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EDITORIAL: Finding the Pacific voice

GOOD journalism remains central to the needs of the Pacific and her people.

Good journalism education is central to this issue of *Pacific Journalism Review*, which features a selection of papers on journalism education in the Pacific, Australia and New Zealand. Drawn mostly from the papers presented to the Fourth World Journalism Education Congress (WJEC16), and the pre-conference organised by the Journalism Education and Research Association of Australia (JERAA) and the Pacific Media Centre with the Media Educators Pacific (MeP) at the Auckland University of Technology in July, they all reflect the importance of good journalism and good journalism education.

Speaking at the opening of the preconference, University of Auckland Associate Professor **Toeolesulusulu Damon Salesa** said the profession was vital for bringing the Pacific community together. Dr Salesa, director of the newly founded New Zealand Institute for Pacific Research, which sponsored five Pacific media educators to attend the conferences, said journalism helped people engage in the public sphere.

'Journalism is central to the public interest of the Pacific,' he said. 'It protects culture and especially language. However, the world has changed drastically, making it difficult for journalists to keep up with the scale of some of the issues affecting the Pacific.'

That is also a major challenge for journalism educators, especially in the Islands, where resources may be slim, staff few and commitment to professional standards a challenge to corrupt governments and institutions. The relationship between journalists, governments and the people remains vexed.

In Fiji, censorship remains a problem, although as always in these situations there is what gets into print (or on air) and what people know 'really happened'. Meanwhile, in Tonga, Prime Minister 'Akilisi Pohiva also stands accused of censorship, but claims that he is in fact fighting a continuing attack on his government by members of the Tongan Broadcasting Commission, acting as a front for conservative elements from the previous, noble-dominated administration.

At the end of the conference, veteran publisher **Kalafi Moala** pleaded for journalism educators to help raise the standard of journalism in the Pacific. His call should be heeded for raising the standard is something that can be done through co-operation and collaboration, but it must be led by educators and journalists who understand the needs of the Pacific nations and peoples.

We need to keep in mind, too, that Pacific journalists now operate here in Aoteoroa/New Zealand, which has offered a haven on occasion to journalists

who have had to leave their homeland. As Moala said at the conference:

> Auckland is the hub of education, trade, transportation and communication for Western Pacific Island nations. There are many of us from the Pacific Islands who regard Auckland as home or our second home. (Moala, 2016, p. 118)

Given the size of Pacific diasporic communities in New Zealand, it is worth remembering that stories about the Pacific may originate in the west Auckland suburb of Henderson as much as the Solomon Islands' capital of Honiara.

Producing good journalists who can report accurately on the Pacific is not just important for the Islands, it is also vital for New Zealand and the region's other metropolitan powers. We need to find the right people to *skulim olgeta samting long mekim nius*, but we also need to teach *palagi* journalists how to cover a formal Samoan event in Wellington.

Drawing on contributions from academics and journalists in the Pacific, Australia and New Zealand, the articles in this edition of *PJR* cover a whole range of issues confronting journalists in the region. More articles will be published in 2017.

A number of the articles deal with issues arising directly from the classroom; finding the best way to teach professional skills; the threats to journalism students and the value of capstone projects to students.

We begin with **Emily Matosororo's** account of the student protests at the University of Papua New Guinea earlier this year, which also feature on this edition's cover. UPNG has never been the most settled campus, but this year's ructions were aimed at trying to overthrow what was perceived as a corrupt government. The story also had major significance as an example of how badly a story can be misreported when accounts began to circulate that students had been killed when police opened fire on peaceful demonstrators; 23 were reportedly wounded.

We stay in Papua New Guinea for our next article in which **Maria Sagrista** and **Patrick Matbob** of Divine Word University explore the digital divide in that country. This is a pioneering piece of research that identifies as many gaps in the knowledge as facts and points the way to some excellent opportunities for further study.

Staying in Melanesia, but moving to Solomon Islands. **Alexandra Wake** examines an Australian journalism training programme in that country and reports on the outcomes and the attitudes of local journalists towards it.

Shailendra Singh and **Eliki Drugunalevu** examine three cases of cyberbullying of journalism students working on the student newspaper *Wansolwara* at the University of the South Pacific, drawing attention to the downside of modern communication technology and raising important issues about how students and educators can respond.

PJR editor **David Robie** looks at how media convergence over the past 20 years has opened opportunities for competing newspapers, television stations and online publishers to form alliances to promote innovative news-gathering strategies. The article looks at *Pacific Scoop* and *Asia-Pacific Report* as a combined case study. *PJR* associate editor **Philip Cass** looks at the use of student media to teach professional journalism skills in several countries, including Fiji.

Matt Mollgaard explores the role of Radio New Zealand International as a source of information in the Pacific, as a tool of New Zealand government 'soft power' and asks what the future holds under a government hostile to public broadcasting.

At the conclusion of this section, **Kalafa Moala** reflects on the state of journalism in the Pacific and says it is time for Pacific journalists to find their own voice.

In a special research report by **James Hollings, Folker Hanusch, Ravi Balasubramanian** and **Geoff Lealand,** we look at the state of journalism in New Zealand. Conducted as part of the Worlds of Journalism Study the report finds that Kiwi journalists are under more pressure than ever before, working longer hours and worried about the ethical issues arising from new media. Significantly, it also finds that women journalists in New Zealand continue to be discriminated against in terms of pay and that even though they make up the majority of journalists, they are under-represented in management and suffer in terms of promotion.

Our *Frontline* section, under the editorship of **Wendy Bacon**, features **Chris Thomson** and **Bonita Mason** reflecting on a project involving university journalism students and a campaign to give a major park in inner city Perth, Western Australia, a second Indigenous name drawn from the Nyoongar language. The article also includes the story produced by the project.

In our non-themed section, **Grant Hannis** investigates the Len Brown affair and how digital media was used by right wing blogger Cameron Slater to expose the Auckland mayor's extramarital affair and what happened when the mainstream media picked up the story and expanded on it, leading to the end of Brown's political career.

Trevor Cullen investigates the widespread use of capstone units in Australian journalism courses. A recent development in Australia, undergraduate journalism capstone units are offered by 16 universities in Australia to prepare final-year undergraduates for work.

In an article analysing contemporary newspaper representations of police corruption in Indonesia's leading daily English-language newspaper, *The Jakarta Post*, **Sharyn Davies, Louise Stone** and **John Buttle** show how, in spite of many obstacles, the paper takes a critical view.

We end, as usual, with our reviews section. Highlights include University of

Auckland academic **Maria Armoudian's** new book *Reporting from the Danger Zone* and several new books on journalism education and the media in New Zealand, Australia and Scandinavia.

Dr Philip Cass
Edition Editor
Pacific Journalism Review
Unitec, Auckland

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THE NEXT edition of *Pacific Journalism Review* will be centred on climate change in the Asia Pacific region and globally when we return to our usual publication schedule in May and October. The edition is being edited by David Robie, Chris Nash and Shailendra Singh with a call for papers on Page 215 of this issue. The deadline is February 20. For the current edition, we had more peer-reviewed and accepted WJEC2016 papers than could be published in one volume. We plan to devote the October 2017 edition to 'Asia-Pacific journalism education' to continue this theme.

My appreciation goes to Philip Cass who took on the editorship of this edition at a time of challenging changes with my absence in Europe on sabbatical. Contributors to this and future editions would notice that *PJR* has upgraded its submissions software. This is thanks to the AUT Library team which has established the Tūwhera open access Online Journals System (OJS) platform. *PJR* and *Applied Finance Letters* are the two pioneering Tūwhera publication guinea pigs. Tūwhera was launched in October with much revelry: tuwhera.aut.ac.nz. To be frank, our journey has been a learning curve with some unexpected hurdles along the way.

Thank you Luqman Hayes, Donna Coventry and Craig Murdoch for your

At the launch of Tūwhera: AUT's director of learning and research services Shari Hearne (left) with *Pacific Media Watch* contributing editor TJ Aumua and the Pacific Media Centre's Advisory Board chair and *PJR* board member Associate Professor Camille Nakhid.

support and patience. We remain convinced that ultimately this is going to be a more satisfying and more efficient publication process. So please bear with us for the time being and support the tireless efforts being put into the journal by Philip, David, Del, Wendy, Susan, Allison and others.

At present we have two websites, our main one (pjreview.aut.ac.nz), which carries all our archives and galleries and was recently expanded to cover every edition and paper back to the founding year in 1994—thanks to an intern, TJ Aumua, who is now trying her luck as a journalist far from the Pacific—and our new submissions site (ojs.aut.ac.nz/pacific-journalism-review/about/submissions).

By the time you read this editorial, it will already be past Christmas and into 2017, and our team wishes you a creative and prosperous year in journalism education and research.

Kia kaha, kia kaha manawanui.

Professor David Robie
Managing Editor
Pacific Journalism Review
Pacific Media Centre
pjreview.aut.ac.nz
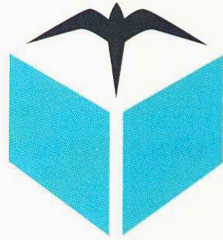
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1. Standoff in Papua New Guinea

Students take issue over corruption

Commentary: A widespread student national boycott of classes and protests against the government of Peter O'Neill in Papua New Guinea during May and June 2016, supported by many civil society groups and activists. The epicentre of these protests was the University of Papua New Guinea (UPNG) in the nation's capital, Port Moresby. Demonstrations stirred by allegations of corruption against Prime Minister O'Neill grew in intensity until police opened fire on peaceful protesters on June 8. The protests were largely organised by the elected UPNG Student Representative Council, which entered into alliances with other tertiary student bodies, especially at the University of Technology in Lae, and civil society groups such as UPNG Focus and the Community Coalition Against Corruption. The essential argument of the students was that instead of thwarting investigations into allegations that $30 million of fraudulent legal bills were paid to the legal firm Paraka Lawyers, O'Neill should resign from office and present himself to the police investigators for questioning as they had demanded. This article focuses on the student leadership's role and critiques the coverage of two major national press outlets, the *PNG Post-Courier* and *The National,* leading to the temporary shutdown of the university. It argues that there were issues of ethics and integrity at stake with both students and the news media.

