a methodology that has evolved out of the Peace Journal-
ism model. However, it can be equally argued that the Bearing Witness project
in Fiji is also well anchored in the context of Human Rights Journalism and

Climate Justice as metaframes. Two years into the project, the strengths remain:

- enabling climate change and environmental issues to be covered more thoroughly and in-depth;

- enabling student journalists from different cultural, educational and professional backgrounds to provide new perspectives and renewed enthusiasm in the way some issues are reported;

- providing a more enriching experience for the journalists to be able to report on climate change and environmental issues first hand;

- strengthening relations between collaborating agencies—such as PaCE, Auckland University of Technology, the USP Journalism School, AUT's documentary collective Te Ara Motuhenga and the Pacific Media Centre—and laying a foundation for timely collaborations on the climate given the crisis being faced globally;

- fulfilling the need for the media to exercise its role as gatekeepers, educators, and disseminators of correct climate information for community awareness and advocacy;

- enabling the environment to have a higher profile after being sidelined for so long by neoliberal politics and economics in the newsroom; and promoting the establishment of a ''climate crisis team', giving priority to a sector, which newsrooms and individuals need to realise, affects all the other rounds or beats, such as economy, health, and human rights.

Instilling this crisis framing into journalists as students is a great start. As observed by Nash (2017, p. 148), journalism has a role not only in producing verifiable knowledge as part of the future historic record, as 'the first draft of history' as he points out, but also conversely in the analysis and making of 'contemporary significance' and challenging of silences around climate change. The value of a journalism project like this evolving over a five-year period in the Pacific region is important. If it remained as just a one-off initiative, much would go uncovered by overstretched mainstream media organisations in Australia and New Zealand, for example, which have a long record of under reporting the Pacific, and it would not happen at all.

However, on the downside, the limited funding available for a project like this is still an inhibiting factor that limits the project achieving its full potential. It is hoped that more generous funding can be accessed in future to expand the project into a multi-country project to generate a series of documentaries as 'living' documentation of the Climate Crisis in the Pacific. Greater effort needs to be made for more compelling storytelling strategies to make climate change appear more real for neighbouring countries, such as Australia and New Zealand,

rather than being removed and abstract. While the questions of Pacific leaders' commitment about climate change continue, in spite of impressive initiatives like Voreqe Bainimarama with COP23 and the talanoa dialogue, journalists and journalism must play their role.

One Pacific leader in particular has been walking the talk. It is fitting that the last word for journalism and journalists in this article comes from former Kiribati President Anote Tong, whose government has bought a slice of Fiji land as a potential larder for his people, or even destined to be a place to live when they are eventually forced to become climate refugees. At the Sundance Film Festival screening of his documentary in January 2018 (*Anote's Ark*), Tong greeted a standing ovation by saying:

> [Climate change] isn't an academic exercise for me. It's highly emotional. I'm looking at my grandchildren, asking myself what is to become of them. It's not something I enjoy doing or think is fun. It's something that is absolutely necessary.
>
> It's getting desperate. Solutions continue to be evasive. People regard [climate change] as something that may or may not happen, but the science is categorical: it's happening.
>
> I was just asked by a journalist recently, 'What are you going to do about it?' I said, 'What are *you* going to do about it?' "

Resources

Bearing Witness Project reports 2016 and 2017 http://asiapacificreport.nz/category/climate/bearing-witness/

Full matrix of published and broadcast stories: Appendix 1 (p. 177)

Image gallery: Bearing Witness crew go to market on Fiji campus

https://asiapacificreport.nz/2017/04/20/gallery-bearing-witness-crew-go-to-market-on-fiji-campus/

Videos produced

Cleaver, J., & Hutt, K. (2017, April 12). Pacific climate Bearing Witness 2017 [Video, 2m57s]. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R7Mhg33-67A

Cleaver, J., & Hutt, K. (2017, April 21). Pacific climate change expert says report will help countries meet their targets. [Video, 1m32s]. Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zrlOJAwx4HA

Cleaver, J., & Hutt, K. (2017, April 24). USP student journalist voices on climate change. [Video, 2m47s]. Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gasKsJ1rA7Y

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Appendix: Bearing witness climate change research matrix 2017

Date	Topic	Format	Journalist	Publication
12 April 2017	Project preview: Pacific climate Bearing Witness 2017: 'We're running out of time'	Video (101v views)	Kendall Hutt Julie Cleaver	PMC TouTube channel ('We're running out of time', 2m57s), Asia Pacific Report **www.youtube.com/watch?v=R7Mhg33-67A**
13 April 2017	AUT journalists head off to Fiji for Bearing Witness climate project	Text, video (162t)	Team	*Asia Pacific Report*
18 April 2017	Fiji needs better planningto reduce climate change impact, says researcher	Text, images (1145t, 183v)	Julie Cleaver Kendall Hutt	*Asia Pacific Report*
21 April 2017	'We have to act now'- Marshall Islanders blast Runit n pollution	Text, images (486t)	Kendall Hutt	*Asia Pacific Report*
21 April 2017	Pacific climate change expert says report will help countries meet targets	Video (129v)	Julie Cleaver	PMC YouTube channel ('Pacific climate expert syareport will help countries meet targets', 1m32s). **https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zrlOJAwx4HA**
22 April 2017	Climate change report will helpcountries cut emissions	Text, video (365t, 129v)	Kendall Hutt	Asia Pacific Report (with the 'Pacific climate expert' video report above embedded)
24 April 2017	USP student voices on climate change	Video (441v)	Julie Cleaver	PMC YouTube channel ('USP student journalist voices on climate change', 2m47s) **https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gasKsJ1rA7Y**
25 April 2017	Pacific student journalists pas-sionate about reporting climate change	Text, video (354t, 441v)	Julie Cleaver Kendall Hutt	PMC YouTube channel ('USP student journalist voices on climate change', 2m47s)**.** **https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gasKsJ1rA7Y (embedded on** *Asia Pacific Report***)**
27 April 2017	Village relocation provides new hope for Fiji's devastated Tukuraki	Text, video (276t)	Julie Cleaver Kendall Hutt	*Asia Pacific Report*
6 May 2017	Destruction and construction: The story of Tukuraki village	No statistics	Kendall Hutt Julie Cleaver	*Debate Magazine*
8 May 2016	Fiji's Tukuraki after the landslide	Video (328tv)	Julie Cleaver	PMC YouTube channel ('Fiji's Tukuraki after the landslide', 3m28s)**.** **https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G0weZjJiK-I**
9 May 2017	Destruction and construction—Tukuraki's lonely story of survival	Text, images, video (413t, 328v)	Kendall Hutt Julie Cleaver	PMC YouTube channel ('Fiji's Tukuraki after the landslide', 3m28s)**.** **https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G0weZjJiK-I (embedded on Asia Pacific Report as above)**
1 June 2017	Destruction and construction—Tukuraki's lonely story of survival	Text, images, video (53v)	Kendall Hutt Julie Cleaver	*Wansolwara* (University of South Pacific)
12 Dec 2017	Dart AsPac honors Pacific Media Centre with trauma award	No statistics	Dart Team	Dart Asia Pacific Centre for Journalism and Trauma
		Total views 7,957 (11 March 2018)		All items sourced at the Bearing Witness project in as-sociation with the Pacific Centre for the Environment-Sustainable Development – PACE-SD, University of the South Pacific)**:** **http://asiapacificreport.nz/category/cli-mate/bearing-witness/** Fiji Report 'Bearing Witness', 2016-17 on Storify (7,544 views): **https://storify.com/pacmedcentre/fiji-report-bearing-witness-2016**

JEANZ Journalism Education Association of New Zealand Incorporated

JEANZ is the professional association of journalism educators and researchers in New Zealand. We invite all those interested in journalism teaching and research to join our organisation.

The membership fee includes a subscription to Pacific Journalism Review. The association runs an annual conference at journalism schools around the country and offers a scholarship to attend the conference of our Australian counterpart, JERAA.

For more details, please visit our website: **jeanz.org.nz** To join up, click on "Jeanz membership benefits". For the Australian scholarship, click on "Conference scholarships".

The next JEANZ conference is in December 12-13 and will be hosted in Wellington at the new Te Auaha New Zealand Institute of Creativity, home of Whitireia Journalism and Broadcasting. Information about the conference will be published next year on the JEANZ website, in *Pacific Journalism Review*, or contact association president Bernie Whelan at bernie.whelan@whitireia.ac.nz.

ARTICLES

Women newspaper editors in NZ

Short term love affair

Abstract: New Zealand has had three woman prime ministers, and was the first country in the world to give women the vote, but there is still a gender gap in leadership in the traditionally staid daily newspapers industry. One-third of the country's daily newspapers have never had a female editor. The low ratio of woman editors is incongruous with the fact the majority of journalism students are female, and a large number of new hires are women. This study interviewed every woman who has held the position of daily newspaper editor, which totals only 15. The good news is that currently there are more women in editorships than ever before, but this still represents only 29 percent of daily editors. Attitudinal interviews show the editors love the job, but quit after only a few short years. However, this may be changing.

Keywords: daily newspapers, digital journalism, female newspaper editors, gender, journalism, New Zealand, professional collegiality, women leadership, collegial wilderness

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Introduction

THIRTY years ago while working within the newsrooms I heard managers complain there were too many women in the newsrooms and that the industry was becoming feminised. This was an anecdotal observation, but when the first robust empirical research on gender equality in newsrooms was published it showed the opposite—that men dominated newsrooms. It showed women held lower-level jobs, were paid less than their male colleagues, and the middle and top levels were devoid of gender balance (Gray, 1984).

Similar studies throughout the years conclude that the gender imbalance remains in New Zealand newsrooms, and that is also mirrored in newsrooms throughout the Western world. This lack of women reporting the news is seen as a lack of diversity, and some argue it leads to fewer of women's voices and female-specific issues in the media (WMC, 2017; Byerly, 2011; Mills et al., 2017).

This study focuses on the position of editor, the top person in daily newspapers who makes the ultimate decisions on which stories are published and how they are treated (Tai & Chang, 2002). Daily newspaper industry is traditionally a top-down vertical management structure whereby unilateral decisions are often made by those in leadership positions (ibid.). Newspaper editors have been considered politically powerful and essential for democracy, since the editor acts as a weather vane in determining what is considered 'significant' to publish for the community. In the current media climate, daily newspapers are relevant to the population since their journalists regularly break unique news stories, even though the stories may be published online rather than in print (Amory, 2015; Aucoin, 2017; Wendland, 2002). Newspaper journalists produce news content for both newspapers and online which is common in New Zealand, where the two most significant online sites are owned by media companies that also produce the majority of daily newspapers, NZME and Fairfax Media (Myllylahti, 2017). As an example, Fairfax Media's online site (stuff.co.nz) has a reach of 3.5 million New Zealanders (ibid), which is considerable in a country with a total population of only 4.8 million (StatzNZ, Aug. 2017).

As discussed below, globally very few women work their way up to editor level, and New Zealand has the same gender imbalance as others, despite the country's strong history of gender equality. It was the first country in the world to give women the vote in 1893, and has had three prime ministers who are women, as well as strong laws to safeguard stereotyping or discrimination.

This study explored the unexplained gender gap of newspaper leadership. The hypothetical question was not why women do not go into editorships, but what is the impetus and perceived barriers for those rare women who do attain the position.

Literature Review

Empirical evidence throughout the Western world indicates that women have a diminutive role in daily newspaper decision-making—producing only about a third of the news. In the print news, the majority of bylines (which indicate who researched and wrote the story) were male 63 percent to female 37 percent, in a survey of 114 countries (GMMP 2015).

When it comes to the top decision-making position in the newsroom, the editor, it is more difficult to gain concrete figures. There are no regularly conducted global surveys on newspaper leadership by gender, and those that have been conducted rely on media companies to volunteer to participate. In Britain, only 18 percent of the main daily newspapers are edited by women, and only 25 percent of their front page stories are written by women journalists (Mills et al., 2017), leading to a call from the deputy opposition leader for the news media to ensure half its political reporters are women (Ruddick, 19 Sept. 2017). A global

survey across 59 countries showed men held 73 percent of top management spots (such as publishers and CEOs), 61 percent of senior management jobs, and 71 percent of middle management roles (Byerly, 2011).

The persistent gender gap in newsroom leadership has been called a crisis by the USA Women's Media Center (2013), and prompted nationwide editorial forums on how to bring more women up the ranks, as well as research funded by the American Press Institute and the Pew Centre for Journalism Excellence among others. There is at least lip service by the newspaper industry that it wants more women editors, but this still has not happened. The 2017 Women Media Center report concluded men still dominate all areas of the media "with change coming only incrementally…. Women are not equal partners in telling the story, nor are they equal partners in sourcing and interpreting what and who is important in the story" (WMC, pg 3).

The unexplained lack of women in the top job of newspapers is the same in New Zealand as other countries, with a consistent drop off of women going up the career ladder. This is described as a "funnel model" (Strong, 2011) whereby many women enter the profession, but a majority drop out the first two years, and many more drop out in subsequent years. Women make up 76 percent of NZ journalism students (Barnes, 2015) but only 46 percent of print articles are written by women (GMMP, 2015) and only an average of 14 percent of daily newspaper editors are women (Strong, 2011).

Women working in the news media have been under the spotlight for decades by newsroom culture theorists who contend that if more women at the top would result in a different, and better, selection and treatment of news (WMC 2017, GMMP 2015). Although various studies have conflicting conclusions regarding whether or not a female editor makes any different news judgements to male editors, especially as she has had to succeed in the existing environment (Beam & Di Cicco, 2010; Everbach, 2006; Melin-Higgins, 2008), the industry lacks enough volume of gender balanced editors to explore this point.

There have been many studies, however, that indicate women journalists use a wider selection of sources than comparable male journalists (WMC 2017, GMMP, 2015) and that topics such as rape and reproduction are covered more when women make the news judgement decision (ibid.). The reputable media research institute NiemanLab, found journalists tend to use more sources of their own gender. The report points out that since a vast majority of news items are written by men (ratio of almost 2:1) this means the sources in stories are mainly men, even on such women-specific topics of as reproduction, campus rape, and sexual assaults (Wang, 2017).

The newspaper journalism environment has been described as masculine, autocratic and aggressive by a variety of news culture scholars over the past 40 years. Although the term 'masculine' is inappropriate, as many journalists of

both genders find the environment intolerable (Strong, 2012) this is the term used in previous literature. Bourdieu (2001) criticised the journalism culture as heavily masculine to the point of excluding feminine styles, while Creedon (1993), Byerly (2004) and Lavie (2004) agree that women do not progress into management because of an invisible barrier that only allows entry to their male colleagues. Bourdieu blamed the barrier on unwritten rules for promotion in the newsroom that are intangibly revealed to male journalists, but not to women. He gave the example that men are assigned hard news stories which leads to promotion, while women are assigned soft news stories that sidelines them from the leadership career path (2001).

Other than the embedded newsroom culture, the reason for women not gaining editor positions is unclear. Melin-Higgins' study in Europe (2008) indicated the path to senior management in the media either remains blocked, or demands compromises that women journalists are choosing not to make, and instead remain in lower positions or specialise in areas not in the executive career ladder. In Australia, North (2012) posits that women's reluctance to pursue editor roles may be linked to a sex-based wage gap: the gender pay gap is smallest when journalists first enter the Australian industry, and progressively increases, to reach a 21 percent disparity for women aged 45-54 (ibid). In New Zealand a similar pay disparity has been identified, where female journalists are paid 26 percent less than their male colleagues (Hollings et. Al., 2016).

One theory to explain women's reluctance to enter, or remain, in leadership roles is the isolation from being the sole woman, described as 'collegial wilderness' (Strong, 2011), whereby a manager is unable to discuss office issues or concerns with a trusted same-gender peer. A female editor is isolated from the others in management who are male; at the same time she no longer remains in the journalists' collegial networks, as they are her employees and no longer her peers. 'The female editors are placed in a harsh management environment of tough work conditions and unchartered decision-making responsibility, but are not armed with the support system, particularly from their peers, to conquer it easily' (p. 288).

Research in other disciplines confirms that professional collegiality is an important part of workplace success and that it leads to better decision-making (Feiger & Schmitt, 1979; Reinken, 1998). Even the classic Maslow Theory of Productivity (Maslow, 1943) identified that corporate leaders were more productive when they had a feeling of belonging. Strong (2011) suggests that the female editors lacked a feeling of Maslow's 'belonging', and being in the collegial wilderness took away one possible management tool in the economic and technical crisis currently facing the newspaper editors.

The economic crisis facing newspapers is due to its traditional readers and advertisers shifting to online platforms, rather than the hard copy publication,

leading to cuts in resources and increased stress on management (Reinardy, 2011). In response many news organisations are putting resources into online news websites, which create modern and different jobs—and different management structures (Sylvie, 2011). Scholars have warned that as the newspaper industry faces the long-term erosion of its traditional business model, issues of gender parity may drop down its list of priorities (WMC, 2013; Barnes, 2015).

These industry changes are evident in New Zealand and all daily newspapers have an online platform, which has led to more cooperation among news producers of different newspapers within the same ownership. Hence, the inter-newspaper competition is less pronounced as all newspapers in the same company provide news for the company-wide online platform, which is NZME's herald.co.nz and Fairfax Media's stuff.co.nz (Myllylahti, 2017).

These technical and structural changes within the daily newspaper industry makes it an opportune time to further examine the gender balance of leadership in New Zealand and particularly the enticers and barriers for women leaders. This study explores the current stage of women daily newspaper editors in New Zealand and asks the questions: How is the proportion of female editors trending? What are the enticers and barriers for narrowing the gap? Does the current state support or refute the collegial wilderness theory?