Keywords: corruption, education, Papua New Guinea, press freedom, protest

EMILY MATASORORO
University of Papua New Guinea

T HE NEWS media in Papua New Guinea is one of the strongest and most independent in the Pacific region and, until recently, enjoyed a relatively free hand. However, this freedom was seriously put to the test early in 2016 when students, especially at the University of Papua New Guinea, protested against the current regime of Prime Minister Peter O'Neill, accusing him of official corruption (Pryke, June 8).

A student protest led to a standoff lasting almost two months in May and June that attracted regional and international attention as well as local media coverage. Although the protests were peaceful, they grew in intensity and eventually climaxed with the shooting of students by heavily armed police who opened fire

with tear gas and live rounds on June 8. This echoed an incident on so-called Black Tuesday in 2001 when three students were shot dead by police (Wakus, 2001). This article focuses on two national media outlets, *PNG Post-Courier* and *The National*, which were accused by the students of being biased against them and examines whether the upheaval was for the benefit of public interest.

Papua New Guinea (PNG) is the largest country in the Pacific with more than 900 different indigenous languages and diverse cultural and socio-economic backgrounds. It is a country divided by languages and regions, but united in a desire to see good governance and transparency in the corridors of power so that basic government services can trickle down to the bulk of the rural population. According to the World Bank, this section of people makes up 87 percent of Papua New Guinea's total population of 7.6 million (World Bank, n.d.). More significant is the number of students who come from rural subsistence backgrounds making inroads in tertiary education to support their families, tribes and communities in search of a better life. That life can come from the decisions made by leaders who are for the people; leaders who will fight to eradicate corruption and promote good governance and transparency.

On May 3, World Media Freedom Day, the Journalism Strand at UPNG, the oldest university journalism course in a South Pacific island state (founded at independence in 1975), was preparing to celebrate freedom of the press. However, this did not eventuate because the academic meeting space was taken up

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Emily Matasororo: Student protests at the University of Papua New Guinea led to police shootings on the edge of the campus on 8 June 2016.

by a student forum.

This was the beginning of an eight-week standoff by students who demanded that Prime Minister Peter O'Neill step down from office and face police questioning over allegations of corruption and fraud. However, the Prime Minister replied defiantly: 'I will not step down' (Kama, 2016a).

The Prime Minister challenged the issue of an arrest warrant against him and this case is now before the courts. Under PNG's Constitution, he can be removed by a vote of no confidence on the floor of Parliament and/or on criminal charges.

Among other events that occurred prior to the student forums was the controversial disbanding and dismantling of the National Fraud and Anti-Corruption Directorate, the special police office that wanted to investigate the Prime Minister over allegations that he had signed off on $30 million in fraudulent payments to the legal firm Paraka Lawyers (PNG fraud squad still locked out, 2016). The directorate was later reinstated by court order.

Another major event was the adjournment of Parliament to November 2016 to avoid the possibility of a vote of no confidence against O'Neill.

These events led to students boycotting classes to show their concerns and frustrations over O' Neill's handling of national issues. The Supreme Court ordered Parliament to reconvene and high on the agenda was a vote of no confidence against the Prime Minister. The vote was eventually held on July 22 and easily fended off by the Prime Minister, 85 votes to 21 (ABC News, 2016).

Earlier in the standoff, students burned copies of both of PNG's two daily newspapers, *PNG Post-Courier* and *The National*, that were being sold in front of the campus gates (UPNG students burn 800 newspapers, 2016). They did this to show their frustration at how they perceived the media to be taking sides and promoting the government's agenda.

The burning was an indication they disliked the newspapers' coverage of events leading up to the protest. Why should the elected Student Representative Council (SRC) go as far as preferring certain media outlets over others? The *PNG Post-Courier, The National* daily newspapers and a television station, EM TV, were banned by the students from covering their activities on campus. UPNG is a public and state-run institution and is a public space open to everyone, including the media. For students, the coverage raised issues of credibility, ethics and integrity of the freedom of the press in PNG:

> We saw the newspapers and saw that the reports were very shallow and biased.
> They are not actual reports of what we students are portraying at the university. That's why to show our frustration, we went out to the bus stop and burnt those papers.
> What we displayed in the morning shows that we have no trust in the

media," the student leader said. (Gware, 2016)

While I acknowledge and appreciate the tireless efforts of the media to cover the student protest, for me this was a very strong statement that needed to be investigated. It needed to be done by all stakeholders concerned to promote fair and just reporting and the essence of good ethics and good journalism. The stakeholders included, but were not limited to, the publisher and the management of the newspapers, the Media Council of PNG, Transparency International, Ombudsman Commission and the institutional educators of journalism—the University of Papua New Guinea and the Catholic-run Divine Word University in Madang.

For the publishers, credibility is questioned, for the Media Council it is a threat against the profession and for the educators there is the question: Where are we going wrong in teaching ethics and are we giving enough prominence that this issue deserves?

These are questions that needed to be answered in order to promote a robust and conducive environment in which journalists could operate.

On June 8 the protest took an ugly turn. Several students were injured, some seriously, when police opened fire on student protesters when they tried to detain SRC president Kenneth Rapa. Social media ran hot with images and comments (Tiozek, 2016).

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Students carry a wounded colleague to safety, and then to hospital, after the police shootings at the University of Papua New Guinea on June 8.

Some of what appeared on social media was emotional. Information was distorted with some news stations reporting casualties. An Australian-based media outlet incorrectly reported four deaths and isolated reports on radio, television and social media that day created a new level of fear, confusion and anxiety among residents (Davidson, 2016). On that day, I saw how powerful the media was and how, when its power is misused, tragedy can follow (Robie, 2016).

Among all the confusion, radio broadcaster PNGFM's Legend FM acted, in my view, responsibly to curtail any more confusion and disorder. It broadcast Port Moresby governor, Powes Parkop, a former UPNG politics lecturer, telling residents to remain calm and saying that the city's services were not affected when in fact the city came to a standstill. The governor also said that he could not confirm any casualties at that time of broadcast. Immediately after his address, lines were opened to the public.

One resident called to say he witnessed injured students being rushed to the hospital with the possibility of some deaths. Before he could elaborate, the announcer swiftly put him off air. Would that be suppression of information or responsible journalism? This station had a strategy that day to control what it could broadcast and it did to the benefit of the common good of the people even though there were small pockets of disturbances in the city.

Almost every day after that, student activities seemed to attract news coverage. By then many students had vacated the campus and for many of them, the only way to get updates was from the media. In this regard, the media played an important role in keeping the students updated about events and decisions taken by the university management (Hayward-Jones, 2016).

The standoff continued with staff locked out of campus from time to time. In a meeting held away from the main academic space, the Vice-Chancellor, Professor Albert Mellam, addressed the staff and told them the management had stopped talking to the media, accusing it of misreporting and aggravating the situation.

The whole protest turned sour when students stepped out of line on June 23 and damaged state property worth millions of kina. The protest came to an end as the university's highest governing body announced the termination of the 2016 academic year, disbanded the SRC and barred its elected leaders from further studies (Kinjap, 2016).

PNG Media Council president Alex Rheeney, who is also editor-in-chief of the *PNG Post-Courier*, described it as a wakeup call for the industry and said: 'We need to pull our socks up.' His comments applied to every person in the industry including the educators. Speaking at the World Journalism Education Congress (WJEC) conference in Auckland in July 2016, he addressed the 'pitfalls' in the reportage of the shootings (Hutt, 2016).

> Rheeney also touched on challenges facing journalism educators in Papua New Guinea, namely the flow-on effects from a 'drastic' decline in the quality of high school graduates over the past 20 years in areas such as literacy. (Rheeney, quoted in Hutt, 2016)

Apart from the news, I strongly believe that it was the media coverage of the protest that provoked debate and discussions about the issues of governance

and corruption. It provided a foretaste of what to expect in 2017 when PNG is due to have a general election. I can only hope that it is through this experience that Papua New Guineans will see wisdom prevail in the leaders they vote into power.

In remembrance of this event, the Journalism Strand at UPNG is going to unveil a wall to display 'untold stories' and create a photo montage for 'unseen images' to serve as a reminder of the student protest and something for future students to ponder (UPNG students speak out, 2016). Although UPNG students led these protests, they were also powered and supported by students at other campuses across the nation, especially the University of Technology at Lae (Unitech). The inquiry into the police shooting has been delayed and possibly shelved. The SRC students who brought a court action against UPNG, including Kenneth Rapa, were able to continue studies when the Supreme Court upheld the student injunction appeal. The entire saga raised serious dilemmas over ethics and integrity on the part of students, the mainstream news media, and the university administration. Although, unlike in previous standoffs, such as during the *Uni Tavur* coverage of the Sandline mercenary crisis[1] in 1996 (Robie, 2004, p. 76), and the *Uni Tavur* student journalists who gave evidence to a Commission of Inquiry into the shootings in 2001 (Wakus), this was a lesson for journalism education with Pacific ramifications.

Note

1. The Sandline mercenary affair, named after the British-based private military contractor Sandline International, led to the ousting of the Sir Julius Chan government and almost sparked civil war in Papua New Guinea in 1996. Military commander Jerry Singirok led a rebellion by the PNG Defence Force to arrest mercenaries hired by the Chan government in a bid to crush a revolt by the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA). See O'Callaghan, M-L. (1999). *Enemies within: Papua New Guinea, Australia, and the Sandline crisis: The inside story.* Sydney: Doubleday.

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Emily Matasororo is a lecturer in the Journalism Strand at the University of Papua New Guinea. She was among a group of Pacific media educators and trainers brought to New Zealand for the World Journalism Education Congress (WJEC) conference at Auckland University of Technology on July 14-16 2016 through sponsorship from the NZ Institute of Pacific Research. This article is based on a paper she delivered in a 'Journalism Education in the Pacific' panel at the Journalism Education and Research Association of Australia (JERAA)-Pacific Media Centre (PMC)-Media education Pacific (MeP) pre-conference.
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2. The digital divide in Papua New Guinea

Implications for journalism education

Abstract: Access to new technology and the development of the necessary skills to master them are crucial aspects when developing countries aim to play a more important role in the current information age and knowledge-based society. New technology and the internet have the potential to enhance access to information for people and to help countries such as Papua New Guinea become active producers of knowledge, shifting away from the traditional role of passive consumption. However, new technology also has the potential to increase already existing inequalities. In this regard, exploring the concrete shortcuts brought by the digital divide in PNG and trying to address them for journalism education is an imperative, so that journalists in the country can bridge this gap, raise their own voices and best contribute to the development of Papua New Guinean society.

Keywords: cyber-enthusiasts, cyber-sceptics, digital divide, digital literacy, digital media, ICTs, journalism education, Papua New Guinea, technology

MARIA SAGRISTA and PATRICK MATBOB
Divine Word University, Madang, Papua New Guinea

> The information age does not have to be the age of stepped-up inequality, polarisation and social exclusion. But, for the moment, it is. (Castells, 1999, p.203)

I T IS because of the internet that a human rights advocate in Papua New Guinea can get support from people all over the world, a New Zealander can buy African handicrafts from a dealer in Nigeria, or a father can watch his baby being born 20,000km away. Since the general popularisation of technology and internet in the 1990s, it is clear that these two elements are having huge personal, political and economic implications for most people in this world.

However, the potential of the internet to bring about change can become a double-edged weapon for those who do not possess the access or skills to make use of the new technology. People who lack this access are in danger of becoming marginalised and excluded from the new information-based society. The gap between those who have access and those who do not is called the digital

divide and it mainly affects people with less education, lower income, living in rural settings and developing countries. This article aims to clarify the concept of the digital divide, according to access, but also according to skills and use. The article tries to relate these concepts to the specific situation of Papua New Guinea by looking at the country's ICT infrastructure, internet penetration, costs and how users' information and structural skills allow an effective use of the net. Unfortunately, a lack of data regarding these factors does not allow a complete analysis of the current situation in the country. This article is, therefore, intended to be an initial foray into the topic which will also, hopefully, serve as a call for a much needed further research.

As the main aim of the article is to analyse the implications of the digital divide for journalism education and to envisage possible ways forward to develop the digital skills of future journalists, the article first explores the situation of higher education in Papua New Guinea and reflects on studies undertaken in other countries about the digital divide at the university level. It will be seen from the information obtained that many of the conclusions of these studies are applicable to Papua New Guinea. This provides a good starting point for reflection on what initiatives could be implemented to achieve higher rates of access and digital literacy that could allow Papua New Guinean journalists to become active producers of knowledge.

Cyber-enthusiasts vs cyber-sceptics

The internet is a system of communications that interconnects millions of users around the world, allowing them to access knowledge, share ideas and do business online. Defenders of the internet and the new technologies claim they have the potential to alleviate poverty, empower minorities, foster economic development and promote democratic principles (Shade, 2003, p. 107). For example, it was with the assistance of the internet and social media activism that former Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak was overthrown by a revolutionary wave of civil uprisings and demonstrations. On a similar note, the internet and social media played a big role supporting rescue teams on the ground after the impact of Typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines in 2013. These are only two cases that exemplify how technology and the ease of global connections can highly benefit people's lives.

However, many critics have highlighted the fact that the internet can increase social exclusion, posing a debate between two opposite positions: 'cyber-enthusiasts' and 'cyber-sceptics' (Shade, 2003, p. 112). Are the internet and the information and communication technologies (ICTs) alleviating or deepening inequalities? If the internet is defined as 'global', does 'global' also signify 'universal', meaning that everyone can and does have access to the internet? Cyber-sceptics strongly disagree.

The digital divide defined

The world is changing at a lightning speed and we, as citizens, are required to keep up. What happens to those people who do not have access to these technologies? They are affected by the digital divide.

The digital divide is a term created in the mid-1990s (Yu, 2006, p. 236) to define the 'disparity between those who have access to the technologies and the internet and those who do not' (Shade, 2003, p. 108). This lack of access, mostly localised in specific groups, prevents them from exploiting all the advantages that the new information technologies bring, such as accessing jobs, promoting and expanding their business online, or providing a platform to raise their voices and opinions. Consequently, these groups have limited opportunities and are at risk of becoming marginalised from the rest of society.

This initial definition of the digital divide, based exclusively on lack of infrastructure and hardware, was expanded later on to include not only access to technology, but other factors such as the differences in use caused by socio-economic disparities and different skill levels between people. This more comprehensive definition, sometimes also called 'the second divide' (Van Deursen & Van Dijk, 2010, p. 908), moved beyond the superficial problem of access to consider fundamental social issues and brought to light a much more complex spectrum of reasons that need to be looked into when trying to mitigate the digital divide (Coleman, 2015; Selwyn, 2004; Van Deursen & Van Dijk, 2010).

As Selwyn explains (2004, p.349), the fact that someone has access to information and communication technologies does not necessarily imply that this person will make use of them. It is easy to imagine a household with a computer and an internet connection where the different family members possess different skill and interest levels when it comes to engaging with the digital world. Even so, the members who do use the internet might not do so in a meaningful way that allows them to take full advantage of the benefits of the global net.

In this regard, the concept of digital literacy highlights the relevance of these new set of skills required to successfully take part in the societies of the new information age (Servon & Nelson, 2001, p.279; Van Deursen & Van Dijk, 2010, p. 894; Kolodziejczyk, 2012, p. 210; Radovanovic et al, 2015, p. 1737). Digital literacy is 'a twenty-first century form of literacy in which researching and communicating information via digital environments are as important as reading and writing were in earlier centuries' (Katz, 2007, p. 4). If access to and meaningful use of the internet and ICT empowers individuals by allowing them to establish wider social connections, increasing political and civic participation and promoting the access to education' (Selwyn, 2004, p. 342), the lack of access leaves people in a disadvantaged position of limited opportunities.

Research so far

The research done on the topic of the digital divide shows that, while the original issue of lack of access and infrastructure is progressively being addressed, the more recently considered social, psychological and cultural aspects of the divide are increasing (Van Deursen & Van Dijk, 2010, p. 894). Nowadays, the gaps are not so much caused by lack of connectivity or access to technology, as governments and international organisations are investing in extended networks and affordable technology. The socio-cultural differences, such as education level, location, gender, race, income, age, ethnicity or linguistic background (Reagan Shade, 2003, p. 108) are widening the gaps and making many wonder if there is any way to close the digital divide (Van Deursen & Van Dijk, 2010, p. 909). In general terms, the digital divide exists between city-rural environments, educated-uneducated citizens, different socio-economic groups and developed-developing countries (Coleman, 2015, p. 145).

Skills

Which digital skills do people need to benefit from using the internet? According to Van Dijk & Van Deursen (2010, p.895), there are four sets of abilities that internet users should have if they aim to fully engage with the digital world and get the best results out of it. These skills are grouped into two categories: those directly related to the medium and the ability to master the technical aspects of it, and those specifically concerned with the content searched and found.'

The medium-related skills are divided by Van Dijck &Van Deursen into operational skills and formal skills. Operational skills are those that allow a person to make a basic use of technology and the internet, such as using different browsers, utilising search engines or filling out a form on a website. To complement these, the authors talk about formal internet skills, those abilities that are directly related to how the user navigates the net, understands where different content is located and how he or she can access them. These would include the ability to surf the net through hyperlinks and the ability to understand the structure of the different websites without getting confused or disoriented (2010, p. 896).

Beyond these medium-related internet skills, van Deursen & Van Dijk, talk about information skills and strategic skills, more complex competencies which are directly connected to the way users deal with content and how they search and find information online (2010, p.895). Information skills are associated with the user's ability to fulfill his or her information needs by, for example, carrying out efficient searches and being able to assess the quality of the different results. On the other side, strategic internet skills are those that allow a person to use the information technologies and the internet as a means to reach a specific objective, which will contribute to improving one's position in society.

In summary, operational skills are those related to the basic use of technology and the internet; formal skills are those concerning navigation and orientation; information skills are the abilities that allow the user to access the information she or he needs; and strategic skills have to do with the efficient use of the internet, and the achievement of specific targets and solutions that will have an impact on the person's status. Users around the word, between and within societies, possess different levels of digital skills. These skills, especially, information and strategic internet skills, strongly condition the position of people in their social life and in the labour market, as they are the ones that allow access and interaction with economic, social and political opportunities (Van Deursen &Van Dijk, 2010, p. 908).

Do our journalism students, or students in general, possess these critical skills? Are they fully equipped to face the new demands of the digital world and keep up with the pace that 'progress' is imposing? Do our courses ensure that they do not lag behind missing opportunities?

Who is included and who is excluded?

Research on the digital divide has been trying to discover which factors differentiate those people who have access to the internet from those who do not. According to Selwyn (2004), 'access' is already a term whose definition should be carefully considered. Several other components affect the different degrees of access that users have, generating 'various shades of marginality' (p. 348) depending on the available time to connect to the net, cost of connection, quality of the technology at one's disposal and surrounding environment (p. 347).

Different kinds of research conducted within the past 20 years in several developing and developed countries (Yu, 2006, p. 238) have shown that specific patterns indicate who is 'connected' and who is not. In this regard, differences in access and use seem to be highly influenced by income, level of education, gender, race, age, geography, linguistic background and personal interest (Shade, 2003, p. 108; Selwyn, 2004, p. 344; Van Deursen & Van Dijk, 2010, p. 899; Yu, 2006, p. 236). These factors will vary if the focus of attention is set on the global digital divide (differences between countries) or on the societal digital divides (differences within a country or a specific society). Discrepancies between countries have been found to be mostly related to 'economic development, education, information infrastructure, culture, policy orientation, costing structure for internet access, openness of the telecommunication market, level of urbanisation, the official language and the charging arrangement for internet interconnection' (Yu, 2006, p. 238). In relation to the societal digital divides, several authors have concludes that, contributing educational level, age and gender are the most relevant factors that contribute to the stratification of particular sectors of the population in relation to internet access and digital skills (Van Deursen &

Van Dijk, 2010, p. 899). Those with less education and those who are older are less likely to be connected (Radovanic et al, 2015, p. 1739).