Research method
This study interviewed all women who have held the position of editor of a daily newspaper in New Zealand. The newspapers were published at least six days a week, in a hard copy edition, whether or not they also had an online edition. All 22 daily newspapers were researched historically to determine current and previous editors and their gender. At the beginning of this project there were 22 daily newspapers in New Zealand, and this has decreased to 19 with the closure of three publications due to economic issues. Only one of the newspapers that closed was edited by a woman editor at the time.

Individual interviews were conducted by the author with all 15 women who have held the position of editor of a daily newspaper since 1992, believed to be a census of women who have ever held this position in the country. The questions were open-ended to allow the participants to determine their own priorities and narrative. The interviews were held face-to-face in most instances, usually with a pre-interview and also post-interview session. This study has been vetted through Massey University Research Ethics unit. The participants were provided with the question outline, and all interviews were recorded, and the recordings were either destroyed afterwards or held in a secure digital file. The interviews began in 2008 and continued until late 2017. All female daily newspaper editors agreed to participate in this study. One participant took several years to track down, as she had left the country and her previous employers could not provide

forwarding contact details. This participant plus three others were interviewed on phone or Skype instead of in person.

Results

Most women who have lead a daily newspaper also have the distinction of being the first woman editor for that particular newspaper, and most newspapers had been in publication for about 150 years before appointing a woman to lead it. Only four newspapers have had two women editors in their history (*Manawatu Standard, Marlborough Express, Waikato Times, Dominion Post*), while six of the country's remaining 19 daily newspapers (32 percent) have never had a woman editor (*New Zealand Herald, Otago Daily Times, Taranaki Daily News, Gisborne Herald, Greymouth Star, Ashburton Guardian*). One editor interviewed pointed out that the newspapers were facing too many challenges for survival, and therefore gender equality in leadership was not on their radar.

Over the past 25 years women on average made up only 14 percent of the editors. Although there was a sharp increase in 2015, when Fairfax appointed women to four of its daily newspapers. This increase still represented only 29 percent of daily editors, and in mid-2017 one woman-led newspaper closed, and in early 2018 another editor left the job, bringing the tally to 21 percent editors women compared to 79 percent men.

The attitudinal findings from the women who had been appointed prior to 2012 are listed below as the First Ten editors. These ten were appointed at a time when there was keen competition among newspapers, and before the proliferation of their digital multi-platform production, and the surge of social media. The second group, called the New Crop entered the job after 2012 (most in 2015) and work in an atmosphere where digital news leads, thereby less competition

Chart 1: Gender balance of NZ daily newspapers 1992-2018
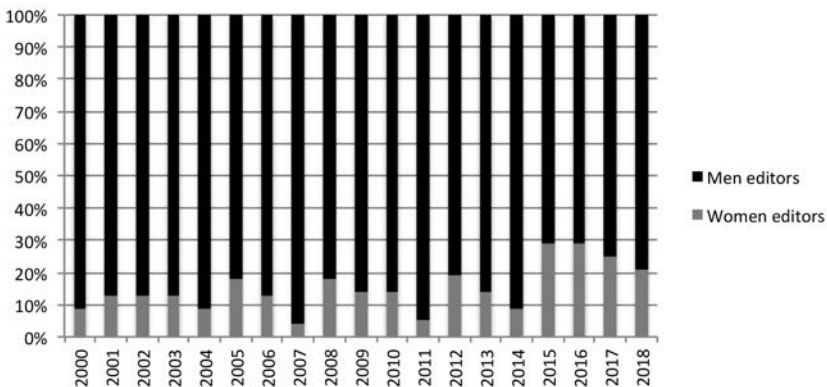
among newspapers within the same company, and more collaboration for the company's online website.

There were many similarities among all 15 of the research participants, such as that most had not thought of applying for the editor's job until one particular person urged them to do so, which this research calls 'shoulder tapped'. They still had to apply for the position, but the enticement was that an executive told them they were ready for the job. All except two participants said they would not have applied for an editor job without this level of encouragement. For the First Ten this encouragement came from two particular men who held executive positions at the two large, competing media companies. Most of the New Crop said one influential female executive in Fairfax Media had a deciding influence in their considering an editorship career path. All women editors appointed since 2012 were by the same media company, Fairfax, which owned eight (42 percent) of the country's 19 daily newspapers.

Chart 2: Journalism experience prior to editorship (N=15)				
Ave=17.5	20+ years	15-20 years	14 years or less	Total
Total	5	8	2	15

Another similarity among all editors was is that before applying for an editor position most (67 percent) had been a journalist for more than 18 years, and all except two (87 percent) had been a journalist for more than 15 years. Most were experienced in both reporting and production, and those appointed in the recent decade took a lead in digital production. The majority of them had no formal preparation for the leadership position, with 74 percent reported receiving no management training before being given the job, and this was consistent throughout the 25 years. As one said, 'they gave me a staff, a million-dollar budget and said go-for-it'.

Results: The First Ten appointed prior to 2012

The duration of their editor career is fairly short, with the average length being less than 3 years. In almost every case, the women continued working in newspapers and as journalists, after stepping down—sometimes at the same newspaper they had previously managed. Only two women were editors for 10 years, one stepped down for health reasons, and the other for a corporation promotion. One short-term editor said this study's research question should not be how to get more female editors, but how to get them to stay longer than three years.

These women left for a combination of reasons, and this research is limited to what they revealed during their interviews, acknowledging that the situation may have been more complex than described. Five said they stepped down for

Chart 3: Length of time as editor (pre-2012, N=10)
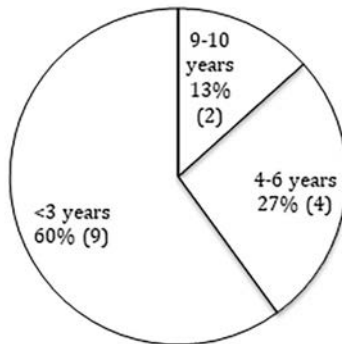
reasons of ill health or family reasons; three said it was for 'frustration' at the job, one for a promotion within the corporation, and the remaining two left without any information on the reason.

In addition, these participants tended to end their editor careers relatively abruptly. One editor said she quit hastily within days of making the decision, three others quit suddenly giving the minimum contractual notice, some with little explanation. A fourth quit unexpectedly when her contract finished, despite the media company's expectations she would continue.

Most female editors commented on the lack of management help available, such as not being given a personal assistant. They pointed out that much higher executive salaries and benefits would be provided in other industries where the person in the top position managed a staff of dozens plus a budget of more than a million dollars. The female editors, however, made it clear that the lure of the position was not salary, and that they could find an easier job with higher pay if that was their career agenda.

Overall assessment of the editor experience

The female editors said they enjoyed the challenges and satisfaction of holding the position. Even those who held the position for a relatively short time spoke enthusiastically about 'the buzz' of being an editor. A woman who quit from exhaustion used the word 'loved' seven times when talking about the positives of being an editor. Here are comments from the nine women who left the job:

- 'The best job I ever had! You would have heard of the long hours and pressure, but the pleasures outweigh the pressures. The joy of being at the wheel.'
- 'What made me stick to it is that I enjoyed it. I really loved the (newspaper) and it meant a great deal to me.'

- 'The satisfaction of when you look at the newspaper and you think "yes, I'm responsible for pulling that all together", and know that sense of achievement.'
- 'Steering the whole product is pretty cool.'
- 'It is a privilege to be the editor. I considered it an honour to even be considered…I enjoyed being a leader. I enjoyed working with people… I loved it, really loved it.'
- 'I enjoyed leading the reporters' team, as well as the community.'
- 'Knowing that this product that comes out every day is something you had a huge part in, and you are responsible for. It is satisfying, hugely satisfying.'
- 'It was very rewarding. It was very fulfilling. We did some fantastic campaigns, fought some good battles, which is what journalism is all about in the end—to make the world a better place. It was wonderful to do this.'
- 'I just love working with a team, and with the newsroom that is firing, the trouble shooting, the pulling things together in a hurry with a team of skilled people, and the laughs you have with a team of people. I'd miss it.'

On the surface the superlative quotes above seem incongruous with the fact that most of the editors worked in a newsroom an average 18 years before taking over the leadership position of editor—but then stepped down from it within 3 years.

Positive aspects of the position

The most often-cited positive factor of being an editor was the creative aspect of coordinating many elements to produce a quality publication every day. Some said part of the creative element was the combination of moulding the staff, the stories, and the page design each day to complete the task. 'You go in the morning to face big reels of empty newsprint, and before lunchtime you have filled those with what you hope is the best product, with the best news of the day, and you can see that,' said one editor.

The second positive factor of being an editor was working on behalf of the community. Most saw the editor as a leader in the community, but in a special position also as guardian of public information, because the newspaper was often the main published platform within a community. They described their self-expectations to attend community meetings, accept speaking requests and network with a wide variety of community leaders. Several women outlined specific social justice campaigns they led to change or encourage a community project. As one said, 'I loved campaign journalism, bringing some change that wouldn't have happened otherwise.'

The third major positive aspect of being an editor, reported by participants, was working with the newsroom team. They spoke enthusiastically about nur-

turing new journalists, and being able to fit the right person into the right position. They indicated they had autonomy to choose staff and create a team. One editor consistently referred to 'we' in describing the jobs and responsibilities she did. Another gave an example of working with an inherited non-productive staff member to turn him into a 'star' staff member. A third described the joy of hiring young reporters: 'I love the excitement of when you offer someone a job and they scream excitedly down the phone, because they finally got that break. I love that part.' However, two editors said staffing was one of the frustrations that led them to quit the job, noting they had inherited an established staff and lacked the ability to hire in new people.

Negative aspects of the position

A major negative mentioned in an open-ended question was collegial loneliness or isolation, often exacerbated because of the lack of same-gender peers. Collegial isolation was given by 90 percent of the First Ten experienced editors as a major problem being an editor. (One participant was not asked, as she had only taken up the job at the time of the interview.) One part of this isolation was that the participants were required to shift environments and in most cases shift geographic locations in order to take up a sole management position. Further, the management position was the traditional newspaper sole responsibility, in stark contrast to their previous journalism position in a highly gregarious newsroom environment where reporters often socialised both at work and out of work with the same people for years. The participants described having spent many years in a 'party' or 'pub-going' culture, often exclusively with other journalists, a uniting bond necessitated by the odd working hours not shared by other occupations. As most of these women had been newsroom journalists for more than 18 years prior to being editors, the relationship forged with newsroom journalists was very close. But once they became an editor they had to distance themselves.

However, a more pressing form of loneliness they discussed was the lack of collegiality with other editors. They gave examples of wanting to discuss editorial issues with peers, but not being able to, mainly because there was a lack of reception from other editors, but also because the mechanisms for discussion did not exist. Seven participants described a gender-specific dichotomy in career paths. They reported that men often knew earlier in their career that they would become editors and therefore bonded with similar upwardly mobile men well before they became editors, and became editors much earlier in their careers. Women, on the other hand, did not see themselves as potential editors until later in their career, so did not necessarily bond with upwardly mobile journalists in the early stages. Two of the participants described this dichotomy as leading to new female editors having to 'prove themselves; to the other editors, whereas

male editors did not have that need. One editor described an incident when she pushed ahead with an email discussion forum with other editors, using the topic of a controversial decision on a story placement. However, the forum was rebuffed by the other male editors who did not see the need for discussion, and even sent what she called 'very patronising' comments back to her. So she ceased further attempts at professional collegial discussions. Another participant said, 'I could make decisions, but at times wanted to discuss it with other editors. This wasn't possible. They didn't want to question their own decisions.' And yet another participant said she was 'belittled' if she wanted to debrief on treatment of a particular news item.

The lack of collegiality is not confined to female editors, as the participants described an industry-wide difficulty in finding opportunity to liaise with their peers in other cities. Several said it was only their company annual editors' conference when they could discuss issues with their peers.

The other major negative part of the job was the long hours, with six participants reporting that they regularly spent 11 hours a day in the office. This caused problems keeping commitments with family members, and losing contact with long-time friends as most of these editors had to shift cities to take up the editorship. Several participants discussed in detail how the economic problems within the industry have led to a reduction in staff numbers, with even more work for those remaining. The participants pointed out that an editor is the sole person with the responsibility to ensure the job is done before the newspaper is due for publication each day, despite staff cuts made by their corporate media company. 'I couldn't delegate because everyone else had a heavy work load,' said one. Another said: 'People get burned out quickly because there is a thin veneer of people at the top doing the job.'

Results: The New Crop editors appointed after 2012

Most of these five editors have been in the position too short a time to compile reflective attitudes to the job, as described by the earlier editors above. They all mentioned the enthusiasm to working on behalf of the community, but also mentioned the frustration with budget cuts. They all considered it a positive part of the job to work with their staff, particularly developing young journalists.

Unlike the earlier editors, these new age editors have to deal with social media trolls. They commented that this is time consuming and energy sapping. In one case she almost had to get legal restraints on one person who consistently made threats on social media. Most said trolls who used social media to toxically criticise the editor or the newspaper's work, were 'annoying' but they were able to put it in perspective after talking to other editors.

This talking to other editors is the major difference between the New Crop of editors and those women who were editors in earlier years. They newer ones

Chart 4: Editor's family responsibilities
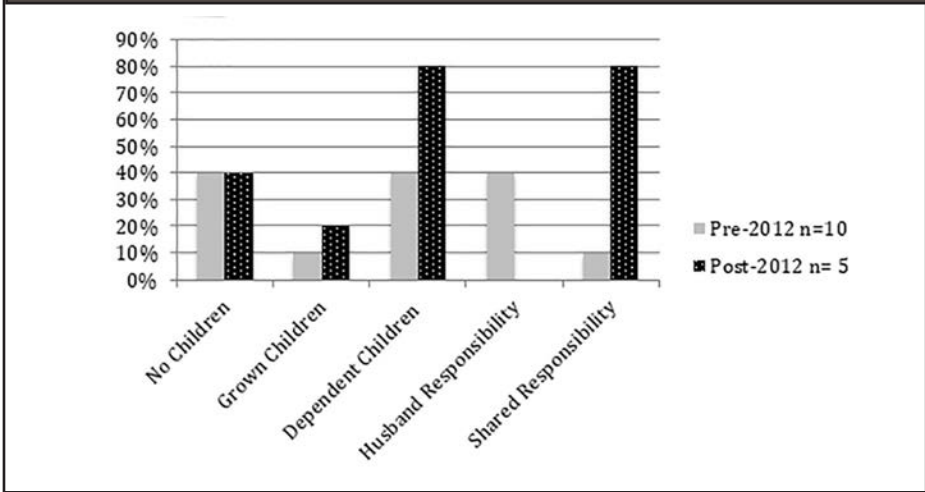
have professional collegiality, although they used different terminology. Every current editor said the regular discussions with other women editors helped make the job easier. Some said after they discussed the latest social media trolls they could laugh it off. Others said it was strengthening to see other editors were dealing with the same staff issues or news-gathering issues as themselves. Several said that right at the beginning they found it more inclusive when they went into the job interview and was not facing a panel of all older men.

Another change in environment for the New Crop was that digital technology meant they could work away from the office, even at home or in the car if they had child care responsibilities. They said they worked long hours, but could be free of sitting at a desk or being physically present in the newsroom. Many of their reporters were working from various venues, so it was common to use digital, and not physical, communication.

These digital advantages may explain why none of the recent appointees had to rely on having a partner who gives up his job to allow her to pursue the high pressure editorship. In previous years 40 percent of editors said their partners had to alter their careers in order to be what they called, 'house-husbands' when they accepted the editorship. As shown in Chart 4, twice as many of the New Crop editors have dependent children, and eight times more share child rearing with their partner, compared to editors in earlier years. Although the actual numbers are too small for the statistics to be significant, it does indicate these women with dependent children are now becoming editors whereas it was not the case in earlier years.

Conclusion

Despite the enthusiasm for journalism leadership, and the vast experience they

bring to the role, women editors tended to quit the job after only three years. Their love of newspaper journalism remains high, as indicated by their comments, but also by the fact they remain working in the industry after they step down as editor. This indicates that the position of editor is not desirable enough to outweigh the negative aspects, and that it is the editor position that is unattractive, not the newspaper industry or journalism career. As outlined in the literature review, many groups see low retention rate of female newspaper editors is a blow to leadership diversity and a deterrent to gender-balanced news reporting.

Women became editor only after they had more than 18 years journalism experience behind them, but they were still surprised when an executive urged them to apply for an editorship—even those who had more than 20 years prior experience reported surprise at being shoulder tapped for the editor position. Most editors would not have applied without this encouragement; and prior to becoming editor most did not receive management or financial training, or any other form of preparation. These findings support theories by Bourdieu and other newsroom culture scholars that the industry does not groom women for management; the unwritten guidelines and encouragement for management promotion are not revealed to women the same way they are for men.

Once in the editor's position, the women in this study said the positive aspects were working with staff, the community, and the creative aspect to news production; but they identified the negative aspects as the long hours, stressful decisions, and professional isolation (being in the collegial wilderness).

A significant difference in the editors appointed more recently, since 2012, is that none mentioned isolation or lack of professional collegiality, as did the editors who served earlier. Having a feeling of professional collegiality seems to be from the fact there is a volume of other female editors available to discuss management issues. On a broader scene, the digital newsroom allowed editors to more easily combine work and family/friends while still working long hours. As described in the literature review, employers who feel they have professional collegiality are more successful and more satisfied with their work environment. In the case of the current editors, they all work for the same media company and could ethically discuss management issues with each other. The sheer increase in women editors has created a more gender balanced executive tier that eliminated their being the sole woman leader, which supports the collegial wilderness theory.

One milestone is that in 2018 one editor completed ten years of editorship, a NZ record for female newspaper leadership. She resigned to take up a promotion in the media corporation that owned her newspaper.

Although this increase is considered good news when viewed over the decades, it is disappointing and perplexing that in the 21st century an industry that faces an army of qualified women completing journalism qualifications, can only celebrate that the gender imbalance is whittled down to a one-fifth share

of the top editor position. Despite the strides the country has taken in many other gender equality arenas, this study indicates that over recent years only 14 percent of daily newspaper editors have been women. The ratio has grown to 21 percent since 2015, but further research is needed to determine if this is a trend or an aberration.

A disturbing finding of this study is that female journalists wait until someone in authority urges them to think about being an editor; and that they seem to escape notice until they have been a journalist for an average of 18 years, a long time. This indicates that female journalists are not groomed or encouraged towards editorships in the earlier years of their career, which is in line with Bourdieu's theory that women are denied the unwritten rules for newsroom promotion. It is partly the women's fault in avoiding career planning, but it is also the fault of the industry in not providing a transparent gender-free career path. There were four specific executives throughout the decades who have taken the step of tapping the shoulder of an experienced female journalist and alerted her to an editor job that was within her grasp.

A promising finding of this study is that since 2012 there seem to be women executives as models, and who urge female journalists to consider an editor job. One current editor said clearly that she probably would not have pursued the job if she thought she would be facing a panel of only men in the job interview; but now there are women at the top table and there no longer exists the deterrent of a male-only selection panel. The limitation to this research is that it is evolving, and many of the newer editors have not been in the position long enough to determine trends.

In conclusion, the number of women leading New Zealand's daily newspapers is still low but seems to be increasing. The leadership may become more gender balanced now that there are more women at the top to be role models and part of professional collegiality; thereby eliminating the collegial wilderness previous female editors experienced. This professional collegiality may also create an environment whereby women decide to remain in editorships longer than they did in the past.

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A tale of two statues
Contemporary conflict reporting constraints and the Battle of Baghdad

Abstract: Although television conflict reporting has usually been limited by risks to journalists' safety, the death throes of Ba'athist Iraq in April 2003 provided viewers with a unique opportunity to vicariously witness the fall of a large modern city. Yet if the iconic moment of the Second Gulf War came when Saddam Hussein's statue in Firdos Square was toppled, then it was at the expense of another image event which unfolded earlier a short distance away. The US military's violent destruction of the equestrian statue close to the 'Hands of Victory' monument better encapsulated the conflict than the sterile bloodless 'cakewalk' description with which it is usually labelled. This article demonstrates how the tale of these two statues is also in some ways the tale of two Fox News correspondents; and how an alienation from military service conditions and methods can leave reporters and their audiences with no sense of what the participants on their screens endured in order to reach Baghdad; or what they had also inflicted upon others. In retrospect, the circumstances which allowed one Fox reporter to provide the world with what might have been its first taste of live, unedited combat footage seem more like an accidental success than the result of systematic best practices. This is so even when this network and even its most credible host work to ensure a partisan perspective dominates all their broadcasts.

Keywords: best practice, combat footage, conflict reporting, Iraq, military, Operation Iraqi Freedom, television, trauma, war correspondence

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Conflict reporting has always posed a plethora of challenges; including the risk of the journalist's own trauma, injury or even death (Behr, 1987; Cottle, 2007; Herr, 1991; Mathews, 1957). Yet even if reporters and the outlets that employ them are able to overcome the restrictions imposed by the combatants—as well as the technical limitations created by the equipment and channels required to convey content to mass audiences (Cottle; Mathews)—they are still frequently confronted by their lack of familiarity with military operations and cultures (Braestrup, 1983; West, 2006). This situation has arisen since the advent of modern volunteer armed forces and can lead to inaccuracies which

unintentionally distort the impressions of publics and political decision makers alike (Braestrup; Reynolds, 2007; United States Army Center of Military History, 2010; Yetiv, 1997). However, despite the industry's use of expert opinion and studio 'talking heads' to augment the dwindling number of journalists with prior military service (Poole, 2003; Greg Kelly recounts, 2008), it appears to be the political constraints within some media organisations which ultimately shape what aspects they cover, even when this minimises the achievements of a conflict's participants or disguises their failures.

At the start of the 21st century, the United States embarked on a military adventure in Iraq that threatened the country's global prestige in a way not seen since the Vietnam conflict (Judt & Lacorne, 2005; Stam & Shohat, 2007). Although there was a tendency to portray this campaign as a continuation of the Kuwait crisis (Reynolds, 2007; Woods, 2008; Woods, Palkki & Stout, 2011), it became a profoundly different conflict to the one audiences were told to expect (Ricks, 2006). This affected the way some outlets and individual reporters portrayed the death throes of Ba'athist Iraq on April 9, 2003. Television coverage has a tendency to create image-centric experiences which audiences find more compelling than text-based accounts (Eveland & Seo, 2007). When television is the main source of news information for most Americans (Lin, 2009), their ability to make sense of what is unfolding as a result of their government's foreign policy initiatives can be affected by what they can see as well as what they cannot. This selective framing (Scheufele, 1999) is similar to what US viewers were exposed to in the First Gulf War in January and February 1991 when CNN dominated the airwaves in the US. This time, however, CNN had been partially superseded by a rival 24 hour news channel, Fox News (Collins, 2004).

The wars that weren't?

When first published, French philosopher Jean Baudrillard's (1995) assertions that the First Gulf War would not take place, was not really taking place, and therefore did not take place, seemed highly contentious. Baudrillard contended that the constant broadcasting of precision air strike footage obscured the real cost of those operations and of the conflict as a whole. Interestingly, although for slightly different reasons, this was the same conclusion reached by branches of the US military (United States Department of Defence—hereinafter US DoD, 1992) as well Saddam's regime (Woods, 2008). This realisation also influenced how the initial stages of the Second Gulf War between March 20 and April 10 would be conducted and reported. The media pooling system implemented by coalition forces during the First Gulf War created widespread resentment among the news teams covering the conflict (Kelly, 2001). Because the US DoD insisted that only journalists from coalition countries such as America, the UK and France could accompany the ground forces involved in Iraq's eviction from Kuwait,

most of the world's media had to rely on the daily briefings provided by Central Command in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia (Cottle, 2007). This meant there was a similar environment to the infamous Five O'Clock Follies used to brief reporters in Saigon during the Vietnam conflict (Braestrup, 1983; Herr, 1991). However, while the official summaries of the day's events could include thermal imagery of laser-guided bombs destroying multi-story buildings in Baghdad, whatever limited news video of ground operations could be gathered was censored to prevent Iraq from acquiring intelligence on Coalition movements (Schwarzkopf, 1992). The journalists assigned by lottery to various units were usually only able to gather information from divisional or brigade level headquarters due to the risks inherent in intensive mechanised operations (Cordingley, 1996; ibid.). They were also dependent on the forces they were with for satellite transmission of their recordings; a task that was not a high priority during the four-day blitzkrieg which saw some Coalition forces threatened with immobilisation through either a lack of supplies or sheer exhaustion (Yetiv, 1997).

The culmination of the campaign's limited objectives was the liberation of Kuwait City (US DoD, 1992) and it was this event which finally gave American television news the images they wanted. In an eerie parallel with the scenes witnessed just over 12 years later, viewers in 1991 were also confronted with pictures of jubilant civilians and victorious US Marines celebrating an Iraqi military disaster (NBC News: Liberation of Kuwait, February 1991, 2014). Yet the prominence given to the Marines, despite the diversionary aspects of their contribution convinced the US Army that a new media management policy was required to highlight their role in any future conflict. This system of embedding, under which journalists could travel with the headquarters elements of units as small as battalion or even task force size, was tested during its deployments to Bosnia (Atkinson, 2004) and was one which randomly selected journalists would benefit from in the Second Gulf War (ibid.; Poole 2003; Ricchiardi, 2003; West & Smith, 2003).

The arbitrary nature of the embedding programme meant reporters could not anticipate which units they would be assigned to. The programme had also been expanded to include all the service arms of the US forces, as well as Allied contingents such as the British Army's 1st Armoured Division. Correspondents such as the *Evening Standard's* Oliver Poole (2003)—who had previously served in Britain's Territorial Army—were keenly aware of the different opportunities available between joining an American armoured battalion expected to seize the Iraqi capital and a placement on board a US Navy vessel or with a logistics unit. Unlike virtually every one of his contemporaries, Poole was not estranged from his country's armed forces and was familiar with military procedures; though admittedly, not the shared beliefs and assumptions of the American Army. The aspect of the embedding system which most surprised some of the journalists

involved was the level of access they were granted (Greg Kelly recounts, 2008; Poole; Ricchiardi, 2003). However, this very access raises concerns about whose views the embedded reporters were able or expected to convey.

Influential communications scholars such as Edward Herman (1999) and Daniel Hallin (1997) have long been concerned about media coverage which emphasises official sources and perspectives. They believe this allows government sources to dominate the discourse surrounding controversial issues, while marginalising those who oppose the policies governments attempt to implement. When the policy being debated is whether to intervene militarily in another nation state (Ricks, 2006; Woodward, 2004), then how elite opinions are portrayed can be critical in determining public opinion (Hallin, 1986). The build-up to the Second Gulf War was marred by intense debates within the administration of George W. Bush and throughout the capitals of America's traditional friends (Ricks; Woodward). Yet because the US government's divisions were only occasionally aired in public and Bush's Democratic rivals feared appearing 'soft' on national security issues in the aftermath of 9/11 (Ricks), domestic elite views opposing the invasion struggled to attain what Hallin (1986) describes as a level of legitimate controversy. International reluctance to participate in Saddam's removal also resulted in concerted attacks on French 'intransigence' (House now serving 'freedom fries', 2003)—despite France's long-standing involvement with an under-reported aerial campaign designed to contain Iraq in the aftermath of the First Gulf War (Woodward, 2004). Ironically, the television network leading these attacks also employed a field reporter who had participated in those air strikes.

Fox News Corporation's Greg Kelly was a US Marine Corps aviator who, at the onset of the Second Gulf War, was still an officer in the Marine Reserves (Coscarelli, 2012; Greg Kelly recounts, 2008). Although his operational experience was as a pilot, he was assigned to the US Army's 3rd Infantry Division (Mechanised) prior to its crossing of the Iraq/Kuwait border. His live broadcasts from the back of an armoured vehicle were only possible because of the advances in satellite communications that had occurred since 1991 (Inmarsat award, 2014).). The increased portability of the systems used by coalition and reporters alike enabled Kelly to stream continuous footage back to the US accompanied by his improvised comments (Greg Kelly recounts, 2008; The thunder run, 2010). However, it was his previous immersion in the US military which enabled him to appreciate the calibre of the soldiers alongside whom he was working (Ricks, 1997). Regardless of the inter-service rivalry between the Army and the Marines, Kelly appeared to genuinely admire the overall training and professionalism of the Division's 2nd Brigade (Greg Kelly recounts. 2008). His ability to straddle this societal divide between those intimately aware of the challenges facing service personnel and their families and those who are not (Wright, 2008), coincided with the overwhelmingly pro-invasion coverage of Fox News in general (Lin,

2009). Yet within an outlet known for its strident jingoism and paucity of indepth analysis on anything other than Republican Party machinations (Swint, 2008), Kelly's measured and informative statements stood in stark contrast to Fox's usual fare. However, even after taking his personal performance into account the initial images Kelly provided of unopposed thrusts into Western Iraq still conformed to Baudrillard's (1995) idea of a bloodless misrepresentation—one which also rested on the myths and illusory lessons of the First Gulf War.

The performance of the Iraqi military during the Kuwaiti crisis was analysed by Iraq as well as its opponents. Although both sides were tempted to attribute the Iraqi collapse to the extensive airpower used against them, there was a shared sense that airpower alone would not be sufficient to thwart Saddam in any future crisis (Woods, 2008; USACMH, 2010). Nonetheless, the Iraqis considered that their opponents wanted to keep the level of their own casualties low and also sensitive to charges they were responsible for the indiscriminate killing of civilians (Woods; Woods et al., 2011). As a result, Iraq appears to have made a conscious decision to avoid utilising its residual mechanised forces in open terrain. Instead, infantry armed with light anti-tank weapons and assault rifles would attempt to inflict politically unacceptable losses on coalition units in the hope that this might lead to a negotiated settlement and leave Saddam with control over his capital and the central Sunni regions of the country (Woods, Pease, Stout, Murray & Lacey, 2006). Coalition forces were also aware of this possibility and, as they approached Baghdad at the end of March 2003, the idea of having to operate armoured vehicles in an urban setting while defeating the Saddam Fedayeen and other paramilitary forces weighed heavily on senior commanders (Reynolds, 2007). However, one solution to this dilemma was to destroy the regime's centre of gravity (von Clausewitz, 1982; Gordon & Trainor, 2007; Zucchino, 2004a), and drive straight for Saddam's palace complexes.

This concept was originally deemed too ambitious by the 3rd Division's commander General Buford Blount. As a compromise, an initial 'thunder run' was ordered through the outskirts of Baghdad and it was this enterprise that Fox's Greg Kelly was to broadcast live on April 5 (Lacey, 2007). This time, Kelly had a remarkable scoop. Rather than a monotonous vista of dirt and dust (Greg Kelly recounts, 2008) audiences around the world could witness the transformation of a large city's impressive roads and infrastructure into a confusing and chaotic battlefield. Kelly's footage contains some disturbing material such as a civilian car, whose occupants must be either dead or dying, slamming into the median barrier of a modern motorway after passing between two of the armoured vehicles with which he was travelling (The thunder run, 2010). However, although we also see Staff Sergeant Jason Diaz's burning and abandoned Abrams tank—an early indicator that the engagement was not entirely one-sided (ibid.; Zucchino, 2004a)—the mere fact that Kelly and his cameraman Mal James were able to stand up and record

their footage demonstrates that any firing we can hear is mainly, if not entirely, outgoing, and therefore American. His description of the 'civilian vehicles, white pick-up trucks [which] come at us almost on suicide missions' is not as far-fetched as it first seems (Greg Kelly reflects, 2010). For instance, after the fall of Baghdad large quantities of regime documents were captured and analysed which showed the pre-war efforts of the Saddam Fedayeen to develop unconventional capabilities involving car bombs and suicide vests (Woods & Lacey, 2007). Yet in other parts of the city residents were attempting to go about their affairs while unaware of the depth of the American penetration (The thunder run, 2008; Zucchino, 2004a). Kelly appeared unwilling or unable to explore this paradox. The Americans' desire to minimise their own casualties created an environment in which any vehicle approaching the column was considered a threat. Although he explained that some of the civilian vehicles destroyed produced secondary explosions which might indicate they contained munitions of some sort (Greg Kelly recounts, 2008), he never fully addresses how feasible it was for Iraqi motorists to interpret machine-gun tracer fire into the road in front of them as a signal to slow down and stop (The thunder run, 2008; Zucchino, 2004a). This failing caused him to inadvertently become a source only capable of conveying the views of the organisation upon whom he was meant to be reporting.

After watching Kelly's video, General Blount was convinced Saddam's forces were on the brink of total collapse and approved a thrust aimed at the symbols of the regime's rule (Lacey, 2007). This was considered so risky that on April 7 only main battle tanks were initially used and all crews were to remain inside their vehicles with their hatches secured (Zucchino, 2004a). As a result, at first the Fox News team was unable to accompany the forces employed and even when it was deemed safe enough to use the more lightly armoured M113s in which they usually rode, the threat of hostile small arms and rocket propelled grenade fire prevented Fox from securing any additional footage. The only broadcasting Kelly did that day was at the behest of the 2nd Brigade's commanding officer Colonel David Perkins. He and cameraman Mal James briefly left the relative safety of their vehicle to film a short piece to camera on the steps of one of Saddam's gaudy palaces (Zucchinoa). However, this was not the only proof that American forces had been right into the city's centre. Determined to prove the inaccuracy of Iraqi Information Minister Muhammad Saeed al-Sahhaf's statements, Perkins allowed his troops to put a tank main gun round into Saddam's equestrian statue by the 'Hands of Victory' Monument (ibid.; Soldiers destroying statue in Iraq, 2006) in case his lack of fuel caused him to withdraw. This violent destruction of the Iraqi leader's image was more emblematic of the entire campaign; one which was far from 'bloodless' or devoid of risk and which by this stage had already cost the lives of thousands of Iraqis (Conroy & Martz, 2005; Lacey). However, all this was to be overshadowed by the fate of another statue a short distance away.

Run to Paradise

The most memorable images from the Battle of Baghdad and indeed, the entire Second Gulf War, were provided on April 9 in Firdos Square, just across the Tigris River from where the 3rd Infantry continued to engage in occasionally intense firefights (Conroy & Martz, 2005). Once again, although still acting in a diversionary role, (Reynolds, 2007; West and Smith, 2003) the US Marine Corps was to take centre stage in a defining image event. Neither Fox nor any other news outlet had reporters embedded with the Marines responsible for the toppling of the large statue of Saddam. Although there were discussions by senior commanders about the need to find targets that demonstrated the end of Ba'athist rule (Reynolds, 2007), this had not initially been conveyed to the Marines in Firdos Square. As the Iraqi Information Ministry minders who always accompanied the foreign media had failed to turn up for work that morning, the international correspondents already in Baghdad knew the regime had collapsed (Zucchino, 2004a). While strolling a short distance from their hotel they encountered a small group of Iraqis gathered in the square, intent on destroying any symbols of Saddam they could find (McLaughlin, 2008). However, the statute on which they were venting their fury proved impervious to all their efforts. The arrival of the Marines dramatically changed the dynamics of the situation (ibid.) and, at the suggestion of a US Army psychological operations team (Zucchino, 2004b), they used one of their armoured recovery vehicles to topple the statue, to the evident delight of the crowd (Saddam statue falls, 2012).