The situation in Papua New Guinea

Papua New Guinea became independent in 1975. With an estimated population of 7.6 million people, it occupies the eastern part of the island of New Guinea, north of Australia. About 85 percent of the population live in rural areas, in scattered customary communities with diverse belief systems, cultural traditions, and distinct forms of social organisation. Most of these groups are isolated and inaccessible by road, depending on subsistence and small cash-crop agriculture. The other 15 percent of the population live in urban areas such as Port Moresby, Lae, Madang, Wewak, Goroka, Mt Hagen or Rabaul (DFAT 2015; WHO 2015; UNDP 2015, UN Data 2015, CIA 2015).

Papua New Guinea is considered one of the most diverse countries in the world, with more than 840 languages spoken, many of them with fewer than 1000 speakers. After independence in 1975, Papua New Guinea became a constitutional parliamentary democracy. PNG is rich in natural resources such as gold, oil and gas. This wealth has prompted an increasing interest from the extractive industries, especially with an intense boom over the past decade, during which the country has experienced an annual economic growth of 6.5 percent. Despite these numbers, poverty levels have not changed much since 1996, keeping the country within the 'low human development' category, ranking 157 out of 187 nations. Some of the reasons considered to explain this fact are the distribution of the population across rugged landscapes (which makes the delivery of government services very difficult); extremely low levels of literacy within the population (literacy rate for youth and adults range from 60 percent to 76 percent); the very recent exposure to health and education services in most parts of the country and a very limited government capacity (UNDP 2014: World Bank, 2009, 2011, 2015).

The 2014 National Human Development Report on Papua New Guinea concluded that the 40 years since independence, in which PNG's economy has been based on the extractive industries, have brought improvements in livelihood, health and education, but only for some. GDP per capita is US$1767 and about 40 percent of the population lives on less than US$1.90 a day (World Bank, 2015).

Information and communication technologies

How easy is access to internet and computer technologies for Papua New Guineans? How does this situation affect their wellbeing in relation to the potential opportunities that the new ICTs can bring? Given the isolation experienced by most rural dwellers, access to technology, internet and mail is mostly limited to towns and cities (Watson, 2009, p. 107).

In regards to the information and communication technologies, Papua New Guinea liberalised the telecommunications market in 2007, creating an expansion of mobile phone signals to many rural communities which had been completely cut off from any phone coverage. It also generated a rapid increase in the ownership of mobile phones (Watson, 2009, p. 107; Suwamaru, 2015, p. 1), the only means these communities currently have to connect to the internet. Before that, the state-owned company Telikom PNG was the only provider in the country, with a very limited coverage mainly restricted to urban areas. With the sale of a new mobile license to Digicel, the mobile network quickly expanded throughout PNG (Watson, 2011, p. 250) and competition between companies originally increased the connectivity options for customers and reduced the prices.

A comparison of the World Bank data for 2015 regarding ICT infrastructure in PNG with New Zealand, demonstrates the extensive gap between developing and developed countries. While the current percentage of mobile phone subscriptions in Papua New Guinea after the expansion of Digicel to the rural areas is at 45 percent, in New Zealand it adds up to 112 percent, more than one mobile connection per person. On a second note, the number of fixed broadband subscriptions in PNG is 0.18 percent, practically nonexistent, while in New Zealand they account for 31 percent of the population. Knowing that only 3.6 percent of the households in the Melanesian country own a computer, versus 80 pecent of households in New Zealand, it is not surprising that the percentage of internet users in Papua New Guinea remains below 10 percent, while the average in New Zealand is about 85 percent. Of course, with the lack of connectivity networks and of few potential customers, the cost of a subscription to a fixed broadband internet connection in PNG is US$446 a month, a price that almost no one can afford, compared with about NZ$62 a month.

This data reveals deep, striking inequalities that puts Papua New Guinea in a very disadvantaged position when it comes to participating in the global contemporary society. In a world where so much knowledge is stored and transmitted in the digital sphere, countries and people who lack the appropriate facilities to access these resources and services are progressively being marginalised and deprived of opportunities.

Higher education

According to Kolodziejczyk (2012), before the school-based system, education in Papua New Guinea was aimed at introducing children to the appropriate gender roles they were assigned to perform in society. Traditionally carried out by the family and the community, this education had a strong ceremonial character. The first formal educational systems were established by Catholic and Protestant missionaries and by the German and Australian colonial governments. A broader education was established throughout the Territory of Papua and New Guinea

by the Australiana administration in the decades following the Second World War. In 1966 the University of Papua New Guinea and Higher Institute of Technology were established. The first graduates of these tertiary institutions were able to enjoy multiple opportunities for employment as the country was going through a phase of economic and political expansion. Unfortunately, within 15 years the situation for graduates was much less favourable.

According to the Papua New Guinea Department of Higher Education, Research, Science and Technology (DHERST, 2015), the country now has 33 institutions of higher education, including six universities, four of which are public and two private (Rooney, 2004). A total of 31,000 students were enrolled in these tertiary institutions in 2014, which is only 2-3 percent of the estimated 600,000 young people of university age (17-24) (Tagis, 2010; DHERST, 2015). Some tertiary institutions do not have free internet access for students, computer availability is very limited and academic staff admit they have no experience with the internet. In addition, fewer than 40 percent of students own a computer.

Papoutsaki and Rooney (2006) highlight how the Papua New Guinean higher education system is based on Western models and standards, but lacks many of the necessary resources to make it work effectively (DHERST, 2015). There has been strong criticism of the higher education sector in the country, as it is accused of producing graduates who are not equipped with the necessary skills to contribute to the positive development that Papua New Guinea needs. In the *PNG Universities Review* from 2010, the most recent and comprehensive review of higher education institutions undertaken in PNG, this concern was made explicit: 'Right now, the quantity and quality of graduates is far short of what is needed—due to inadequate resources and a range of governance and general service quality issues' (Garnaut & Namaliu, 2010, p. 1 in Kolodziejczyk, 2012, p. 22). Unfortunately, judging by the lack of educational policies and little economic investment, education does not seem to be a priority for the Papua New Guinean government (Bloom & Rosovsky, 2006).

Implications for journalism education

If digital literacy is crucial to becoming engaged with the new information age and knowledge-based society, how are we educators in Papua New Guinea, integrating these new technologies into the teaching and learning practices?

There is very little published information on what is being done in PNG. However, Karthikeyan and Ramalingam (2016) explain the case of Divine Word University and its initial efforts to implement blended and online learning, with a university-wide introduction to computing and word processing. As necessary as it is to train university students on the use of new technologies, several factors make the incorporation of new technologies within a traditional face-to-face curriculum a very challenge. A study conducted by Radovanovic, Hogan and

Lalic (2015) in Serbia can be used as an eye-opener to many of the difficulties that universities around the world face. Their conclusions may be applied to the situation of higher education in Papua New Guinea. These authors claim that digital literacy is a form of human capital deeply connected to the person's ability to understand the world and gather information (2015, p. 1735):

> Digital literacy is the awareness, attitude and ability of individuals to appropriately use digital tools and facilities to identify, access, manage, integrate, evaluate, analyse and synthesise digital resources, construct new knowledge, create media expressions, and communicate with others, in the context of specific life situations, in order to enable constructive social action. (Martin, 2005, p. 135-136, in Radovanic et al, 2015, p. 1737)

According to Radovanovic, Hogan and Lalic (2015), access is a basic requirement for digital literacy, but access alone is not enough. Digital literacy needs to be learnt and this means that it needs to be taught. Precarious and uncertain infrastructure will be a drawback when trying to teach digital literacy in university classrooms, especially in developing countries, where in many cases there is a lack of computers, projectors and internet access in the lecture room. However, one of the main problems that is not so broadly considered is the educators' reluctance to accept the paramount role of new technologies. In many contexts, technology is seen as a threat by lecturers and professors, as it challenges the traditional power structure (p. 1733).

Radovanovic et al. (2015) explain how lecturers and professors possess a high level of education (one of the main factors that affects inclusion or exclusion within the digital divide), but this level of education is mediated by age. The fact that, in general, students are more computer literate generates power tensions and provides opportunities for students to displace the traditional status granted to the professor. Professors feel that technology reduces their authority and legitimacy, as students can easily question their knowledge and expertise with a simple Google or Wikipedia search, sources not validated by traditional academia. In addition, the introduction of new technologies in the higher education system requires educators to relearn abilities and skills, as ICT is constantly evolving, demanding that they invest a great deal of time and effort in becoming computer literate. In this regard, it seems that older generations of lecturers and professors are not teaching digital literacy skills to their students simply because they lack this kind of knowledge. Unfortunately, if professors do not use on-line resources, it means they are not transferring these digital literacy skills to the younger generations, leaving them ill-prepared for a personal and working life where technology is becoming increasingly omnipresent (Kolodziejczyk, 2012, p. 39; Radovanovic, et al, 2015, p. 1737).

There are many other challenges when introducing ICT and online resources

into the university classroom, especially in developing countries such as Papua New Guinea. Besides unreliable infrastructure and the educators' reluctance and lack of knowledge, there are two other aspects that have a big influence on how successful the implementation of these technologies will be. The first one is the definition of appropriate pedagogy for online learning (Goh & Kale, 2015, p. 308) and, the second one, how political power (management of educational institutions) understands and fulfills the needs of academics and students. Regarding this latter issue, Radovanic et al. concluded from their research that in many cases students and academics perceive management and political power as having completely different priorities. As management seems to focus much more on developing infrastructure and achieving a high technological standard for the institution, students and educators agree that more training is needed (2015, p. 1744). Learners and, especially professors, feel they are under pressure to cope with the latest technologies, while they are not properly equipped with training, support or time. The result is a lack of motivation and collaboration from educators, which really makes the development of online resources and e-learning tools difficult. Technology becomes then an obstacle rather than an aid.

According to the World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers (WAN-IFRA), there were 1.1 billion online news consumers in 2014. With so many users switching to, or combining, traditional media outlets with online news platforms, it is imperative that journalism schools reconsider their curriculum to adapt to the new requirements of the audience. The curriculum in journalism schools around the world is very much based on print journalism (Goh & Kale, 2015, p. 308). Any lecturer should be focused on developing digital skills in students, but for journalism educators this becomes a real priority. Ideally, all university graduates should possess a set of digital competences that allows them to master computer and internet formal and operational skills, retrieve relevant information to achieve specific goals and analyse and create content online that lets them communicate digitally (Radovanovic et al, 2015, p. 1737). For future journalists, these skills would be indispensable tools (Goh & Kale, 2015, p. 308).

According to Goh and Kale (2015), future journalists should learn all the essential principles of traditional journalism and, at the same time, develop multimedia competences that will help them work collaboratively, foster critical analytical skills, be resourceful and stay connected to the latest developments (p. 309). Trainers need to cultivate a 'multimedia awareness' in students and make sure they build up their expertise by producing relevant content across new digital media platforms. Unfortunately, journalism programmes seem to be slow in this transition to digital journalism, as this requires a fair amount of investment of time and resources to redo the curriculum, train academics, purchase equipment or work across platforms (p. 308).

Because of socio-economic and geographical circumstances, Papua New

Guinean journalism students face many difficulties when it comes to becoming digitally literate and actively engaged with the global community. The access barrier is slowly being reduced and PNG seems eager to catch up with more advanced countries. Social media networks, especially Facebook, have become widespread with more than 350,000 registered users (Internet World Stats, 2015). The level of participation in PNG is extremely high, but do our students engage with the digital world beyond Facebook status updates and Candy Crush? Do they possess the information and strategic skills necessary to successfully participate in the global world? Unfortunately, in many cases, students and lecturers still have to answer 'no'. Further research to understand the causes and motivations of this situation and to support the implementation of an effective action plan is imperative.

From passive consumers to active producers

Another relevant concept for this topic is that of 'digital production inequality', introduced by Schradie (2011, p. 158). Despite the fact that his research mainly claims how differences in class affect people's ability to create online content, it illuminates the main elements affecting content creation. Being able to produce content gives people the opportunity to create and disseminate knowledge, but research has proven that not everyone creates online content. Why not? What are the factors that allow people to voice their opinions, express their perspectives and participate in global discussions? Again, it is easy to identify similar patterns to those affecting the original digital divide in regards to access and skills.

Future Papua New Guinean journalists need to have the ability to talk about their specific reality from their own cultural understanding, breaking the long-standing trend of content being generated by outsiders. It is time for these journalists to move from being passive consumers to active producers of knowledge and media (Shade, 2003, p. 111). They need to be equipped with the necessary skills to produce public discourse about political, economic or cultural issues and influence public opinion. In order to do this, journalists must become digital literates and need to develop a 'multimedia consciousness' (Goh & Kale, 2015, p. 312).

Suggestions for bridging the digital divide in PNG

Drawing on Parent and Cruickshank (2009), it could be useful to consider or re-consider the role of libraries in Papua New Guinea. Libraries are traditional access points of information and in many countries they also play an important role for training, education and advocacy within the community (p. 94). Libraries in developing countries have a huge potential as facilitators of knowledge and information. In some countries mobile libraries with computers and internet access periodically visit remote and isolated areas (p. 94). These libraries could easily include an internet advisor who could provide training and assistance.

On another note, due to the economic constraints experienced in developing countries, citizens have developed alternative ways of accessing technologies and the internet. With the rise and popularisation of the smartphone, especially in poorer communities, (Park & Lee, 2015, p. 80), many people share devices and connections to access the internet (James, 2012, p. 183; Watson, 2011, p. 35). Promoting a culture of sharing, supported by local or regional institutions, could be a way to make internet and new technologies much more accessible to the general public.

Going back to the recommendations of Radovanic, Hogan and Lalic (2015), more institutional support should be provided for teachers and students. This would allow them to become proficient in digital technologies and more positive about the use of the new technologies and confident about their abilities. Training is imperative at all levels and encouragement and assistance are required to change many negative perceptions that are holding back the transition to the digital world. The authors also propose a mandatory first-year course on information retrieval for all university students (p. 1742), an idea that has been already partially implemented at Divine Word University.

Goh and Kale (2015) argue for a deep-seated change in journalism curricula to make them more flexible and able to accommodate changes. Future media professionals should assimilate the fundamentals of journalism at the same time as they master digital journalism skills (p. 309). A programme revision is underway at the Department of Communication Arts (Journalism) at Divine Word University. A lack of human, economic and technical resources and a limited perception of international journalism standards, are some of the challenges faced by this kind of reform.

Further research

All these suggestions are based on good intentions. Unfortunately, before any kind of real implementation is conducted, proper research on the specificities of Papua New Guinea, its current situation regarding ICT infrastructure and access and a valid assessment of the country's needs is necessary. The lack of research in this area is alarming, as there is no accurate, or even approximate data that can guide decision-making. In order to move forward and ensure that Papua New Guinea stays in the picture of global digital participation, the public and private sectors in the country should consider digital access and literacy as a priority for development (Shade, 2003, p. 113). Research is imperative.

What is effective access? What is meaningful engagement with technology and how it can be achieved among Papua New Guineans? Shade suggests that research should promote a bottom-up approach, with public consultations (2003, p. 116). The way to bridge the digital divide must be created through the specific demands of Papua New Guinea, free from dominance by Western perspective and according to PNG's cultural terms.

Conclusion

It seems clear that the expansion of the internet and ICTs is deepening inequalities among Papua New Guineans and between Papua New Guineans and developed countries. Because of the lack and quality of access in PNG, many people are deprived of opportunities and, consequently, denied the chance of a better life. However, more important than access to technology is the possession of digital skills, the fundamental abilities that allow people to meaningfully use technology to navigate the internet and participate in the online community. Beyond superficial operational and formal skills, the abilities that really contribute to the person's development in society and greatly affect their wellbeing are the information and strategic skills, those which allow them to use the internet and technology in a significant way.

When looking at the higher education panorama in PNG, the first question that arises is whether journalism students, have acquired these critical skills. University students are in a privileged position in comparison with other citizens in the country: they have access to technology, affordable or free connectivity to the internet and are being trained, at least at a basic level. However, they seem not to be actively engaging in a meaningful manner with the digital world. This should make us reflect and reconsider constructive ways to alleviate the problem and properly equip the students for the digital world.

Educators in PNG need to integrate the new technologies into teaching and learning practices with the aim of developing analytical and structural skills. The opportunity for Papua New Guinea to participate in global discussion and finally have its own voice is closer than ever but, at the same time, still far for many of our journalists and engaged citizens. From the offices and classrooms of journalism education institutions, more efforts should be made to ensure that future reporters in PNG have the necessary skills to enjoy the same advantages enjoyed by journalists anywhere else in the world.

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3. Journalism training aid by Australians
A case study in Solomon Islands

Abstract: After the ethnic clashes and generally poor plight of Solomon Islands at the turn of the millennium, the country has been the recipient of substantial international foreign aid, which has included journalism education and training, particularly from Australia. However, little independent research has been done about the role of Australian trainers and the history of journalism training in this period of change and restoration. This article seeks to provide a point-in-time report on journalism training in an aid context, in a bid to provide a baseline for future investigation of changes in the media landscape and training in Solomon Islands. This research draws on in-depth interviews with engaged stakeholders in Solomon Islands, including journalists, civil leaders and government figures. It also discusses the Australian government-funded media aid programmes, including the Solomon Islands Media Assistance Scheme (SOLMAS) and its unnamed predecessor.

Keywords: journalism, development, foreign aid, journalism education, journalism training, Australia, Solomon Islands, SOLMAS

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Introduction

SOLOMON ISLANDS is the poorest country in the Pacific (*Pacific Islands*, 2014) and typically has relied on foreign aid for more than 50 percent of its gross domestic product (Feeny & McGillivray, 2010, p. 83). It has some 635,027 citizens spread over about 1000 islands and atolls, with around 80 percent living in rural areas (Index Mundi, 2016). While there are 63 language groups, the majority of the population is Melanesian (95.3 percent), Polynesian (3.1 percent), Micronesian (1.2 percent) (CIA, 2016).

To make sense of the country's media it is necessary to acknowledge the country's past, its recent history and economic underpinning. A former British protectorate, Solomon Islands gained independence in 1978. Ethnic violence (between the Gwale people's Isatabu Freedom Movement (IFM), and the Malaitans, 1999-2003), government malfeasance and endemic lawlessness undermined the young nation's stability. The Islands' problems were complex, and made worse

by inequitable distribution of wealth from nickel mining, illegal tree felling without compensation to landowners and bad weather conditions for the production of traditional subsistence crops (Social impact assessment of peace restoration initiatives in Solomon Islands 2004; DFAT, 2004; Hou, Johnson & Price, 2013).

Around 75 percent of the workforce are engaged in subsistence farming and fishing. Economic growth depends largely on logging and timber exports, however, access for large-scale commercial development is complicated by the fact that 80 percent of land (and inshore fisheries) is communally owned (Kabutaulaka, 2005b).

In the late 1990s, ethnic tensions over land brought the country to the brink of economic disaster, and in March 2003 Australia answered a third call for help from Solomon Islands Prime Minister, Sir Allan Kemakeza (Kabutaulaka, 2005a) and in July 2003, led a multinational intervention force to restore peace and disarm the ethnic militias. This intervention force, the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI), remained for a decade, until 2013.

Calling itself 'a partnership' between the people and government of Solomon Islands RAMSI drew members from 15 Pacific Island countries, including Australia. Its mandate covered law and order, rebuilding institutions and establishing conditions under which the nation could achieve social and economic recovery.