This footage was beamed around the world by Abu Dhabi TV and quickly picked up by Fox News Corporation. At Fox's headquarters, a studio team comprising their most senior commentators provided their own contextualisation. One of them was Brit Hume, a former ABC News chief White House correspondent who had previously won an Emmy for his work during the First Gulf War (On air personalities, n.d.). Hume and other members of Fox News would have been aware of the potential for historic drama over the coming days. Nor could they have been unaware of Fox's role in the continuous campaign mode of America's Republican Party (Swint, 2008). He described the events in Firdos Square as being 'extraordinarily effective in conveying to the world what the [G. W. H. Bush] administration said and promised it was trying to achieve' (Saddam statue falls, 2012). Hume had become what Herman (1999) would call a primary definer, effectively acting as spokesperson, through Fox, for the government's position. He went on to declare:

> If this had been planned in some way [the destruction of the statue], and manifestly it was not, [as] we can tell, it could hardly be a more effective and powerful message.

Yet, as *Los Angeles Times* correspondent David Zucchino (2004b) showed, there was a degree of opportunistic manipulation of the crowd by the US military that day. Equally importantly, what the footage from Firdos Square did not show was the widespread looting and sporadic fighting that was occurring only a few blocks away (Zucchino, 2004a). In many ways the events in Firdos Square could be said to have been the highpoint of the US invasion of Iraq (Ricks, 2006). As Iraq began to spiral into the abyss, perhaps the most powerful message of April 9 was not the new American global assertiveness to which Brit Hume intended to draw attention; but rather the limits of US influence and decision making.

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OBITUARIES

Journalism as a weapon
The life of Patrick John Booth

Obituary: Many countries have their Watergate moment, a scandal that envelopes not only mystery, intrigue, and human tragedy, but also something bigger, some kind of challenge to a country's deepest beliefs about itself. What the US journalism scholar Michael Schudson called a country's central moral values. For New Zealand, a good case could be made that our Watergate moment was the Thomas case. Like Watergate, it revealed ugly truths about corruption within some of our most respected institutions, and investigative journalism played a central role. Like Watergate, it was also a collective loss of innocence, and opened a very deep wound.
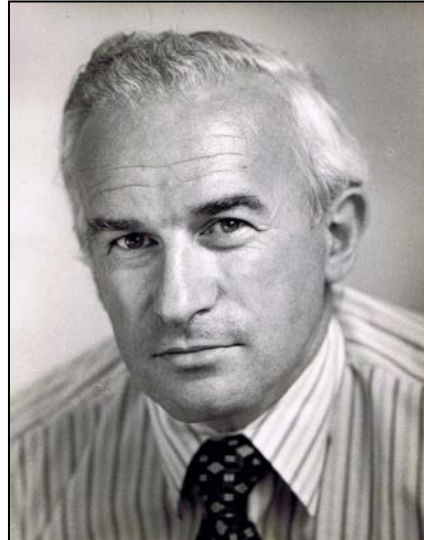
AUCKLAND STAR

Figure 1: Patrick John Booth in the early 1970s.

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MANY countries have their Watergate moment, a scandal that envelopes not only mystery, intrigue, and human tragedy, but also something bigger, some kind of challenge to a country's deepest beliefs about itself. What the US journalism scholar Michael Schudson called a country's central moral values (Schudson, 2004).

For New Zealand, a good case could be made that our Watergate moment was the Thomas case. Like Watergate, it revealed ugly truths about corruption within some of our most respected institutions, and investigative journalism played a central role. Like Watergate, it was also a collective loss of innocence, and opened a very deep wound.

That wound opened on or about 17 June 1970, when a person or persons unknown shot dead Harvey and Jeannette Crewe on their farm in the Waikato. Their 18-month-old daughter, Rochelle was found in the house, dehydrated and dirty, but otherwise well, five days later. The case was national news from day one, and police pressure to find the killer or killers was intense.

After some months, a local farmer, Arthur Allan Thomas, was convicted of the murders. Thomas maintained his innocence, backed by a strong family and group of supporters. Among these was his wife, Vivien, who testified he was with her

FRED FREEMAN/AUCKLAND STAR

Figure 2: Booth with Arthur Thomas after his release from prison.

on the night of the murders. Eventually enough new evidence was gathered to convince the Crown of the need for a retrial.

The story of how Booth became involved in the Thomas saga, after attending the retrial of Arthur Allan Thomas, is best told in his own words, in his memoir *Deadline: My Story* (Booth, 1997). It is worth reading as a case study in what makes a successful investigative journalist. Booth began his investigation as a professional journalist; what he saw and heard turned him into something else: a campaigner, an investigator, a crusader even. All things that decades in the conservative world of New Zealand newspapers would have counselled against. It set him on a path that was to end only eight years later, when Thomas was pardoned, largely as a result of the evidence Booth and others had gathered. Booth's work set a new standard for investigative journalism in New Zealand; it involved forensic exactitude and attention to detail with all the wily street-craft of a long-time pavement hound, and the persistence required to keep him going for eight years in the face of intense police pressure. More than that, it demonstrated a level of political guile that enabled him to swing the ear of a Prime Minister, to outwit the combined might of the police and justice establishments. It was an achievement that makes him, in my view, arguably the finest investigative journalist New Zealand has produced.

Booth spent most of his early life in Hawera, a small dairy town at the arse-end of Taranaki. Boring and flat it might appear to outsiders, but there must be something in the air there, a whiff of mystery that gives blood and breath to crime writers. For it has produced the two writers who have delved deepest into the dark pools of New Zealand crime. One, Ronald Hugh Morrieson, is arguably the country's greatest noir fiction writer—his sex-sodden tales of murder and corruption in the fictional towns of Klyham and Harperton, were black comic masterpieces and a unique local twist on American southern gothic. The other, albeit in the non-fiction genre, is Booth.

Strangely, although both lived in Hawera in the 1940s, by Booth's account, they might as well have lived in different countries. Morrieson's Hawera was one of wild drunken orgies, revving V8s, gunshots and sex. Morrieson died at 50, a bachelor alcoholic, without seeing his novels gain the fame they deserved. Booth, a lifetime teetotaller, grew up in a poor but loving Catholic family, with a rich tradition of music and a love of literature. He was disdainful of Morrieson's picture of Hawera: 'The guys with all the impact had three-speed sports bikes', not throbbing V8s (Booth, 1997, p. 14).

Booth probably would not have appreciated the comparison, but there are more than a few similarities between them. Both were gifted writers, both had an empathy for the outsider, or underdog, both were sceptical, often derisory of the New Zealand establishment, and authority in general, and both seemed to relish scraping back the veneer of propriety to show their country what lay beneath. For Morrieson, that was the comic tragedy of small-town life; for Booth it was the more challenging task of proving corruption in the hitherto untouchable New Zealand justice system.

Booth's family came from Scotland, via Ireland. His grandfather emigrated in 1863, and was an alcoholic and abusive; his wife left when Booth's father Fred was 14. As a result, Fred never drank, and neither did Booth. Fred married Booth's mother, Millie, in 1909; three children followed. The last, Patrick John, came 18 years after the first, on 9 September 1929. Booth describes it as a financial disaster for the hard-up family. For much of the Depression years the family traipsed back and forth between Hawera and Wellington as his father sought relief work. They settled permanently in Hawera only in the 1940s. Pat writes fondly of his father, who, despite deafness, and financial hardship, was kind.

Underneath though, were seeds of the rebel, the sympathy for the underdog that were to emerge later in Booth. His father and grandfather plotted to blow up one of the trains bringing Massey's 'Cossacks', or special constables to Wellington to break the 1913 Waterfront Strike. They decided against it when they realised it would kill the train driver and engineer, and settled for stoning the train instead.

One touching scene he recounts is of the regular visits from Wellington of

a mysterious bachelor, known only as 'Jack'. Only years later did he discover that when Fred had registered for poor relief, anonymous food parcels started appearing at their door, and kept coming until no longer needed:

> I never knew just when my parents identified Jack, the government clerk who had processed my father's dole papers, as the source … When 20 years later, Jack lost his job and his reputation close to retirement after some squalid incident in a Wellington public lavatory, he knew where his deserved friends were and he came, noticeably thinner and tense, to spend more time … (Booth, 1997, p. 33).

Booth loved his father, but he adored his mother, and also his sister, Lynda. The 'three musketeers' as they called themselves, seem to have had a very special bond that gave Booth a sense of security and warmth that carried him through life. He writes fondly of the musical evenings in their house, Millie at the piano, Booth and his sister on violin, or singing. It was his bond with Millie that saw him turn to journalism. He had signed up as a teacher trainee, but when she fell ill, he changed his mind and joined the *Hawera Star* instead, so he could be near her.

A love of sport got him sent to Auckland for the Empire Games in 1950, where he wangled a job on *The Auckland Star*. It was there he paid his dues as a reporter; gaining notable scoops such as the first New Zealand interview with Sir Edmund Hillary after his conquest of Everest, and revealing the imminent military intervention in Malaya. After a solid career as a reporter, including time in the Press Gallery, he moved into management. If one could pinpoint a turning point in his life, it would have been 1973. Until that point he had been the professional newspaperman, climbing steadily through the ranks. By 1973, he was assistant editor. He was an able newspaper executive, traveling overseas to learn about new technology, and helping plan the transition to computerisation for the NZ Newspapers stable in the early 1970s. He probably would have made editor, but for a fateful decision one night in April, 1973.

Earlier that year, after considering new evidence, the Crown had ordered a retrial of Arthur Allan Thomas. Booth was intrigued by the case, but as he later put it, more from the point of view of the professional editor. He thought an interview with Thomas might be a coup for the *Star*.

One night, while driving home, he decided to drop in on the Thomas trial, to see if he could get an interview with Thomas. He knew Thomas's counsel, Kevin Ryan, and thought he had an 'in'. With his usual flair for drama, he described how 'destiny' took a hand. As he drove past the High Court, he made a sudden decision. If there were a car park, he would pull in. 'At that moment, a car pulled out to leave a space directly outside the court. Destiny had made a special place for me.' (Booth, 1997, p. 158).

Booth was deeply moved by the scenes in the courtroom that night, as Thomas

was convicted for a second time. 'Give me a lie-detector test!' Thomas cried from the dock, while in the public gallery there was uproar. Booth decided to check for himself the claims of the Thomas family that Arthur was innocent. Arthur's then –wife, Vivien, claimed he was with her on the night of the murders; Booth met her and found her convincing. He then sought the transcripts of the first and second trials, and began what he called a 'straight accounting job' (Booth, P., interview with the author, 2009). The discrepancies he found between the police version of events at each trial disturbed him, and he began checking the evidence himself, by going back to the original witnesses.

One success was showing that a missing bloodstained watch, which a jeweller had sworn Thomas had brought in for repair shortly after the murders, in fact belonged to someone else. Booth found the watch, and its true owner, John Fisher, who revealed the bloodstains were because he had worn it while slaughtering a pig. Fisher also revealed that he had already told this to police, but they had simply ignored him, declined to call him as a witness, and instead claimed the watch was Thomas's.

Booth also disproved the police claim that Thomas had worked on the murder victims' farm, by checking the topdressing contractor's records. Despite these wins, still the police case stood up to repeated challenge in the higher courts. That was because their star exhibit, a cartridge case found in the victims' garden, had been shown conclusively to have been fired by Thomas's .22 rifle. It was that 'garden' cartridge case that kept Thomas locked up, and persuaded juries and Appeal Court judges that he and his wife were lying. As it turned out, it was not the Thomases that were lying, but the police, and it was Booth, in collaboration with Jim Sprott (a scientist and defence witness at the second trial) who proved it.

How did they do it? At the second trial, the defence had challenged the cartridge case. It had done this after a tip from a retired detective, Jack Ritchie. He ran a gun shop in the remote Hawkes Bay town of Dannevirke. Like much of New Zealand, he had been following the case. After reading that bullets found in the victims' heads had a distinctive '8' on their base, he began looking in his stocks for such bullets. He found plenty, fitted into the kind of cartridge case, made by ICI, that police had found in the Crewe's garden. But he also noticed that the 'ICI' letters on the 'garden' case looked different to ICI letters on other cartridge cases he found – the letters on some were noticeably bigger. Crucially, he could not find any cartridge cases with ICI lettering similar to the garden cartridge case, that were also fitted to '8' bullets. That suggested that the '8' bullets used to murder the Crewes could not have been attached to the 'garden' case fired from Thomas's rifle.

Needless to say, the police disputed this, producing an affidavit from ICI that they had never changed their lettering. The jury at the second trial accepted their word, and Thomas was convicted. Booth decided to test this for himself.

He flew to Melbourne with Sprott and went to ICI and the Melbourne Police Forensic Laboratory with photographs of the different cartridge cases with apparently different lettering. Their comparison microscope clearly showed the differences in lettering. ICI were astonished, and after checking their processes, found the cause of the lettering differences. Wear and tear in the stamps that made the letters on the cartridge cases meant the letters were gradually distorting. This had been noticed by an anonymous engraver at the factory, who had then made new stamps, with noticeably different lettering. By checking their records, ICI were able to give a date when the 'garden' case, with its particular style of lettering, had been made. By cross-checking shipping records, and records of the factory that inserted '8' bullets into ICI cases, they were able to prove that the 'garden' case was made after the last '8' bullets were fitted into ICI cases. Thus, the 'garden' case fired from Thomas's rifle could never have held the "8" bullets that killed the Crewes.

That evidence was heard by a Court of Appeal hearing in 1975. Yet, despite agreeing it was now 'improbable' that the garden cartridge case could once have held a murder bullet, the Court refused to rule it out. A later Privy Council hearing was unable to challenge that bizarre finding, on a technicality. The entire New Zealand justice system, supposed to be the last word in robust and critical review, had utterly failed Thomas.

Discouraged, Booth put his files aside. It was only after a visit to the movies, to see the new 1977 Oscar-winner, *All The President's Men*, that he went back to work (Davies, 2018). With all avenues of appeal through the court system exhausted, he turned to politicians. He and others managed to persuade the Prime Minister, Robert Muldoon, to hold a Royal Commission of Inquiry. Muldoon called in an Australian judge specialising in police corruption. After hearing all the evidence, it had this to say:

> That a man is locked up for a day without cause has always been seen by our law as a most serious assault on his rights. That a man is wrongly imprisoned on the basis of evidence which is false to the knowledge of police officers whose duty it is to uphold the law is an unspeakable outrage. … Mr Thomas suffered that outrage; he was the victim of that attack. His courage and that of a few very dedicated men and women who believed in the cause of justice has exposed the wrongs that were done. They can never be put right. (NZ Government, 1980)

The Commission also noted the 'immense labour of Mr Patrick Booth in the field of investigative journalism'. On the Commission's recommendation, the government pardoned Thomas, and paid him $1 million compensation for wrongful imprisonment.

Looking back, it is easy to underestimate the determination Booth showed,

especially after the failure of the courts to challenge the police lies. There was no precedent; no one had ever shown the police to be corrupt. Like Watergate, his investigation plucked scales from our eyes, and showed us things that most New Zealanders had not imagined some police were capable of.

Booth likes to outsource his decision to take on the case to destiny, but there had been hints that something inside him was itching. There was the strange sidestep to take on the editorship of the Catholic newspaper, *Zealandia*, in 1971, before he returned to the *Star* as assistant editor, in 1972. In the late 1960s he had also spent time on newspapers in Sydney, Australia, but soon returned to the *Star*. There was clearly some part of him that was never comfortable too far from the typewriter. Many *Star* staff have stories of him wanting to help write their stories, or taking them over. While an able manager, his heart was never in it in the way it was in writing about social justice.

His personal life was changing at that time, too. He had recently fallen for a reporter in the *Star* newsroom, Valerie Davies, who had arrived from Hong Kong with her two children. Booth moved into her flat in Parnell, leaving his wife (also Valerie) and their four children. It was while driving back to Davies' flat that he made that fateful decision; there must have been a lot of strong emotions already swirling within him when, as he says, destiny beckoned him. Inside Booth the newspaper executive was Booth the campaigner, waiting for the right cause. As it turned out, that cause was Thomas.

Davies, who became his second wife and lifetime companion, remembers him as very conscientious about accuracy, whether as a reporter, or an editor.

'He had this calm, capable energy. He never really made anybody feel a lesser person. A lot of people would say what an ego he had, but he always made other people feel good.' Davies and Booth moved in together just before Booth became embroiled in the Thomas case.

> It's only in retrospect I realise what a huge impact it had on us and the children. They were going to school in a country area where most of the farmers thought it was a jolly good thing that someone had been clapped in prison.
>   We were totally committed to what he was doing. Looking back it was a huge bonding exercise. (Davies, interview with the author, 2018)

Davies' daughter, Victoria Carter, also remembers it vividly.

> Every night we would talk about what he was working on. He would drive us to school in the morning and talk news … the news was part of our lives.
>   The Thomas case was such a part of our family lives that when Pat went to visit Arthur at Paremoremo [maximum security prison] the whole family went along. On one trip I took [Arthur] a big tortoiseshell

sea shell, because I wanted him to hear the sea. (Carter, interview with the author, 2018)

Booth was under police surveillance during the case, as police desperately fought to shore up their crumbling case against Thomas. They believed their phone was tapped, and one night, Davies and Booth woke to find a man standing in their room, in a grey suit with a black stocking over his head, and had to chase him out. They were convinced it was a detective searching for evidence.

Davies believes that the Thomas case was his finest work.

> It's not only establishing the innocence of a wrongly imprisoned man but it caused people to look a lot harder at the justice system. It was very interesting how afterwards we would hear back from people on juries 'Look, remember the Thomas case.'
> Those were the things he really cared about - uncovering injustice and bringing it to the notice of someone who wanted to do something about it.
> He had this tremendous sense of justice. He had huge integrity. He would never have breached the unwritten journalistic code. He would never have betrayed a confidence. So people trusted him. He was an honest man.
> His passion for justice and his honesty were his main qualities. But [he was also] incredibly courteous and sensitive to other people … and a brilliant mediator. (Davies, 2018)

Therese Hodgson, his second daughter from his first marriage, also believes he will be most remembered for the Thomas case.

> He had very high principles around journalism and he was really old school and he was very proud of those … as well.
> [But] he also had a very dry sense of humour. He was very quick witted. He was a wonderful dad. (Hodgson)

The Thomas case, if his best work, was by no means his only achievement. As the deputy editor of *The Auckland Star* through the 1970s, he helped foster a newsroom that became legendary for its story-breaking dynamism, attracting and fostering journalists who dug deeper and harder.

Under Booth, the *Star* broke many major stories; the Mr Asia drugs ring, which first alerted New Zealand to the scourge of heroin trafficking, the Dawn Raids, which showed us the ugly face of racist policing of illegal migrants from the Pacific, and the Erebus scandal, which revealed the cover-up of the cause of New Zealand's worst air disaster. Perhaps more importantly than all these, Booth's newsroom fostered many of the brilliant journalists of the next generation; Donna Chisholm, Jim Tully, Warwick Roger, Warren Berryman, David McLoughlin were just some who developed at the *Star*. The *Star* also dominated

the Qantas Awards—with several journalist of the year award winners from its stable. Booth could be autocratic, and was sometimes accused of claiming more credit than was his due for work done by his teams. But there was no doubting his ability to inspire, to encourage, to lead. He was bold, trying new things, such as pioneering multipart features on the emerging trends such as the Pacific influx, and the rise of violence. He loved being in the newsroom, and loved a strong story, the more controversial the better.

Above all, he had an empathy for the underdog, the outsider. When Muldoon publicised a list of supposed members of the Moscow-leaning Socialist Unity Party, the *Star* under Booth was the only newspaper which refused to publish it. He became firm friends with Bill Sutch, the civil servant arrested after meeting a KGB agent at night. Booth stood by Sutch before and after he was found not guilty of offences against the *Official Secrets Act.* That empathy for the outsider underpinned some of his inspirational news choices—above all his decision to bet his career on accused double-murderer Arthur Thomas. Unlike all the work at the *Star*, which was really no more than his job, albeit done well, the Thomas work was done in his own time.

Booth finally retired from journalism in 2004. He then turned to local body politics, serving three terms on two district health boards, and on six other local bodies. He was also a prolific author, writing four novels, four biographies, an autobiography, and three sports books. His last work, unfinished, was a monumental history of New Zealand's role in the Pacific War. One of his many campaigns was to get recognition for the 17 New Zealand coastwatchers beheaded by Japanese forces on the island of Betio (in modern day Kiribati) in October 1942.

He collected numerous awards, including an OBE for services to journalism, race relations, local government, health and literature; the Jubilee Prize for Investigative Journalism, in 1974 (for his work on the Thomas case), a Qantas Lifetime Achievement Award in 2002 and a National Press Club Lifetime Achievement Award in 2005 (previously awarded only to Sir Geoffrey Cox, Sir Terry McLean, and Peter Arnett). (Booth, P: Biographical Notes, 2017)

For Booth, though, none of that mattered as much as the wrongs he helped right. In notes found on his desk after he died, he listed his proudest achievement. It was not the myriad investigations, books, or awards. It was a small, relatively obscure campaign run while he was editor of community newspapers in Auckland. After publishing stories about glue ear causing deafness in children, making them more likely to drop out of school and end up in jail, he got suburban newspapers to donate all money raised from its annual Round the Bays run to fund treatment for all children in the Counties-Manukau area, wiping out its waiting list in two weeks. Underneath this achievement, he wrote:

> Used journalism as a weapon for truth, justice, and righting social wrongs.
> (Booth, P.: Biographical notes, 2017)

At his funeral, an elderly man came forward to put a flower on his coffin. It was Arthur Thomas, who had driven north from his farm in Waikato to say farewell to the man who, perhaps more than any other, had given him back his freedom. Thomas does not give many interviews these days, but he agreed to be interviewed for this obituary. He was, he said, very very grateful to Booth.

> I just said, 'thank you Pat'. I couldn't say too much. I wanted to say he did a bloody great job, but I couldn't find the words.
>
> I told my family, there was no better. He got stuck in, like a dog with a bone.
>
> He did it for all of us. He was a bloody great man. (Thomas, interview with the author, 2018)

Booth spent his last couple of years in a retirement village in Kumeu. After a sudden decline, he passed away on 31 January 2018. He is survived by his first wife, Valerie Hollard (*nee* Lineen, then Valerie Booth) and their children, Grant, Therese, Mark, Sally, and his second wife Valerie Davies, and her children, Victoria and James.

Patrick John Booth, b. September 9, 1929, Levin. Married Valerie Lineen (now Hollard) 1953: Grant, Therese, Mark, Sally. Married Valerie Davies 1975. Died 31 January 2018 at Kumeu, Auckland.

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Yasmine Ryan
A sketch of an extraordinary journalist's international career

Figure 1: Yasmine Ryan demonstrating her skills at work in Solomon Islands ... she was devoted to human rights.

Obituary: There is yet much to learn from journalist Yasmine Ryan's experience, who died tragically in conflicted circumstances in Istanbul, Turkey, on 30 November 2017 after a stellar career reporting in international conflict zones, from the Pacific to the Middle East. One element is relevant to journalism and communications curriculum. We all live in complex times, and for those who choose to exercise their professional craft in regions of conflict, there is a clear need to develop an awareness of how dangerous situations impact on us. The author of this article argues that professional development in this specific area of journalist safety must be designed to provide the individual an ability to self-assess and determine what kind of help is needed and how to access it before a crisis (whether internal or external) erupts.

Keywords: Arab Spring, conflict reporting, journalism, independent journalism, international journalism, investigative journalism, journalist safety, New Zealand, obituary, Turkey, war correspondence

SELWYN MANNING
Editor and publisher of Evening Report

I FIRST met Yasmine Ryan in the late autumn of 2004, near Princess Street by the University of Auckland's quad. She was with a colleague of hers, Katie Small, and they were to become researchers for a book I was writing on the Ahmed Zaoui case, I Almost Forgot The Moon. It was soon apparent that Yasmine and Katie were far more than researchers. And they, in their own right, became co-authors of the 2004 book. While Yasmine completed her postgraduate studies at Auckland University, she worked with me, editing international content for a media organisation I was involved with back then.

Later in 2006, from a hospital bed, I asked Yasmine to report on unrest that was breaking out in Honiara in the Solomon Islands. Without fuss, and with focus, Yasmine and photographer Jason Dorday, arrived in Honiara and set to work, seeking to uncover what was happening and report on it for *Scoop*. It was exceptional work (Ryan, 2006a, 2006b).

Yasmine was an internationalist, in a pure sense. New Zealand is obviously remote from much of the world. Few of us here have the opportunity to digest and understand the causes that underly the effects of cultural and political change on the other side of the world.

Many of us have been aware that Yasmine chose to work in some of the most challenging regions of the world. It is a fact that those challenges are complicated and pose heightened risk for young, independent women.

Yasmine's work was significant. We know this because from this distance we, understandably, often measure the success of a journalist's work by where it is published. Yasmine's work has been published in many of the world's leading outlets: Al Jazeera, *Independent, The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Los Angeles Times, International Herald Tribune* and *The Huffington Post.* She also contributed to CNN and to the CBC. Most recently, Yasmine had worked as senior features editor at TRT World in Istanbul.

Yasmine was honoured by numerous international awards for excellence in journalism, and in 2016 she was selected as a World Press Institute Fellow. In October 2016, Yasmine was invited to speak to an audience of Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs. She spoke on press coverage of sexual harassment, on Libya, and on United States foreign policy - specifically the foreign policy legacy of former US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and how US policy had impacted on the people of Libya.

Yasmine's influence was growing. Only four weeks before her death, Yasmine had been elected to the board of the International Association of Women in Radio and Television. And she was highly regarded by the Coalition for Women in Journalism, who were so supportive of Yasmine and continue to be involved in

assisting other brave women who choose this type of work.

Throughout North Africa, the Middle East, and Europe, Yasmine was renowned as a journalist who would begin her investigations from the field. She connected with how humble people were affected by huge movements of cultural and political change. Yasmine

Figure 2: Anonymous and Tunisian activists were calling for an end to government censorship in January 2011 when Yasmine Ryan's article for Al Jazeera English 'broke' the rise of the Arab Spring in Western media.

documented their accounts, she followed the lines of cause, followed the channels of responsibility right to the top. She documented the responses of the power-elites, and questioned them.

Yasmine was driven by a deep sense of right and wrong. She was sensitive to the wants of humble people, challenged by the inhumanity that she was witness to, and did not judge those who were caught up in crisis.

Yasmine knew that her work was part of the solution, not the problem.

Trust was central to her work, whether it be: families in crisis, people in the streets, members of militia, or those who enjoy the power of authority. Yasmine was trusted to accurately convey their view of their world, within context, to a wider audience.

One of her contacts, a person I had introduced Yasmine to in Europe eight years earlier, wrote to me, saying:

> I have in memory Yasmine's love for investigating for the truth, with pertinent analysis... I always read her articles with deep interest... because every time I discovered new information on complex events - particularly when she was covering sensitive areas like Libya and Tunisia... Please convey my sincere condolences to Yasmine's family and friends in New Zealand.

Vital information and understanding

Yasmine's significance throughout the theatre within which she worked, was measured by the vital information that she revealed, and brought an understanding to: those right in the midst of crisis, those seeking justice and common-ground, and those who are part of a great diaspora that divides people from their families and cultures.

Her journalist colleagues that worked alongside her insist Yasmine was not merely respected; she was, and remains, an inspiration. They remain in awe of this independent woman of intelligence and influence from Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Yasmine's wide network of colleagues speak of how she was the first English-speaking Western journalist to report on the significance of a rising movement now known as the Arab Spring. As such, it followed that she was first to write evaluative exposes written from Tunisia, and Libya in the post-Gaddafi period – when armed militia rose up and swept across the North Africa state. Yasmine's investigation 'Tunisia's Bitter Cyberwar', written for Al Jazeera English, was the first feature to appear in any English-language media on what was to become the Arab Spring (Ryan, 2011). The article, under a 'Trouble in Tunisia' logo, began:

> Thousands of Tunisians have taken to the streets in recent weeks to call for extensive economic and social change in their country.
> Among the fundamental changes the protesters have been demanding is an end to the government's repressive online censorship regime and freedom of expression.
> That battle is taking place not just on the country's streets, but in internet forums, blogs, Facebook pages and Twitter feeds.
> The Tunisian authorities have allegedly carried out targeted 'phishing' operations: stealing users passwords to spy on them and eradicate online criticism. Websites on both sides have been hacked. (Ryan, 2011)

Her feature investigation, also for Al Jazeera English, titled: 'The Benghazi link to Tunisia's assassinations' in September 2013 demonstrated the depth of Yasmine's understanding of North African conflict, and indeed, how well-positioned her contacts were across the region (Ryan, 2013).

Yasmine's style was thorough, and she always followed up on her investigations. Her report for the United Kingdom's *Independent*, about Tunisian policemen being charged for 'poor reactivity' over the Sousse massacre that left 39 dead, underscores this approach (Ryan, 2016).

Her colleagues speak of how Yasmine empowered aspiring young journalists by showing them that they had a right, as seekers of the truth, to question authority and the power-elites. Yasmine mentored those that sought help, and guided them on how to measure the version of truth that they had discovered.

This is how Yasmine's significance transcended into respect, and into inspiration. Yasmine's legacy will endure. She was writing two books, one on Tunisia and another on Libya with particular focus on Benghazi. Yasmine's identity as a human rights journalist will also endure, and she will continue to be iconic among women journalists who seek to report our world *through their senses.*

As I mentioned earlier, the first time I met Yasmine was in the late autumn of 2004, near Auckland University's quad. The last time I caught up in person with

her, she was in the very same place. I mentioned this to her, and she chuckled in that happy way that all those who know her will recognise.

Empowering journalists to cope with risk

Going forward, there is yet much to learn from Yasmine's experience. One element is relevant to journalism and communications curriculum. We all live in complex times, and for those who chose to exercise their professional craft in regions of conflict, there is a clear need to develop an awareness of how dangerous situations impact on ourselves. Advanced observational human-impact and human-condition skills are vital. Professional development in this specific area must be designed to provide the individual with an ability to self-assess and determine what kind of help is needed and how to access it before a crisis (whether internal or external) erupts (Journalist Jasmine Ryan's death in Istanbul fall shocks colleagues, 2017)

Specifically, it is essential that professionals working within a theatre of conflict are able to detect and recognise the impact that war, crisis, and inhumanity has on ourselves and others.

Of equal importance is the need for the individual to have advanced skills in knowing what to do about an enduring sense of personal and private unease; how to access support and resources that will assist in returning the individual to a state of sustainable holistic health.

Another element that requires a response from educators, and those involved in developing professional development curriculum, is to develop a programme that empowers an awareness among our journalists of the dangers relating to the consequences of their investigative inquiry – that is particularly relevant where the individual's methodology has involved the development of contacts from within disparate, opposing, warring forces within a theatre of conflict.

Often, in an effort to identify truth, the methodology practised involves the triangulation of information. Such information is often gathered from individuals, leaders, representatives and from one's observations. The sources are often unconnected but for a shared experience of war and an effort to destroy an opposing group and all it represents.

Within this theatre, the journalist is often regarded by sources as a powerful yet potentially dangerous individual and as such—particularly in the latter stages of an investigation and/or post-publication—can find themselves in a seriously vulnerable position.

Retaliation against the individual journalist can take many forms. Being aware of, and anticipating, a kickback response is the experience of many journalists. However, within the complexities of regional conflict and geopolitics the methods used by opposing forces can be dangerous, clandestine, and overwhelming when considered from a personal impact standpoint.

In the past decade, situational security has become a common spoke of professional development for conflict journalists. But there is, in my opinion, an absence of resource or information available to the journalist on how to operate normally once they have returned from a field of conflict to a place of perceived safety.

It is there, within the silence of one's home, where a sense of familiarity and comfort, gained from surroundings and conversation, clashes with one's experience of the reality of war. It is there that a personal battle can build by degrees as she or he prepares their investigation for publication. Pressures compound when the journalist becomes preoccupied on how one should cope personally once the work is public—when one is required to face the music.

Impact is a complex part of a journalist's work. It is what most journalists seek as a consequence of their effort. But impact can also cause retaliation. It can cause a separation between one's professional and personal identity. How to manage, balance, and resolve that phenomenon involves a vital skill that, if mastered, would help.

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Coups, globalisation and Fiji's reset 'democracy' paradigm

The General's Goose: Fiji's Tale of Contemporary Misadventure, by Robbie Robertson. Canberra: Australian National University. 2017. 366 pages. ISBN 9781760461270

WHEN Commodore (now rear admiral retired and an elected prime minister) Voreqe Bainimarama staged Fiji's fourth 'coup to end all coups' on 5 December 2006, it was widely misunderstood, misinterpreted and misrepresented by a legion of politicians, foreign affairs officials, journalists and even some historians.

A chorus of voices continually argued for the restoration of 'democracy'—not only the flawed version of democracy that had persisted in various forms since independence from colonial Britain in 1970, but specifically the arguably illegal and unconstitutional government of merchant banker Laisenia Qarase that had been installed on the coat-tails of the third (attempted) coup in 2000.

Yet in spite of superficial appearances, Bainimarama's 2006 coup contrasted sharply with its predecessors.
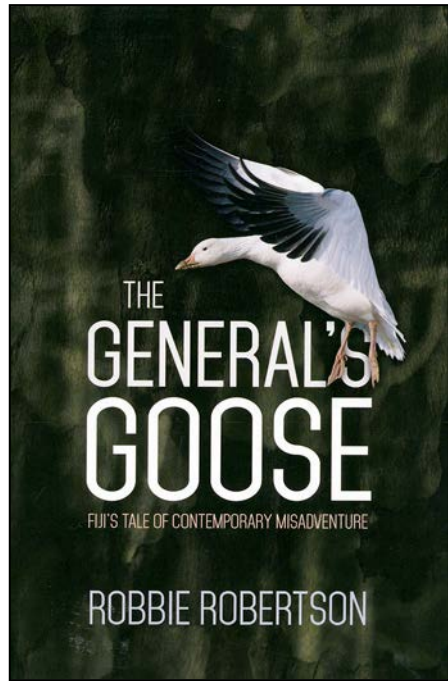
Bainimarama attempted to dodge the mistakes made by Sitiveni Rabuka after he carried out both of Fiji's first two coups in 1987 by retaining the structures of power.

Instead, notes New Zealand historian Robbie Robertson, who lived in Fiji for many years, Baimimarama 'began to transform elements of Fiji: Taukei deference to tradition, the provision of golden eggs to sustain the old [chiefly] elite, the power enjoyed by the media and judiciary, rural neglect and infrastructural inertia' (p. 314). But that wasn't all.

[H]e brazenly navigated international hostility to his illegal regime. Then, having accepted an independent process for developing a new constitution, he rejected its outcome, fearing it threatened his hold on power and

would restore much of what he had undone. (Ibid.)

Bainimarama reset electoral rules, abolished communalism in order to pull the rug from under the old chiefly elite and provided the first non-communal foundation for voting in Fiji.