The RAMSI team stated that one of its most significant jobs was to help develop the country's media to give the people of Solomon Islands access to information, and therefore better governance (Social impact assessment of peace restoration initiatives in Solomon Islands, 2004, p. 36). In 2005, senior Solomon Islands journalist Johnson Honimae (Solomon Islands rapped for weak role, 2005) was reported as saying 'Solomon Islands experienced social unrest because the media had not played its role as a watchdog on the leadership of the country since independence'. He also suggested the media was failing to report the views of all people:

> the media only picked on national leaders but did not touch tribal leaders or Solomon Islands middlemen who abused the trust of landowners for the sake of filling up their pockets and their foreign bosses'. (Solomon Islands rapped for weak role, 2005)

While the Australian government did not overtly state that it had a specific political or ideological ambition for its aid programme, it used bureaucratic language which acknowledged it needed the media for state-building initiatives such as multiparty elections and parliamentary reporting, strengthening governance practices, targeting corruption and providing a stable framework for economic growth (AusAID 2006, pp. 43, 61). The Australian government specifically acknowledged the role of the media in ensuring that the facilitation of nation building was conducted with transparency (Australian Government, 2007).

Assistance to the media was part of RAMSI's initial programme of recovery in 2003, and specifically assistance with the training and education of journalists was one of its immediate priorities. However, RAMSI's first priorities were questioned. Singh and Prakash (2006) suggested the initial work by RAMSI was not appropriately planned:

> In the midst of these tumultuous changes, powerful nations in the region, such as Australia, need to get proper assessments of the situation on the ground rather than rush in with short-term, ill-conceived and narrowly focused interventionist policies. (Singh & Prakash, 2006, p. 82)

Research method

A mixture of documentation and interviews has informed this article. It draws on official reports of aid agencies, the media and the responses to open-ended questions when interviewing a cross-section of stakeholders of the time. These enabled me to construct a description of the process of building media skills in post-conflict Solomon Islands and start to consider its implications as a step towards a stronger Fourth Estate. The material relied on here is part of the work paying specific attention to the Australian aid workers involved in programmes in young nations, through the experience of Solomon Islands research, undertaken for a doctorate in the period 2011-2015 (Wake, 2015).

The 21 stakeholders interviewed in Solomon Islands included junior and senior journalists, media owners, trainees, journalism trainers, government officials and civil society leaders. They represented a range of ages and experiences, including one working in a public relations capacity for RAMSI; a former general manager of Solomon Islands Broadcasting Corporation (SIBC); the then-owner of *The Solomon Star*; a former journalist-turned-politician; a former journalist-turned-government-media-adviser; the local head of Transparency International; and a Catholic priest who ran media training programmes, particularly for community radio. The others were all journalists of varying levels of experience.

Procuring Australian governmental documentation about the media training component of the RAMSI project was difficult. I battled to obtain access documents from Australian Broadcasting Corporation International under Freedom of Information regulations for several years. Australian Broadcasting Corporation International attempted unsuccessfully to argue that: 'any misinterpretation and/or misuse of the content in those documents carries the real risk of potentially damaging Australia's relationship with Solomon Islands and other Pacific entities' (ABC International, personal communication, 5 April, 2011).

The Freedom of Information provision that was used to delay the application for access to materials was 'interference with sovereign relations'. The use of this clause indicated that the ABC International managers—those who sent the trainers

to Solomon Islands, and those who hosted them—saw the role of educating journalists as a political rather than an educational strategy.

The broad themes for analysis were about journalism in Solomon Islands, holding power to account, the Fourth Estate, cultural practices, respect for journalists, good reporting, and journalists' values.

Early media strengthening

In 2005, through a contract managed by Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) International, three senior Australian journalists took up training/mentor roles, two at SIBC (on the SIBC/ABC Project Solomons), and one at the major newspaper, *Solomon Star*. They quickly discovered that education is an inherently political occupation (Kincheloe, 2008) and found themselves in strife with political leaders in an environment unlike their own professional background in journalism in a liberal democratic nation state (Solomons broadcast chief condemns action against Australian reporter, 2005). There are few publicly available documents about their work, but it is known that at least one, who was employed as news adviser/trainer with the SIBC News and Current Affairs Division, arrived in January 2005 and was told by the Solomon Islands government to leave in December 2006.

Two of the ABC International staff involved were approached for this research but declined to be interviewed. One was a senior ABC journalist with experience in public and commercial broadcasting in Australia and New Zealand. This trainer had 30 years' experience in the industry (including in Pacific broadcasting) and held a diploma of management. The second trainer also had more than 30 years' media experience, in both commercial and public service radio, including experience in regional Australia for the ABC. The third trainer was a long-time newspaper journalist with considerable editorial experience. Another staff member was approached to be interviewed, but declined, quoting contractual obligations not to speak about the project. There was nothing to suggest in any of the public biographies that at the time of their appointments the ABC International staff had any knowledge of Solomon Islands, its culture or languages, but one had reported on the Solomon Islands conflict.

Several Solomon Islands journalists and officials interviewed for this project confirmed that the presence of ABC trainers within the SIBC newsroom did not sit well with the government of the day, with uneasiness about the types of stories local journalists were being encouraged to write. As Kincheloe (2008) notes, knowledge is power, and the 'how and what' people are taught always serves a political agenda. A veteran Solomon Islands journalist who worked in government communications at the time remembers one ABC trainer had found herself on the outer with the then Prime Minister:

> He [Sogavare] seemed to believe the Australian media is very influential in the Pacific, even Asia, some parts of Asia. That's why he had this feeling that it's not fair to have Australian journalists or media workers positioned in some key media organisations here. He's got the fear that they might influence local reporters to report unfairly on the government, especially on his side. Which is also, I think, in some ways true. (Anonymous Government Official, Solomon Islands, INTERVIEW)

Another senior Solomon Islands journalist believed the Australian journalist's departure had more to do with management inadequacies at the SIBC, as both the owner and staff were happy with the work of the journalist at *Solomon Star*:

> It really didn't have anything to do with whether [the journalist] was an Australian or not. I think it was just the SIBC itself. …. So many people are sitting in it too comfortable and not doing anything, and when you get somebody coming in to try and bring some changes that would make the place move, you get antagonism. Everybody's out to protect their jobs, and I think that's basically what happened to [the journalists]. (Anonymous Senior Journalist, Solomon Islands, INTERVIEW)

Another cause for resentment by Solomon Islands journalists was due to the Australian government failing to set clear boundaries in regard to the Australians' aid work:

> I think a lot of it was based on no clear communication from AusAID about how this project would run, and what were the roles of the advisers. I think they also came in at a pretty bad period for the media at that time. We were waiting for a lot of help, and what we got at that time wasn't what we expected. (Anonymous Senior Journalist, Solomon Islands, INTERVIEW)

The first media intervention in Solomon Islands, then, had mixed results. While the owner of the *Solomon Star* was happy with the assistance provided in his newsroom by an experienced Australian newspaper journalist, there were tensions over the presence of ABC journalists in the Solomon Islands national broadcaster, with some feeling that the Australian trainers were unfairly targeted for criticism that was better directed at the ineffectual management of SIBC.

Media after the tensions

The Solomon Islands media market grew quickly in the years immediately after the cessation of the ethnic tensions, with new newspapers, *National Express* and *Island Sun*, direct competitors to the market-leader *Solomon Star*. As all newspapers were published in English they required readers to be literate in that language. They were also for people living in Honiara, with none for the outer islands.

Radio remained the most important medium for most Solomon Islanders. The national public service radio broadcaster SIBC was described as having the grandfather position in the market and there was a perception that other media depended on it for their news and information (Tebbutt Research, 2010, p. 27). However, by 2011 the SIBC was facing commercial competitors from Paoa Radio, ZFM100 and Gud Nius Redio (a semi-commercial Christian FM station).

Television, introduced post-2003, had little reach, with distribution limited and affordability another barrier. In 2010, the internet was still a dream (Tebbutt Research, 2010, p. 17).

With 80 percent of the population illiterate and unable to afford TV, radio was important, along with traditional methods of distributing news and information, still a part of Solomon Islands life, particularly in remote areas. The village chief and elders, especially those with relatives in Honiara, were often entrusted with delivering news. Church announcements were also important:

> The conch shell, fire and drum beating are still used in more remote areas. Modern media and communications have almost completely replaced these methods. When they are used, they are often simulated by media. (Tebbutt Rsearch 2010, p. 19)

Some isolated and poor places still heard news via short-wave or two-way radio broadcasts from Gizo or Munda in the Western province.

Tebbutt's audience research found that Solomon Islands' media were perceived as being Honiara-centric, even by those who lived in the capital. The report identified three particular sensitivities: political, provincial and cultural, classified by Tebbutt Research as apprehension about independence, accuracy and balance.

Second stage media strengthening

The media-strengthening initiative, the Solomon Islands Media Assistance Scheme (SOLMAS), was launched in 2008. It was an AusAID-funded medium for development projects delivered through a partnership between RAMSI and the ABC. Promoting its aim as 'improving the reach and quality of Solomon Islands media', SOLMAS set out to provide media training and consultancy to help the country develop the resources and skills necessary for journalists to publish accurate, well researched and in-depth coverage of their own country—a vital aspect of a well-functioning parliamentary democracy. SOLMAS was funded by RAMSI and managed by the ABC through the self-funding consultancy ABC International Development.

The SOLMAS project staff included an ABC manager based in Honiara, appointed in September 2008, two 'craft' trainers based in Honiara, and a project

manager based in Melbourne. One of the trainers was a senior journalist from the ABC, the other a former ABC rural reporter turned senior documentary maker. Other trainers were brought in from Australia on occasion. At the time of the field research the Honiara-based manager had been in Solomon Islands just over two years. She came with extensive experience in indigenous broadcasting and commercial television, with an MBA from a regional Australian university.

The SOLMAS project was practically a textbook example of the phenomenon referred to in *Public Sentinel: News Governance Reform* (Norris, 2010) outlining the need for a strengthening of news media institutions, alongside work with the public sector. In the foreword to Norris' book, Sina Odugbemi wrote:

> officials in donor agencies point out the sensitivity of many governments when it comes to any attempt to make the news media independent of government and better able to hold the government to account. (Norris, 2010, p. ix)

The SOLMAS programme claimed it was using 'best practice' for post-conflict fragile states; as the manager noted, 'We are doing a lot of talking with the stakeholders. We are doing more listening than talking'. This attention to listening instead of talking was noted by many of the Solomon Islands journalists:

> This is where I think SOLMAS has been more successful, because they've actually consulted with us, and asked us what we want to out of assistance that they can provide. (Anonymous Senior Journalist, Solomon Islands, INTERVIEW)

Several civil society leaders in Solomon Islands, not linked to the SOLMAS training, suggested the ABC trainers would never truly understand Solomon Islanders, their attitudes and behaviour. A businessman, born in Solomon Islands and at the time heading the local chapter of Transparency International, noted that in Solomon Islands, meaning was often conveyed in a way that could only be understood by Solomon Islanders: it could simply be in the choice of a particular word.