Then he was voted in as Prime Minister of Fiji with an overwhelming personal majority and a landslide victory for his fledgling FijiFirst Party in 2014. He left his critics in Australia and New Zealand floundering in his wake.

Robertson is well-qualified to write this well-timed book with Bainimarama's premiership due to be tested again later this year with another election. He is a former history lecturer at the Suva-based regional University of the South Pacific at the time of Rabuka's original coups.

He and his journalist wife Akosita Tamanisau wrote a definitive account of the 1987 events and the ousting of Dr Timoci Bavadra's visionary Fiji Labour Party-led government, *Fiji: Shattered Coups* (1988), the publication of which ultimately led to his expulsion from Fiji by the Rabuka regime. He followed this up with *Government by the Gun* (2001) on the 2000 coup and a number of other titles.

Robertson later returned to Fiji as Professor of Development Studies at USP. He has also been professor and head of Arts and Social Sciences at James Cook University in Townsville, Queensland and held posts at La Trobe University, the Australian National University and the University of Otago.

He is currently professor and dean of Arts, Social Sciences and Humanities at Swinburne University of Technology, Melbourne.

He has published widely on globalisation. He is thus able to write about events in Fiji over the past three decades from a unique perspective.

Since 2006, Fiji has slipped steadily away from Australian and New Zealand influence. Bainimarama blames this state of affairs on what he sees as the blind policies and failures of Canberra and Wellington.

Even since the 2014 election, Bainimarama has maintained a hard line on the Pacific's political architecture through his Pacific Islands Development Forum (PIDF) which functions as an alternative to the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) and his refusal to sign the Pacific Agreement on Closer Economic Relations (PACER) Plus trade deal. (Economist Dr Wadan Narsey has argued that without Fiji or Papua New Guinea, PACER Plus is worthless and that the Island's largest economies might prefer dealing with China and Indonesia.)

While in Brisbane for an international conference in 2015, Bainimarama took the opportunity to remind his audience that Australia and New Zealand 'as traditional friends had turned their backs on Fiji'. He added:

How much sooner we might have been able to return Fiji to parliamentary rule if we hadn't expended so much effort on simply surviving … defending the status quo in Fiji was indefensible, intellectually and morally (p. 294).

For the first time in Fiji's history, Bainimarama steered the country closer to a 'standard model of liberal democracy' and away from the British colonial and race-based legacy.

'Government still remained the familiar goose,' writes Robertson, 'but this time, its golden eggs were distributed more evenly than before'. The author attributes this to 'bypassing chiefly hands' for tribal land lease monies, through welfare and educational programmes that were no longer race-bound, and through bold rural public road, water and electrification projects.

Admittedly, argues Robertson, like Fiji's founding Prime Minister and later president Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, Rabuka and Qarase, 'Bainimarama had cronies and the military continues to benefit excessively from his ascendancy'. Nevertheless, Bainimarama's 'outstanding controversial achievement remains undoubtedly his rebooting of Fiji's operating system in 2013'.

Robertson's scholarship is meticulous and drawn from an impressive range of sources, including his own work over more than three decades. One of the features of his latest book is his analysis of former British SAS Warrant Officer Lisoni Ligairi and the role of the First Meridian Squadron (renamed in 1999 from the 'coup proof' Counter Revolutionary Warfare Unit—CRWU). He also examines the public face of Coup 3, businessman George Speight, now serving a life sentence in prison for treason.

His reflections on and interpretations of the Republic of Fiji Military Forces Board of Inquiry (known as *BoI*) into the May 2000 coup are also extremely valuable. Much of this has never before been available in an annotated and tested published form, although it is available as full transcripts on the 'Truth for Fiji' website.

As Robertson recalls, by mid-May, 'there were many overlapping conspiracies afoot … Within the kava-infused wheels within wheels, coup whispers gained volume'. Ligairi's role was pivotal, but *BoI* put most of the blame for the coup on the RFMF for 'allowing' one man so much power, especially one it considered ill-equipped to be a director and planner' (p. 140).

The *BoI* testimony about the November 2000 CRWU mutiny before Bainimarama escaped with his life through a cassava patch, also fed into Robertson's account, although he admits Colonel Jone Baledrokadroka's doctoral thesis, *Sacred King and Warrior Chief: The Role of the Military in Fiji Politics,* is the best account on the topic.

> It was a bloody and confused affair, led by the once loyal [Captain Shane] Stevens, 40 CRWU soldiers, many reportedly intoxicated, seized weapons and took over the Officers Mess, Bainimarama's office and administration complex, the national operations centre and the armoury in the early afternoon. They wanted hostages; above all they wanted Bainimarama. (p. 164)

The book is divided into four lengthy chapters plus an Introduction and Conclusion – 1. The Challenge of

Inheritance, about the flawed colonial legacy, 2. The Great Turning, on Rabuka's 1987 coups and the Taukei indigenous supremacy constitution, 3. Redux: The Season for Coups, on Speight's attempted (and partially successful) 2000 coup, and 4. *Plus ça Change ...,?* on Bainimarama's political 'reset'. (The Bainimarama success in outflanking his Pacific critics is perhaps best represented by his diplomatic success in co-hosting the 'Pacific' global climate change summit in Bonn in 2017.)

One drawback from a journalism perspective is the less than compelling assessment of the role of the media during the period under review. Controversy about the behaviour of the media dogged each coup, especially the Speight insurrection, when some journalists were accused of being too close to the coup makers.

One of Fiji's best journalists and editors, arguably the outstanding investigative reporter of his era, Jo Nata, publisher of the *Weekender*, sided with Speight as a 'media minder' and was jailed for treason.

However, while Robertson in several places acknowledges Nata's place in Fiji as a journalist, there is no real examination of his role as journalist-turned-coup-propagandist. This ought to be a case study.

Robertson noted how Nata's *Weekender* exposed 'morality issues' in Rabuka's cabinet in 1994 without naming names. *The Review* news and business magazine followed up with a full report in the April edition that year, naming a prominent female journalist who was sleeping with the post-coup prime minister, produced a love child and who still works for *The Fiji Times* today (p. 118).

Nata promised a special issue on the 21 women Rabuka had allegedly had affairs with since stepping down from the military. However, after Police Commissioner Isikia Savua spoke to him, the issue never appeared. (A full account is in *Pacific Journalism Review – The Review*, 1994).

Elsewhere in the book is an outline of the National Bank of Fiji (NBF) debacle that erupted when an audit was leaked to the media: 'In fact, the press, particularly *The Fiji Times* and *The Review*, were pivotal in exposing the scandal.' Robertson added:

> *The Review* had earlier been threatened with deregistration over its publication of Rabuka's affair[s] in 1994; now both papers were threatened with Malaysian-style licensing laws to ensure that they remained respectful of Pacific cultural sensitivities and did not denigrate Fijian business acumen. (p. 121)

The bank collapsed in late 1995 owing more than $220 million or nearly nine percent of Fiji's GDP—an example of the nepotism, corruption and poor public administration that worsened in Fiji after Rabuka's coups.

On Coup 1, Robertson recalls how apart from Rabuka's masked soldiers inside Parliament, 'other teams fanned out across the city to seize control of telecommunication power authorities, media outlets and the Government Buildings' (p. 65).

However, there is little reflective detail about Rabuka's 'seduction' of the Fiji and international journalists, or how after they were closed down, the neocolonial *Fiji Times* re-opened while the original *Fiji Sun* opted to close down rather than publish under a military regime.

About Coup 3 (Speight), Robertson recalls 'he was articulate and comfortable with the media—too comfortable, according to some journalists. They felt that this intimate media presence "aided the rebel leader's propaganda fire … gave him political fuel". They were not alone' (p. 154) (see Robie, 2001).

On the introduction of the 2010 *Fiji Media Industry Development Decree*, which still casts a shadow over the country and is mainly responsible for the lowest Pacific 'partly free' rankings in the global media freedom indices, Robertson notes how it was 'Singapore-inspired'. The decree 'came out in early April 2010 for discussion and mandated that all media organisations had to be 90 percent locally owned. The implication for the then News Corporation *Fiji Times* and for the 51 percent Australian-owned *Daily Post* were obvious' (p. 254).

The Fiji Times was bought by Mahendra Patel, long-standing *Times* director and owner of the Motibhai trading group. (He was later jailed for a year for 'abuse of office' while chair of Post Fiji.) The *Daily Post* was closed down.

Having endured years of harassment by various post-coup adminis-trations (including a $100,000 fine in January 2009 for publishing a letter describing the judiciary as corrupt, and deportations of publishers), *The Fiji Times* is heading into this year's elections facing a trial for alleged 'sedition' confronting the newspaper.

In spite of the criticisms of limitations on media content, *The General's Goose* is an excellent book and should be mandatory background reading for any journalist covering South Pacific affairs, especially those likely to be involved in coverage of this year's general election.

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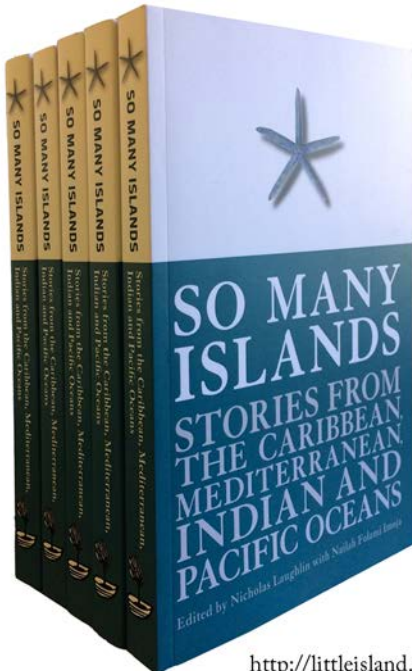
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When Pacific models of development fall short

GERMANY'S involvement in the Pacific was cut short by the capture of its colonies by Australia, New Zealand and Japan in 1914. Agitation for the return of Germany's colonies continued unabated during the National Socialist dictatorship, but it was Mt Kilimanjaro, not Mt Wilhelm, that appeared on Nazi posters.

During the Cold War it seemed that the Pacific had been forgotten, but the links with Germany were not entirely severed as missions and churches continued their work and government-backed and NGO-supported projects slowly developed.

The message of *A Region in Transition* is that today Germany must re-engage with Oceania even more closely, but with a fully informed view of what is happening. As the editors note:

With China, Japan and the United States the region is bordered by three economic powers, and by the economically emerging countries of Latin America—a fact that an export nation like Germany cannot ignore.
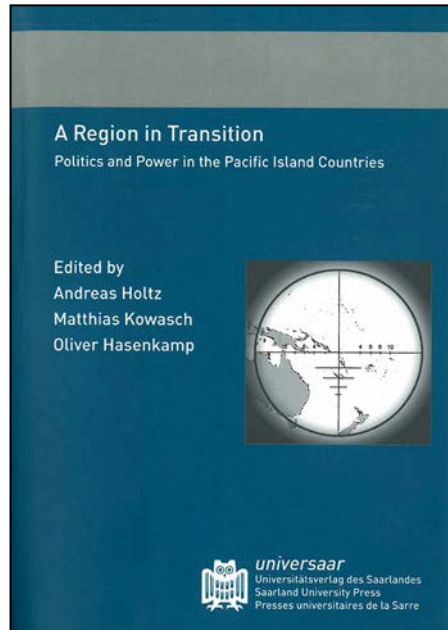
Produced by the German Pacific Network with the backing of the Association of Protestant Churches and Missions in Germany, this book nevertheless bears the imprimatur of the German government, with a foreword by Germany's ambassadors to New Zealand and Australia.

The editors make a point of stressing that too often when Germans and Europeans talk about the Pacific, they really mean the peripheral nations and emphasise that their book is a corrective to that view.

Drawing on a range of experts in the field, including New Zealand-based academics Geoff Bertram and Graham Hassell, the book sets out to present a

series of investigations and analyses of the political situation in the Pacific, deploying the tools of political, rather than human, anthropology to the task. Inevitably, there are questions about what constitutes the Pacific and as has been common for some time, the boundaries have been stretched to include East Timor.

Politically, the Pacific can be seen as a seething cauldron of opportunities or threats, depending on which view best suits your needs. Joanne Wallis notes that some Pacific leaders have played up the notion that the world's powers are competing for favours and influence in the Pacific, declaring that this is the result of the vacuum left by the withdrawal of the United States and the United Kingdom.

Elsewhere, however, Cook Islands Prime Minister Henry Puna declared that his country's engagement with foreign powers 'should not be viewed as the subject of competition, but as representative of shared goals of mutual benefit and reciprocity'.

As Wallis also points out, the opportunities for Island states to play outside players off against each also means that they no longer have to see themselves as being automatically on the outer ring of the classic centre-periphery model with Australia or New Zealand.

Elsewhere in the book, Holtz emphasises this point with his discussion of the relationship between Australia and Fiji. Here he argues that the present diplomatic game is one in which the Island states are seeking to act in their own interests by using China to establish a new political order. Fiji, he argues, wants 'nothing less than an attempt to redefine Oceania's regionalism without the traditional leading powers'.

Wallis argues that whether you see the Pacific as undergoing a period of turmoil or opportunity is a matter of perception. Other chapters in *A Region in Transition* argue that even when scientific or mathematical tools are deployed to assess the situation, problems can remain.

Financial as much as political interests define the relationships between the Island states and their larger neighbours, but as Tisdell points out, traditional methods of mapping the island economies do not always work and there are now a number of competing systems for measuring economic progress.

A country like Tonga, for instance, can win praise from the World Bank for its financial reforms, but still have an economy that is extremely reliant on overseas remittances. Elsewhere, countries teeter on the verge of bankruptcy, but may actually have a rosy economic future.

In matters of political development, Hassall presents evidence that all too often the models and expectations of democracy and good governance by which the Island states are measured are inappropriate.

This is a deeply interesting book that will be of great use to anybody interested in the Island states and very useful for journalists covering the region.

Conflict,
Custom &
Conscience

Photojournalism and
the Pacific Media Centre
2007-2017

COLIN PEACOCK is the presenter and editor of RNZ Mediawatch.

Photojournalism —a welcome celebration and challenge

Conflict, Custom and Conscience: Photojournalism and the Pacific Media Centre 2007-2017, edited by Jim Marbrook, Del Abcede, Natalie Robertson and David Robie. Auckland: Pacific Media Centre. 178 pages. ISBN 978-1-927184-45-5.

At an event marking 10 years of the Pacific Media Centre in Auckland in November 2017, Radio New Zealand journalist Johnny Blades said New Zealand's role in establishing a ceasefire in Bougainville in 1998—and paving the way for a subsequent peace agreement—was an achievement New Zealanders should be proud of.

'We should be shouting about it from the rooftops,' he said.

But sadly, he added, too few people seemed to know much about it these days.

The same could be said about a lot of what goes on elsewhere in the South Pacific.

So much of New Zealanders' overseas news comes from US and UK-based sources that significant events in countries much closer to home, except Australia, are mostly out of sight and out of mind, even for New Zealanders interested in the rest of the world.

In a long piece from Bougainville published in *New Zealand Geographic* in 2000, reporter Mark Scott reminded readers more people were killed in the civil war than died in Northern Ireland's much more heavily reported 'Troubles'.

'It would be like a quarter of a million new Zealanders dying in a civil war that lasted more than twice as long as WWII,' he wrote.

Sports events, moments of crisis and disasters like ferry sinkings and cyclones may make the news. But other important Pacific events are barely recorded, let alone interpreted. The same is true for depictions of everyday life—unless they intersect with tourism and travel.

'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,' Auckland University of Technology's Professor David Robie writes in *Conflict, Custom and Conscience* (p. 12).

Many of the other images in this photojournalism collection are reminders of other examples of the same thing.

One of the most striking pictures is Llane Munau's photo of women marching behind an anti-mining banner in Bougainville in June 2017.

'Their protest is ostensibly unseen by the rest of the world … and part of a wider movement to stop any production on the Panguna copper mine,' co-editor Jim Marbrook writes (p. 4).

It reminds us this was the backdrop to the conflict in which an estimated 10,000 people died. Few New Zealanders would be aware of plans to reopen the mine had also reopened divisions there.

David Robie's images of turbulent times in New Caledonia in the 1980s (pp. 68-69, 72) remind me of occasional news reports of conflict and 'the Kanak' in the news when I was a kid, but I had no visual image in mind of the place or the people.

In Karen Abplanap's *Metro* feature 'Blood Money' (pp. 46-47), the images and text combine to great effect. Their publication helped to prompt the NZ Super Fund to confront the ethics of its investments.

This impressive collection from AUT's Pacific Media Centre features photojournalists who—on the face of it appear to have little in common,

but Jim Marbrook is right to say their works have 'a shared sense of social conscience' (p. 6).

The images in *Conflict, Custom and Conscience* also remind us that New Zealand is 'Pacific Islands' too.

Devastating portraits of the environmental scars of Panguna mine in Bougainville and Cap Bocage in New Caledonia may look unfamiliar to New Zealand eyes, but they segue into Natalie Robertson's pictures of post-Rena trauma on the Bay of Plenty coast (pp. 40-43).

Pictures of familiar fauna slicked with oil and hordes of workers in white hazchem suits scraping the sand are—in a way—as alarming and affecting as pictures of armed fighters on the streets in less peaceful Pacific places.

Russia-born Vlad Sokhin's Warm Waters project documents the impacts of global warming and the 'existential threat to low lying nations'. They are a vivid portrayal of an issue which is urgent for those facing it, even if those further afield are ignorant or indifferent.

In his chapter about Pacific photojournalism, co-editor and contributor Jim Marbrook rightly says the images show 'the power of a long term commitment to the Pacific' (pp. 4-7).

Marbrook also says 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'.

The media has changed too. Where images were once scarce in news pub-

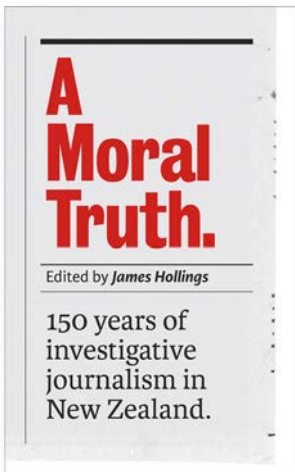lications, now almost every story has at least one.

Images are used repeatedly online to illustrate stories, even if they are of little relevance. Stock images from photography libraries are used again and again with little thought.

But the images in this book respect the moments—and the people—they capture.

'In a modest way, this volume can be seen as not only a celebration of photojournalism but also be as a signal for increased commitment to photojournalism in the next decade,' Jim Marbrook writes in his chapter.

It is certainly the former.

And hopefully, the latter too.

DR LEE DUFFIELD was senior lecturer in journalism at the Queensland University of Technology in Brisbane until 2017. He continues to have a strong interest in new media, European media and development news in the Pacific.

British bomb legacy lingers in the islands

NIC MACLELLAN's *Grappling with the Bomb* is an adroit and readable treatment of the story of the British nuclear testing programme predominantly in the South Pacific islands.

Its chief focus is the series of nine British nuclear tests at Malden and Christmas (Kiritimati) Islands between May 1957 and September 1958. They were then part of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony (GEIC), which was divided into Kiribati and Tuvalu at independence. Malden and Christmas (Kiritimati) Islands are now part of Kiribati.

The main theme is built around a notion of 'perfidious Albion' that emerges unforced with the story of British policy makers, civil servants, scientists and the armed forces embarking on a prodigious logistical effort to experiment with hellish weaponry at the 'end of the earth'.
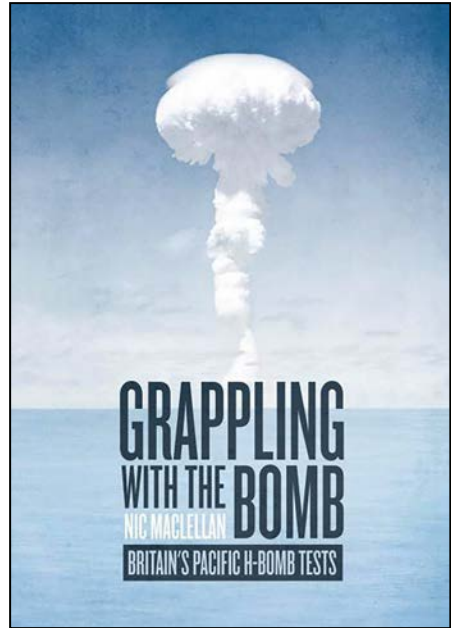
In this they would show no particular care, not to say sometimes callous disregard for the effects on human health or the environment, modern-day standards of self-determination for individuals or best practice in enacting policy.

The book documents feats of organisation that stretched the resources of the British Empire, where making ends meet required dragging in regional parties within a British sphere of influence or directly within colonial jurisdictions. Some 14,000 British personnel came to be involved plus hundreds more from the local Gilbertese population as well as the Australian, Fijian and New Zealand armed forces.

The story was marked by the insensitivity of British political leaders

determined to maintain Great Power status through possession of the Hydrogen Bomb. Cold War secrecy blanketed efforts to establish accountability for all that happened, and official responsibility was studiously avoided when the human costs of nuclear testing began to mount.

An example of extreme complacency would seem to be the decision to move the GEIC testing programme, after the first three explosions, from Malden Island to the tip of Christmas Island itself, where all inhabitants of the military 'tent city' and the Gilbertese villagers were embarked on boats and ships in case of an accident for each test.

The island is small, 388 square kilometres, or about four percent of the size of Viti Levu in Fiji. The reason given for the move was to save time and money: the earlier tests had not reached target strength, so the programme had to be revived before an international test ban expected in 1958.

Is it imaginable that setting off a hydrogen bomb at such proximity to habitation would be considered today? The Christmas Island site was handed to the United States and used for a further 24 tests in 1962.

Grappling with the Bomb is both scholarly and journalistic testing evidence from government archives, media reports and testimonies of those involved to produce a concise and plain-spoken overall account.

The unfolding of the nuclear test programme is dealt with chronologically, through chapters that give the perspective of i-Kiribati residents who would suffer enduring ill-health, similarly afflicted New Zealand and Fijian naval personnel, British air crew who flew through debris from explosions, politicians, Japanese fishermen working around the bomb zone, the British pacifist Harold Steele who campaigned to take a protest ship into the area and plantation owners and traders.

Two chapters called Interludes are given to interpretation of the factual material and presentation of reasoned argument. The first, on 'radiation, safety and secrecy', addresses the early dismissive attitudes about the risk from radiation, and lax or inadequate safety precautions.

At various points in the book words leap out from the archives. When British civil servants wanted to withhold public declaration of a test zone, one described American objections as 'tiresome' (p. 200). Another civil servant, exhibiting a kind of 'casual racism', (p. 4) wrote that islanders, being so close to nature, would not require the same protective clothing as 'civilised' (p. 8) observers.

The second Interlude chapter, on 'contested illnesses' brings the case up to date. Long battles with officialdom, frequently in courts in England and elsewhere, have not delivered compensation sought by sufferers with genetic disorders, cancers or other illnesses.

Officialdom would never budge on accepting irradiation from the nuclear tests as the cause, and benefitted from the ill-kept state of service records and gaps in medical research. Service

personnel had been indemnified against injury, but that was interpreted as general risks of service, not potentially very expensive and unforeseen civil claims by veterans.

The American device of paying compensation on a 'presumptive list of illnesses', where absolute cause could not be proved, has not been adopted in Britain or the Commonwealth generally. The New Zealand government issued medals to its citizens and provided full military pensions, short of major individual compensation; the government of Fiji provided special capped grants to veterans and family members while attempting to pressure the United Kingdom to yield to appeals from its former colonial subjects.

Nic Maclellan, whose background is with the Fiji-based Pacific Concerns Research Centre (PCRC), has produced this book as an anniversary publication, marking 60 years since the first explosions. He acknowledges work done with colleagues on a 1990s book on the subject, with much new material now added.

While in general operating on the principle that facts will speak for themselves, he makes his point in this section on compensation:

The (British) government's cult of secrecy, so evident in the 1950s, has lingered into the 21st century … The problems of distance, time and official secrecy have hampered the efforts of elderly and often sick men. (pp. 322, 326)

The development of nuclear weapons was widely opposed from the early 1950s onwards by civil society and protest organisations in the United Kingdom and America, Australia and New Zealand, communities in the Pacific island colonies, a mass movement in Japan and elements of the Japanese government and the non-aligned states in Asia.

The book places the story of the Kiribati bomb tests against the wider story of the earlier testing on the Montebello Islands and at Maralinga in Australia; the extensive testing by the United States in Micronesia in the early 1950s; continued American explosions in the 1960s and 30 years of French tests up to 1996.

Two of the incidents recounted in this book raised the spectre of what would have happened if the bomb tests had gone wrong. *Grappling with the Bomb* co-opts the military code-name for the GEIC program, Operation Grapple. The biggest device tested was known as Grapple Y, a 2.8 megaton hydrogen bomb, detonated on April 28, 1958. It was set to have gone off at 2350 metres, but many accounts reported that it exploded as much as one kilometre closer to the surface. The retreating shockwave from the blast sucked up seawater and soil and deposited fallout across a vast area.

Grappling with the Bomb also refers to the infamous 'rogue' bomb Bravo detonated by the Americans at Bikini Atoll on 1 March 1954. Late weather reports warned of high altitude winds that might carry fallout beyond a prescribed control zone. The test went ahead anyway.

It was a monstrous bomb, 15 megatons. The pollution from it affected northern parts of the Marshall Islands to the west especially Rongelap Atoll, causing its evacuation and conflict over claims for compensation of damage and loss of health that have lasted to the present day.
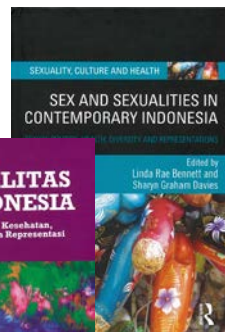
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Intervention in Aboriginal communities examined

'And there'll be NO dancing': Perspectives **on policies impacting Indigenous Australia** *since 2007*, edited by Elisabeth Baehr and Barbara Schmidt-Haberkamp. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017. 354 pp. ISBN 9781443898638

'THE PAST is now with us; it never went away.'

The 2007 Intervention into the lives of Aboriginal people living in the Northern Territory was a low point in the relationship between the Australian government and Indigenous people.

As one of the Aboriginal authors in *No Dan*cing, Warraimay historian Victoria Grieves puts it, the Northern Territory Emergency Response (NTER), as the Intervention was officially known, 'leaves no doubt about the relationship of Aboriginal people to the settler colonial state' (p. 89).

At the time, the scale of the Intervention seemed a drastic departure from previous government actions. However, this book argues that it was yet another poorly conceived and executed intrusion into Aboriginal lives. Any pretence of
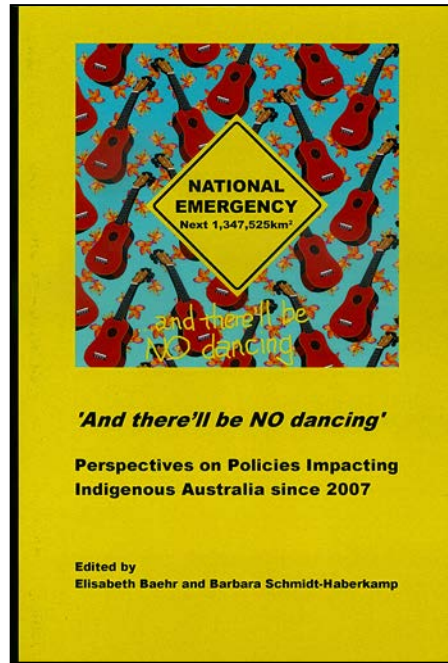
the usual good intentions were gone and something more transparently cynical was happening in the continuing Australian colonial project.

In June 2007, a conservative Australian government used the release of a Northern Territory government report on the protection of Indigenous children from sexual abuse—*Ampe Akelyernemane Meke Mekarle/Little Children are Sacred*—to construct an Indigenous child abuse emergency. Although the Intervention acted against the report's recommendations for empowering and working with Aboriginal communities to reduce child sexual abuse, the government used the report to justify sending in the military and an army of public servants to take control of prescribed NT Aboriginal communities.

It also enacted controls on income, health, education, local governance,

land, employment, alcohol, and pornography that required the suspension of the Racial Discrimination Act. Statutory restrictions on land rights further impeded Aboriginal autonomy. These actions breached Australia's international responsibilities to uphold the human rights of its Indigenous citizens.

After five years the Labor government continued many aspects of the Intervention for another decade through its Stronger Futures legislation. McCallum and Waller (2017, p. 6) note that Indigenous Australian people's lives 'have been more tightly governed and policed by federal and state policy … than any other group of Australians'. They also quote policy specialists Johns and Saunders, who said: 'Dealing with Indigenous people is a litmus test of Australian nationhood by which the larger world will judge us.' (p. 5)

Baehr and Schmidt-Haberkamp's edited collection is an example of judgement from the world. It arose from a German Association for Australian Studies workshop on The Intervention and its Consequences at Bonn University. It places the Intervention in its political and historical context, assesses the extent to which it met and failed to meet its stated objectives and examines discourses and narratives surrounding the Intervention, including those coming out of the news media. The editors seek to promote debate on Indigenous self-determination, human rights and culture.

We expect that the bitter irony of a workshop in Germany analysing racism and discrimination in Australia will raise hackles, but we also hope it will raise the alarm concerning the interventions. (Baehr & Schmidt-Haberkamp, p. 4)

The editors are two of the sixt German authors contributing to the book. Of the remaining eight authors, all of whom are Australian or have Australian connections, two are Aboriginal and one is an Australian journalism academic. The 14 chapters present a well-structured, readable and comprehensive collection of case studies focused on the Intervention or the forces and conditions that helped to create it.

They are written for an international readership, and present a range of disciplines and fields—history, land rights, law, human rights, journalism, literature, film, art, sport, education, post-colonial studies and disability. The book shows how past interventions have consistently failed to meet their objectives and made the circumstances of the Indigenous peoples subjected to them worse.

In its general construction of the circumstances of many Aboriginal lives as the fault of Indigenous individuals and dysfunction associated with Aboriginal cultures, rather than the result of a history of misguided and often damaging government policies and actions, the Australian media effectively legitimised the intervention. Journalists too often failed to scrutinise government claims against readily available evidence that the Intervention worsened many of the social measures it was meant to improve.

At the heart of the book is the idea that narrative expresses and enacts power relations. Just as the justification for the Intervention bears little relationship to the findings and recommendations of the report that supposedly triggered it, journalism academic Michelle Dunne Breen (p. 170) finds that 'media reporting gave a critically false impression of the LSCAS's [*Little Children are Sacred* report] content'. The bulk of the report was devoted to identifying risk factors and ways of reducing them, which the government and media largely ignored.

Her analysis indicates inaccuracies and significant omissions demonstrating 'inter-media agenda-setting and pack reporting' (p. 179). She found 'discursive collusion between the minister [for Indigenous Affairs] and the reporters (in that the reporters aped what the minister said), and the construction, along a discourse train, of false claims as truth' (p. 174).

Another chapter deals with the absence of Indigenous and alternative voices in an official narrative founded on the Intervention's legal documents (Althans). Narratives of Australian citizenship are central to Aboriginal Studies. Professor and Pitjantjatjara descendent Barry Judd calls the Intervention a return to pre-1967 policies when 'Indigenous people were formally denied the rights associated with national citizenship' (p. 110).

Other chapters continue the theme of narrative power and highlight the potential of literature, film and art 'to intervene in dominant discourses about the legitimacy of the Intervention' (Klein, p. 217). Birk (p. 200) argues that fiction, including post-Intervention stories about children such as *The Chainsaw File* and *Fog a Dox* by Indigenous author Bruce Pascoe can aid 'trans-cultural understanding' (p. 210) and help imagine a different future.

Baehr and Schmidt-Haberkamp (p. 4) suggest no 'new solutions'. Rather than a concluding chapter pulling the threads together and delivering some final insights, they let the individual chapters speak for themselves, although they do urgently call for 'new visions' (p. 4). However, a final chapter, possibly from NT Aboriginal voices imagining a different path, could have usefully been added to the collection.

Both Aboriginal authors in the book suggest elements of possible solutions: one at the level of the nation state (Grieves); the other through an 'On Country' Aboriginal football league (Judd). After setting out the ways in which Australian Indigenous people are effectively denied full citizenship—and often humanity—Grieves suggests how an inclusive Australia could be founded. Judd uses the development of the Wilurarra Tjutaku Football League in Central Australia as an example of how Indigenous people can strengthen their cultures and identities by becoming increasingly separate, at least in some respects, from settler-Australia.

Indigenous policy-making in Australia is hampered by the lack of a workable framework for the relationship between Indigenous peoples and governments. In 2008, Yawuru leader

Peter Yu chaired a review into the effectiveness of the Intervention, which found that: 'The most essential element in moving forward is for government to re-engage with the Aboriginal people of the Northern Territory' (p. 11).

In November 2017, The Referendum Council issued an Australia-wide Indigenous 'Statement From the Heart'. The statement called for an Indigenous voice in the Australian Constitution, truth-telling about the past and a commission to oversee a process of agreement-making between first and settler Australia:
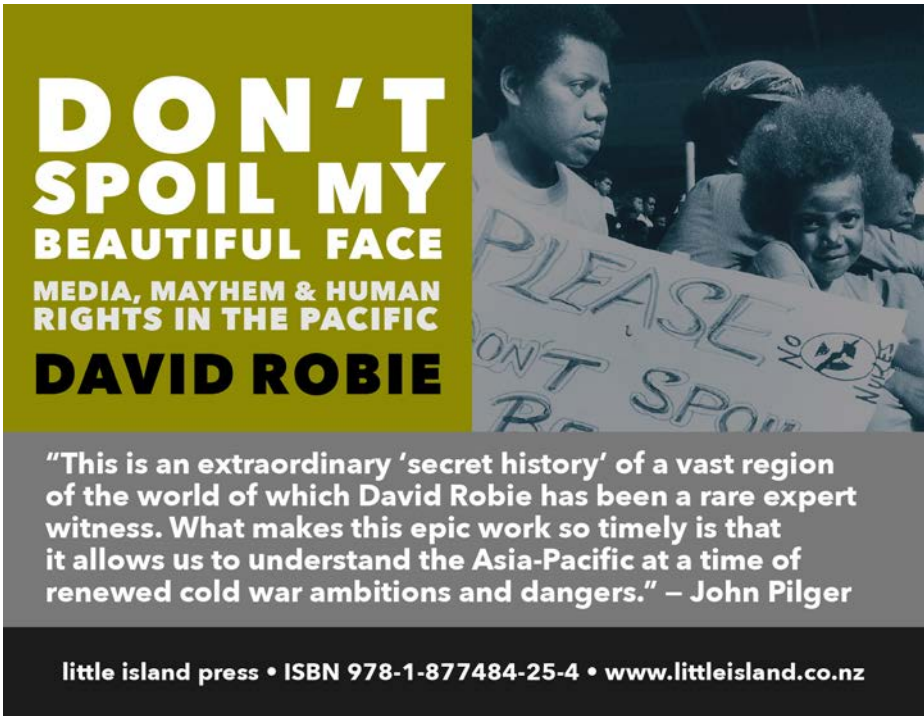
We seek constitutional reforms to empower our people and take a rightful place in our own country. When we have power over our destiny our children will flourish. They will walk in two worlds and their culture will be a gift to their country. (Referendum Council, 2017)

The Australian government responded with an emphatic 'No'.