There was general insistence that it was best, where possible, to use trainers from Solomon Islands, then Melanesia, then the Pacific, before an Australian or New Zealander, because locals and people from the region better understood the environment and culture.

It was also noted that international trainers were 'fine' to teach the basics of journalism, but they could not understand the stories. Local journalists were required to explain the background and culture to stories:

> … sometimes you listen to the reports from overseas journalists who come through (the country) and we just laugh. They have no idea what's

> happening and it's not even close to what the real issues are. (Hawkins, television journalist, Solomon Islands, INTERVIEW)

On the other hand, a constant pressure in the training provided by SOLMAS was to train journalists to overcome their fear of interviewing men who held 'powerful positions and influence', and to ask 'higher' questions (Dinh & Heriot, 2010, p. 50):

> SOLMAS training to date has considerably improved the ability of journalists to overcome fears of intimidation and confront the 'big men' of Solomon Islands over matters such as corruption. This training must continue through exercises that challenge beliefs and through the involvement of authority figures in training so that journalists can ask meaningful and sometimes confronting questions without fear. (Ferguson & List, 2010, pp. 8-9)

Programme goals of SOLMAS

The SOLMAS project had five stated key components: strengthening Solomon Islands government and industry-based regulatory policy framework; strengthening the capacity of the commercial and community-based media and improving internal and external recognition of their roles; strengthening SIBC effectiveness and appropriately differentiating its roles as a public broadcaster and emergency service provider; maintaining a flexible support fund; and managing programmes (Ferguson, personal communication 2011). Of these, the first three were considered most significant for this research.

Those working on the SOLMAS project knew there were serious risks to its potential success, and these were given detailed consideration in the inception plan (Ferguson, 2009). Risks identified by SOLMAS were: a decline in political stability or the security situation; political interference undermining media independence; the economic situation declining and natural disasters preventing implementation.

In what appears to be an attempt to avoid some of the earlier problems between the Solomon Islands government and the Australian training journalists, the SOLMAS staff worked with the Media Association of Solomon Islands (MASI), to keep an appearance of distance between them and the broadcast and print media. Affiliated with other organisations, including the Pacific Islands News Association (PINA), MASI had received some support from UNESCO. In mid-2011 MASI officially had 14 members, although one new newspaper was not yet a member and dues had not been paid by a number of member organisations. Through MASI, the Australian staff had been hosting training sessions for the country's journalists every two weeks for two years.

Many of the country's journalists acknowledged the value of SOLMAS

consulting with the group on what the media required in terms of training and support. Senior journalists, however, wondered at the sustainability of the weekly training model, and favoured the support of more senior Solomon Islands staff within the newsrooms:

> I think especially we need to understand that SOLMAS will not be here for long. The capacity building of especially MASI will be vital. (Priestly Habru, Senior Journalist, Solomon Islands, INTERVIEW)

From the outset, the SOLMAS project documentation detailed apprehension that MASI might be unwilling or not completely transparent in providing access to its existing plans; that its members might be unwilling to allow access to staff for skills analysis or to contribute to shared training, or to allow their staff to participate in training opportunities. Further potential risks identified with work at SIBC included a legislative framework which impeded the SIBC's financial sustainability and the corporation's level of willingness to be transparent in providing access to existing plans and in revising plans and strategies.

Although there was criticism of parts of the SOLMAS project, those interviewed in Solomon Islands agreed that although the project was only at its midway point in 2011 at the time of the field work, the Australian staff were working steadily towards the goal of building capacity among the media. Journalism classes had begun at Solomon Islands College of Higher Education, weekly training sessions for election coverage on a Saturday morning had turned into bi-weekly sessions on a Tuesday, and senior reporters and editors were agitating for more international experience to develop their skills. One long-time Pacific journalist, turned RAMSI public relations officer, was enthusiastic in her praise for the SOLMAS work:

> We're in the process of developing a sense of a culture of journalism that is much healthier... this young generation… are getting a lot more stories, they're going after stuff. They're gaining in confidence, and they're playing a much more significant role in shaping the debate in this country. (O'Callaghan, RAMSI PR and former Journalist, INTERVIEW)

However, only a little earlier an all-media audience survey and qualitative report concluded that the media were still struggling with 'poor infrastructure, access, affordability, rapidly changing cultural values, Westernisation, and a leapfrogging of technologies'(Tebbutt Research, 2010, p. 5).

In 2015 skills acquisition for journalists was still being pursued, even by the Prime Minister, Manasseh Sogavare, who, in announcing the Prime Minister's Media Excellence Award for a top journalist said the prize was a scholarship in journalism studies. The Prime Minister said that, '… being a good journalist

would help the Solomon Islands to move forward in development and also help the country to trust the work of the media' (Solomon Islands: 'Breed good journalism' plea by PM, 2015).

Much of the initial training organised by SOLMAS was focused on three areas: craft skills, technical skills and knowledge/awareness raising. The craft skills courses were on writing and grammar for print/radio/television; presentation for TV/radio; editorial and newsroom management; and analysis of political information. The knowledge and awareness-raising courses included reporting on corruption and following the law; code of ethics and freedom of press and responsibilities; court and police reporting and understanding policing issues (Dinh & Heriot, 2010, p. 17).

Working with MASI, SOLMAS organised a series of workshops where journalists and political leaders prepared for the 2010 election. For the media, in-house training assistance was offered, along with short courses that any journalist, regardless of employer, could attend. More than 44 training days were held, focusing on skills such as grammar (from basic to advanced); news writing for radio, print and television; and story structure. Effort was channelled into education about election processes and issues of governance, as for many of the younger journalists this was their first election. Training covered electoral awareness; voter awareness and education (with Solomon Islands Electoral Commission); analysing election manifestos and the role of women in maintaining political balance (Ferguson, 2011). Although training was centred in Honiara, some was done in the provinces by Solomon Islanders who had been through train-the-trainer courses.

Using the 2006 election coverage in the *Solomon Star* and SIBC as a basis, SOLMAS worked with MASI on how to provide better coverage. As well as the training outlined above, they also organised pre-election forums for the candidates. There was also some in-house training: despite the Sogavare government being fiercely against placing media trainers within newsrooms, the owners and journalists all preferred in-house training. Employers preferred it because staff did not need time off to travel to training. Journalists liked the immediate feedback on the work they were doing.

> Only a few international trainers were brought in, including an election specialist from the ABC. Ferguson reported that the work of the Australian journalism trainer was welcomed: '*The National Express* wrote an article on him. He was hero worshipped'. (Ferguson, SOLMAS Manage, (INTERVIEW)

At the time of her research interview Mary O'Callaghan, the RAMSI public affairs officer, an award-winning journalist married to a Solomon Islander, had overseen six elections in Solomon Islands. She argued that coverage of the 2010 election was the most impressive, in terms of delivering real-time information,

the first-ever images of voting in provinces and a comprehensive network of SIBC to enable live crosses from all over the country on polling day, vote counting, and reactions to the different results. But in contrast, the late John Lamani of the *Solomon Star* gave little credit to SOLMAS and MASI for the improved election coverage, claiming his staff already had the skills to effectively cover elections and that the SOLMAS staff had favoured his competitors over him.

Effectiveness of SOLMAS

Interviews in Solomon Islands revealed wide appreciation from local officials, community organisations and journalists for the work of SOLMAS. Senior journalists were already hailing the project as having built capacity among journalists for the future.

All stakeholders agreed that support of the media sector in Solomon Islands would be needed for quite some time and all, but Lamani of the *Solomon Star*, agreed the SOLMAS training structure was a useful model for other countries. However, many warned that there should not be any direct export of the SOLMAS model to other places, even in the Pacific, because there was no one-size-fits-all formula:

> There's an elegant simplicity to this structure, that is probably pretty transferable, because it is not complicated. The ownership thing with the local media, and the project's taking guidance from that, and working then very closely and collegially on an ongoing basis. That's one thing that's impressed me with SOLMAS. … It's an ongoing, organic process if you like. (O'Callaghan, RAMSI PR and former Journalist, INTERVIEW)

ABC International, which managed SOLMAS, undertook three 'Independent Progress Reviews' over the life of the project, (O'Keeffe, 2012). The O'Keeffe review used OECD DAC criteria to assess the projects' relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, impact, sustainability, gender equality, monitoring and evaluation and analysis and learning. O'Keeffe concluded her report by recommending that media support continue in Solomon Islands, but that a new programme be designed to succeed SOLMAS with an emphasis on communication for development ('C4D'). She noted an effective media in Solomon Islands would remain essential as an enabler of informative, accurate and balanced communication (O'Keeffe, p.11).

O'Keeffe saw that SOLMAS had remained highly relevant to RAMSI objectives and had embarked on 'an ambitious but successful programme' of engagement with the broad range of the country's media (2012, p. 4). She dismissed disquiet by RAMSI about a high turnover among journalists after their training, noting that journalists left for other positions within the community, and as such the SOLMAS training continued to benefit local media.

O'Keeffe noted the SOLMAS project had lessened the many critical gaps caused by government inadequacies and the dire financial situation under which most media organisations operated. Nonetheless she warned that there was a danger that SOLMAS was creating a degree of dependence and displacing, or even replacing, the growth of local solutions (O'Keeffe, 2012, p. 10).

Conclusion

This article has provided a benchmark for further detailed examination of the issue of foreign aid and media education in Solomon Islands. It acknowledges that aid funding comes with a political agenda and that there are difficulties in evaluating the effectiveness of media education where recipient countries did not start as empty vessels to be filled with Australian values and behaviour. Drawing on the thinking of Kincheloe (2008), this article acknowledges that students (of journalism, or of anything else), need to be aware that power comes through attempts to win people's consent, by social and psychological means.