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Pacific Journalism Review.
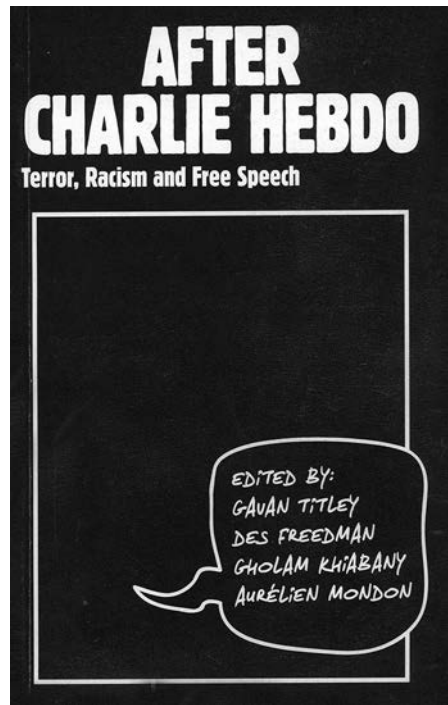
Charlie Hebdo and the free speech conflict

After Charlie Hebdo: Terror, Racism and Free Speech, edited by Gavan Titley, Des Freedman, Gholam Khiabany and Aurélien Mondon. London: Zed Books. 2017. 313 pages. ISBN 9781783609383

I N OCTOBER 2016, I returned to that stunning and iconic French eighth century monastery Mont St Michel—once also a post-Revolution jail for political prisoners—and was struck by the sight of a garrison of soldiers—part of the Vigipirate programme.[1]

Vigipirate has parallels with the US Homeland Security Advisor system and has been in place in various forms for almost 26 years, since Bush's Gulf War in 1991. Based on laws adopted in 1959 during the Algerian War of Independence, it was suspended for a while after the Gulf War and then introduced again in 1995 after a car bomb blew up outside a Jewish school in Lyon.

Vigipirate has since gone through various phases and updates, with the 1995 Paris Metro bombing, 2004 Madrid terror train attack and the 2005 London underground bombing. Official documents now designate the programme as 'permanent'.

About 7000 soldiers and 30,000 police and gendarmes are deployed at some 5000 'at risk' sites in France, costing an estimated €1 million a day.

The brutal and shocking attack on the office of left wing satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo* on 7 January 2015 raised the profile of the Vigipirate campaign a few notches and drew millions onto the streets of France and around the world to protest and offer solidarity messages on social media under the hashtag #JeSuisCharlie.

Indeed, I took part in a candlelight 'Charlie' vigil in Auckland organised by two young French photographers then living in New Zealand. At the time, the killing of 11 people (including a Muslim policeman) in the massacre at the magazine's office, which wiped out a generation of some

of the most talented anti-establishment cartoonists in France, was portrayed by media and politicians as an assault on the freedom of expression fundamental to the French republic's philosophy of pluralism and democracy. It was seen as another outrageous attack in a 'war' between two rival civilisations that began with the September 11 attack on New York's Twin Towers in 2001 (p. 14).

The subsequent attack in Paris in November 2015, which killed 130 people, and the murder of 84 people by a rampaging truck driver in Nice in July 2016, heightened the sense of a 'war' in France even further. (Three months later, I paid homage at the intimate temporary memorial for the dead at Nice's Rotunda, just metres from where the massacre took place). However, the emotional and 'merciless' response by the then Hollande Socialist government of France, which declared that 'all acts of terror are now domestic 9/11s' (p. 14) left virtually no room in the news media or public discourse for considered reflection and balanced analysis. In fact, criticism of government policy or discussion about the anti-Islamic repression was regarded in France as tantamount to 'treason'.

This timely new book, *After Charlie Hebdo: Terror, Racism and Free Speech*, lifts the lid on the 'militarisation' of liberal values after the Paris attacks, exposing the extent of Islamophobia in France, as well as other countries in Europe such as Britain and Denmark, and the United States.

It also raises fundamental questions about the nature of national (and Western) identity, the limits to freedom of speech and the role of both the traditional and social media.

This collection of 18 essays, and an Introduction about the transition of the symbolic from *Charlie Hebdo* to 'Charlie Hebdo', is divided into five sections: 1. The contested republic, 2. The long 'war on terror', 3. Media events and dynamics, 4. The politics of free speech, and 5. Racism and antiracism in post-racial times.

Co-editor Gavan Titley describes the book as examining how the events round 'Charlie Hebdo' became a 'mediating object for a knot of political tensions, competing imaginaries and interpretative conflicts that have been taking shape and gathering force in European public spheres for several decades' (p. 2). He also explains that the book's engagement is not driven by a desire to rehash a normative theory on freedom of speech in our time, but to 'reclaim free speech as a radical political freedom' from the routinised spectacles in Western public cultures (p. 25).

In a chapter on media power and the framing of the *Charlie Hebdo* attacks, Des Freedman critiques the dominant and subjective Western media portrayal and interpretation of events and their causes. Noting that in spite of an 'industry of academic researchers, military strategists, civil servants and professional commentators', there was barely a 'vague consensus that terrorism involves the use of politically motivated violence imposed on innocent civilians by non-state groups' (p. 210).

As an illustration, Freedman quotes

the Lebanon-based independent British journalist Robert Fisk in his description of 'nonsensical nomenclature', meaning that

> if Muslims attack us, they are terrorists. If non-Muslims attack us, they are shooters. If Muslims attack other Muslims, they are attackers. (p. 211)

In a chapter on 'the meaning of Charlie'—the debate on the troubled French identity', Philippe Marlière engages with the French government's response to the killings, the symbols of the French republic, the state authorities in France, and critics such as demographer Emmanuel Todd, who contends in his 2015 book *Qui Est Charlie?* that the 'I am' and 'we are' demonstrators were not upholding the values of the 1789 Revolution— 'liberty, equality and fraternity' (Todd, 2015). Instead, the protesters were embodying the counter-revolution of 1815, or the values of traditional Catholic France.

According to Marlière, the 'Charlie' protests began as a mass movement of 'citizens aggrieved and shocked by the atrocious killings'. However,

> [i]t rapidly descended into a political football: the weak and unpopular socialist executive tried to regain the political initiative by promoting a kind of official and mandatory 'Je suis Charlie' line. It quickly became obvious to some that the 'Charlie' narrative meant much more than a robust defence of free speech and the 'right to blasphemy'.
>
> Underneath the surface of the tribute to the dead, there was an authoritarian

streak that ethnicised and stigmatised the Muslim population. The whole chain of events reinforced Islamophobic stereotypes. (p. 59)

As a result, the 5.1 million (8.8 percent) Muslims in France, mostly descendants from the Maghreb (North African) colonial legacy, were regarded 'with even more suspicion in different constituencies of the media and politics'.

Feminist author Christine Delphy (co-founder with Simone de Beauvoir of the journal *Nouvelles Questions Féministes*) offers a compelling examination of French colonialism in Algeria and its contemporary assaults on Muslim women represented by the *hijab* and *burkini* swimsuit controversies.

In her chapter, 'Race, caste and gender in France', she deconstructs the *'indigénat'* status imposed on colonised peoples (dismantled in 1945) and its political and religious use in Algeria, where the vote of one Frenchman of European ancestry was 'worth' the vote of five Muslim Frenchmen.

She examines the pattern of oppression and discrimination in colonial times and the treatment of Muslims as 'inferior' and how the headscarf issue was a symbolic rebellion against the 'Republican model' – 'the boomerang effects of French society's blatant discrimination against these women' (p. 287).

Thus the veil affair opened the third act of this French tragedy: after the first act (oppression) came the second act (rebellion); and the third act is the repression of this rebellion. (p. 288)

Delphy's comparison between the repression of protests against injustice in France and the US 'war without end' after 9/11 is echoed by Abdellali Hajjat, who warns that harsh political reactions are steering France towards the adoption of a French 'Patriot Act' to add to the draconian terrorism laws. France—and much of the West—is in a double bind over defending liberal values.

Note

1. The term Vigipirate has nothing to do with 'piracy'. The programme name is a French acronym for vigilance et protection des installations contre les risques d'attentats terroriste à l'explosif ('vigilance and protection of installations against the risk of terrorist bombings).

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NOTED:

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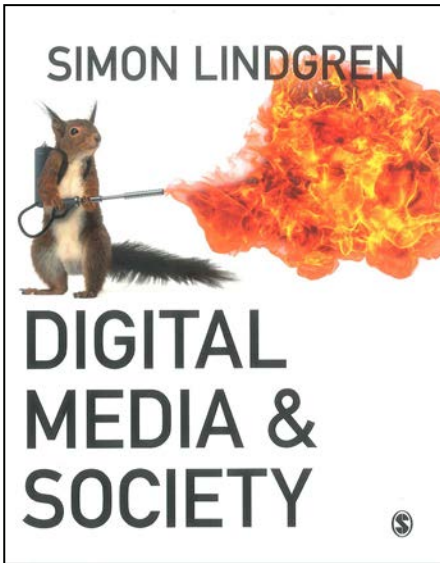
Perfect media research text for undergraduates

FROM the 'flamethrower squirrel' meme chosen for its cover to the many box-outs that define key questions, concepts and exercises for thinking, Simon Lindgren's *Digital Media and Society* is a punchy, engaging text pitched perfectly for undergraduates and others seeking an accessible introduction to contemporary media research.

Lindgren's book is divided into three sections: Theories, covering foundational concepts and contexts for thinking about digital media; Topics, covering deeper discussion of key topics in digital culture such as selfies, digital citizenship, and 'softwarisation'; and Tools, addressing the application of key 'traditional' and 'digital' research methods.

He builds bridges between tightly focused chapters, creating groups of two or three chapters on related topics which can be usefully read together. The style and choice of examples is accessible and encouraging for readers not yet exposed to much quantitative analysis. For instance, to explain
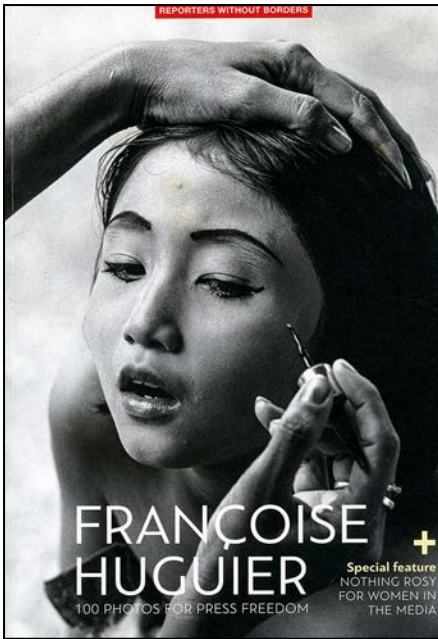
In most respects, however, Lindgren's scope is well-judged for an introductory work—too much detail on specific tools and technologies and the book would risk becoming too big and liable to date quickly. Overall, *Digital Media and Society* is an engaging introduction to digital issues in social research and everyday life and is well worth considering as a text for an undergraduate course or module on digital media in the humanities or social sciences.

Jungle hostage to photojournalist

THIS is yet another extraordinary '100 Photos for Press Freedom' album from *Reporters Sans Frontières* (RSF), this time with a focus on the 'indignation of women against male predation and domination' (p. 139), as essayist Aude Bassonville notes in one of the accompanying articles. The collection of photos mostly feature the work of French photographer Françoise Huguier, who is described by the editors as having the best characteristics of a photojournalist – 'curiosity, intensity, desire and a love for life'.

Her photos range from 'secret' women in Africa, 'sublime' women of fashion, and community apartment dwellers in St Petersburg, Russia, to the tatooists of Singapore. Other portfolios

the pattern of a power law, he quotes Albert-László Barabási's example of a planet whose inhabitants' heights are governed by this law: 'most creatures would be really short, but nobody would be surprised to see occasionally a hundred-feet tall monster walking down the street.'

The main limitation of Lindgren's book is that those seeking guidance on more applied aspects of digital research methods may find the Tools section rather high-level and need to supplement it with more specific material. The section on network analysis could have done with illustrations to support concepts like 'betweenness' and 'weak ties' given the visual nature of such analysis. Meanwhile, text analysis encompasses a whole range of techniques that may be used to support other types of research (such as digital ethnography), but is mentioned only briefly in the penultimate chapter.

FRANÇOISE
HUGUIER +
100 PHOTOS FOR PRESS FREEDOM

Special feature
NOTHING ROSY
FOR WOMEN IN
THE MEDIA

MICHÈLE SIBILONI/AFP

include Marianna De Marzi, Patrick Coomier, Bernadette Sabathier and Caroline Benichou.

The Global Media Monitoring Project, whose study covered 114 countries, noted that in the past decade, women had reported only 37 percent of all information provided. In France, as an example, the Observator on Gender Parity found in 2016 that 72.3 percent of articles studied (among 1500 titles from print media and a similar number from online media) cited exclusively men.

Among essays analysing the work of Huguier is a description of her first struggle for freedom.

As a young child she was captured by heavily armed Viet Minh guerrillas. She had been hiding under a bar when her parents fled to safety thinking their children had already gone. She and her elder brother remained hostage for eight months in the jungle.

There is no age limit for being unjustly imprisoned. Or for starting a courageous career in photojournalism. – *Del Abcede, designer of Pacific Journalism Review.*

PEDRO PARDO/AFP

Call for articles and commentaries:
Journalism under duress in Asia-Pacific

November 2 is the United Nations date that is observed globally each year to mark the International Day to End Impunity for Crimes Against Journalists (IDEI). To honour journalists who have died, or have been beaten, tortured or brutally gagged in defence of the truth and the public right to know and to explore safety of journalist strategies, *Pacific Journalism Review* is publishing a special edition in November 2018. This follows on from the Pacific Media Centre's public seminar in Auckland, Aotearoa/New Zealand, in November 2017 when several multimedia presentations were made in support of a free press in the Asia-Pacific region. The Ampatuan massacre of 32 journalists in the Philippines in 2009, with a failure of the authorities to successfully prosecute anybody for this horrendous crime almost a decade later, and violent abuses against journalists in West Papua were some of the issues raised in the seminar. Fiji, Papua New Guinea and Samoa are among Oceania nations that are cracking down on internet freedom to stifle "ghost writers" and "troublemakers", as one Pacific leader described them.

Papers can include but are not restricted to:

- Cases of killing, brutalising or gagging journalists and news workers
- Strategies to enhance the safety and training of at risk journalists
- News media duty of care in conflict zones such as West Papua
- Internet and online censorship
- Hate crimes, especially those against media people
- Bureaucracies seeking to gag media exposure through high international charges or other policies
- Use of draconian media laws such as Fiji's *Media Industry Development Decree* for censorship
- Strategies to defend or restore media freedom and public trust
- Media survivor narratives and storytelling
- Teaching journalism in conflict countries such as Philippines, Myanmar and Thailand

The above list is a guideline and other related topics will also be considered. The journal also has an unthemed section and other papers related to journalism studies, and journalism education, theory and practice will be considered. More information on the Call for Papers here: https://ojs.aut.ac.nz/pacific-journalism-review/announcement/view/16

Papers must be uploaded to the new OJS open access website for Pacific Journalism Review on the Tuwhera indigenous research platform at Auckland University of Technology: https://ojs.aut.ac.nz/pacific-journalism-review/

Inquiries: pjreview@aut.ac.nz   Deadline: July 20

Notes for contributors

Pacific Journalism Review, founded at the University of Papua New Guinea in 1994, is a peer-reviewed journal covering media issues and communication in the South Pacific, Asia-Pacific, Australia and New Zealand. It is now published by the Pacific Media Centre, AUT University, and has links with the University of the South Pacific. While one objective is research into Pacific journalism theory and practice, the journal is also expanding its interest into new areas of research and inquiry that reflect the broader impact of contemporary media practice and education.

A particular focus will be on the cultural politics of the media, including the following issues—new media and social movements, indigenous cultures in the age of globalisation, the politics of tourism and development, the role of the media and the formation of national identity and the cultural influence of New Zealand as a branch of the global economy within the Pacific region. It also has a special interest in environmental and development studies in the media and communication—and vernacular media in the region.

Main sections:
• *Research:* Academic research and analysis papers (up to 6000 words)

• *Commentary:* Industry insights, developments and practice (1500-3000 words)
• *Frontline*: Reflective journalism research (up to 6000 words)
• *Reviews:* Books, films, online developments, multimedia (800-1500 words).
• *Noted & Books:* 300-350 words.
• *Forum:* Letters, brief commentaries (up to 800 words)

Submission of papers:
Within the editorial scope of the journal, we invite the submission of original papers, commentaries and reviews. Submissions are reviewed by the editor, or editorial committee. Submissions are double blind peer refereed.

Editorial deadline for next issue:
July 20, 2018. Submissions should be filed through the new submissions website on Tuwhera: **ojs.aut.ac.nz/pacific-journalism-review/**
Correspondence should be emailed to the managing editor,
Professor David Robie:
pjreview@aut.ac.nz
School of Communication Studies
AUT University

Style: Use *APA (American Psychological Association) Style* for author-date system of referencing. See style guide at **www.pjreview.info**

Cover: Erosion of graves in the village cemetery of Demak Timbulsloko in Semarang, Indonesia. DEL ABCEDE/PMC