Despite some early political mistakes in the way media assistance was conducted by Australian staff, the later SOLMAS project performed some important work, especially around the 2010 election, with staff acutely aware of the limitations of the project and of the work of expatriate trainers.

This article also raises concern about ABC International's lack of transparency over the SOLMAS project (in fighting access to documentation about the project). It is ironic that the ABC International managers in Australia clearly saw their role firstly as part of Australian foreign policy, rather than journalism trainers/supporters of the Fourth Estate in the Pacific.

One of the biggest impediments to improving the quality of the Solomon Islands media was not in the SOLMAS terms of reference, but in the educational level of those working as journalists. The low level of education and status of journalists in Solomon Islands made it difficult for local staff to fulfil their role as the Fourth Estate. Many simply did not have the background in economics and history, nor the cultural and social capital, to ask probing and important questions of Solomon Islands politicians and other powerful figures—the questions needed if journalism is to provide the vital role of government watchdog.

A generational change in Solomon Islands newsrooms was hailed by some as refreshing, but others suggested it had resulted in a lowering of standards. The exodus of senior staff moving into government and NGO roles had left many newsrooms short of seniors to provide mentoring and guidance for the younger journalists. The wages and working conditions were blamed for a large part of the turnover.

The Solomon Islands College of Higher Education (SICHE) had started an accredited basic journalism certificate, led by a Solomon Islander with assistance from part-time Solomon Islands journalists. Prior to the establishment of this

course, students seeking a career in the media needed to train in other countries. The 15-unit certificate course was considered to be of a slightly higher level than a similar one offered in Vanuatu, in that it was just two subjects short of a diploma. It started with 25 students, but only 14 students continued. At the time of this research field work in 2011, the lecturer in charge was criticised for not having the depth of knowledge needed as many of those enrolled had practical experience and particular views about what they still needed to learn. Staff and assistant tutors all complained about the lack of equipment. A lack of resourcing meant that the handouts were not specific to Solomon Islands, but were Australian or from other Pacific nations.

So, while the SOLMAS brief was wide-ranging and gave staff the opportunity to influence the media environment through both technical advice and financial assistance, it was not wide enough to influence all sectors that needed to improve in watchdog journalism. By linking the Australian aid work practically to election reporting, SOLMAS could demonstrate tangible outcomes but it was less clear that these would continue to be improvements over time.

However, for a true understanding of the evolution of media skills and journalism in the Solomon Islands, a longitudinal—and independent study is required as the nation matures.

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4. Social stigmatisation, cultural coercion, and peer-pressure faced by Pacific student reporters

A *Wansolwara* student press case study in problem-based learning

Abstract: This set of three case studies, with elements of problem-based learning, examines how University of the South Pacific (USP) journalism students deal with social pressure applied by their peers, and the impact on learning. This is becoming an urgent and increasing concern due to the new, global realities of trolling and cyber bullying. This article is part of ongoing research into applied learning and teaching through the USP journalism student training newspaper, *Wansolwara*. The first case study deals with social stigmatisation, the second with intimidation, and the third with assault and cyber bullying. This article argues that social pressures are both a threat and an opportunity. As unpleasant as the hostile reactions are, they are a reality of practising journalism. Student reporters' exposure to such confronting situations provides an early taste of real world journalism. The learning outcomes show that the experience toughens students' resolve. For those bearing the brunt of the vitriol, coping mechanisms such as guidance by lecturers, support from fellow journalism students, family encouragement, and due recognition of their journalistic work, are critical. This article contends that unlike physical harm, psychological harm to student journalists is overlooked. This trend is risky, especially in the digital media age, and needs to be addressed.

Keywords: culture, cyber bullying, Fiji, Pacific Islands, problem-based learning, social pressure, trolling, USP Journalism Programme

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Introduction

LEARNING by doing, or problem-based learning (PBL), is considered a vital element of journalism training, and forms an integral part of the curricula at many journalism schools. At the University of the South Pacific

(USP) in Suva, Fiji, the multiple Ossie Award-winning student training newspaper *Wansolwara* has been a crucial component of journalism education for 20 years. Through the newspaper, students get their first real taste of establishing and building contacts, organising and conducting interviews, attending and reporting press conferences, writing news and features to deadline, and managing the editorial and production processes. The cost-benefit analysis of PBL has been much discussed. With regards to *Wansolwara*, previous papers looked at first-hand student experiences in circumventing gatekeeping at USP and skirting state censorship in covering the 2000 and 2006 Fiji coups. The exposure instilled problem-solving skills (Drugunalevu & Manarae, 2015; Robie, 2001; 2010).

This article seeks to determine the kinds of social pressures student reporters faced while covering news for *Wansolwara* and how they coped. As a melting pot of students and staff from 12-member Pacific Island countries (and beyond), USP's Laucala campus is a microcosm of the Pacific region. Pacific journalists face certain cultural, social and political barriers in trying to apply media's Fourth Estate principles in their localities. This includes harassment and violence from local politicians and their functionaries (Robie, 2002a; 2010; Smiles, 2001). Among other things, this study tries to establish whether student journalists are similarly affected in their coverage of USP student affairs and if there was any psychological impact.

The literature

This article is part of ongoing research into applied learning/teaching through the USP student press, *Wansolwara.* Previous papers looked at the institutional challenges of covering the Fiji coups and dealing with Fiji's punitive media decrees (Drugunalevu & Manarae, 2015; Robie 2001, 2010; Singh, 2010). This student-centred teaching approach has elements of 'problem-based learning'. This is an 'active, integrated and constructive' technique influenced by social and contextual factors (Barrows, 1996; Wilkerson & Gijselaers, 1996). Students recognise problems as 'professionally relevant' and they are subsequently 'more likely to be motivated' to work on them (as opposed to textbook exercises). The inspiration comes not only because students realise that the knowledge they gain will be useful, but also because students are typically given 'significant opportunities for creativity and flexibility' (Speaking of teaching, 2001, p. 2).

Journalism educators believe PBL allows students to 'skill-up quickly' and spend more time 'actually applying these skills to real life situations—and learning far more effectively in the process' (Meadows, 1997, p. 102). According to Robie (2012), teaching and learning based on the 'real world' of structured problems faced by newsroom professionals is a highly appropriate framework

for journalism school publishing. Hartnett (2010) too has emphasised the efficacy of the PBL methodology in a publishing context, noting that it enables media to become 'enmeshed to its very core in the larger promises of democratic governance, enlightenment principles and civic life' (p. 71). However, there are some potential traps, such as the tendency to mirror deadline-driven professional newsroom practices, rather than encourage a more critical framework. As a safeguard, PBL should go beyond the narrow realm of the reporter in a reconstructed newsroom by strengthening links with the academy to develop critical thinking (Meadows, 1997).

Through PBL, USP students learnt to deal with institutional pressure and state censorship, which has received some coverage. However, data on the impact of social pressure, especially from their peers, is lacking. Internationally, there is considerable knowledge about the traumas of reporting war, conflict, natural disasters, horrific accidents, sex crimes, and post-traumatic stress disorder (see Dart Center for Journalists: http://dartcenter.org/classroom-resources). Researchers such as Wake (2016) have queried what media educators are doing to train students for future reporting assignments in foreign conflict zones, particularly as underprepared freelance journalists lining up for assignments in trouble spots, with the prospect of dying on the job. Wake argues that the increased risks in deadly conflict zones makes it incumbent upon media educators to ensure that students are better prepared to undertake such jaunts after they graduate.

In the face of the potentially lethal dangers on overseas assignments, reporting on home soil, including the university environment, can appear benign. As such, the physical and emotional risks on local beats can be overlooked. This is underscored by the apparent scarcity of information on the kinds of pressures student reporters encounter on their 'regular' rounds and how such pressures might affect them. This gap needs to be addressed, especially given the peculiarities of practising journalism in the Pacific cultural and political contexts. As Robie writes:

> Customary obligations and pressures are frequently a burden on journalists in the South Pacific. Such obstacles create difficulties for many journalists. Often it takes raw courage to be a neophyte journalist in the Pacific. (Robie, 2002b, p. 147)

Culture is an important variable in the Pacific. It is the source of family and community power, to the point that anyone who defies certain cultural norms can be cast aside (Masoe & Prescott, 2011). This research involves a case in which a Samoan student reporter was accused of breaching the *fa'asamoa,* or the Samoan way. *Fa'asamoa* binds on the basis of shared values and beliefs, and is considered the embodiment of Samoan culture (Tuafuti, 2011; Swain,

1999). *Fa'asamoa* even weighs on the national media, which is expected to play an important role in fostering a sense of national culture and collective national identity through the exclusion or inclusion of others (Matthews, et. al., 2008; Kenix, 2015).

If cultural constraints are an old problem, social media is a new one. Hinduja and Patching (2007) write that a proliferation of chat rooms, online forums, and social media platforms have become a 'communal breeding ground' for users to verbally assault one another. This is cyber bullying, which constitutes repeated harm inflicted through the use of computers, cell phones, and other electronic devices to post humiliating information about someone in an online public forum (Hinduja & Patching, 2007). Trolling, closely associated with cyber bullying, involves individuals posting false information intended to hurt and/or antagonise their victims (Buckels, et. al. 2014). Cyber bulling and trolling thrive on the anonymity offered by the internet (Klempka & Stimson, 2014).

A handful of papers on troll attacks on student journalists were presented at the Fourth World Journalism Education Congress (WJEC) in Auckland in mid-2016. Wolfe (2016) looked at the damaging impact of trolling on new journalists. Wolfe's work was inspired by the realisation that the massive growth in cyber bullying had not been 'paralleled by the development of help and guidance for those involved in journalism'. Social media has not only increased the likelihood of cyber bullying, it has also enlarged its scope and magnitude, given the infiniteness of cyberspace. Wolfe's interviews with graduates and undergraduates found them encountering difficulties in handling negativity online. Some cases were 'quite shocking' and underscored the need to know how to deal with comments 'before they occurred, rather than afterwards, while reeling from the assault'. Her study found that 'acid-tongued' trolls had even managed to stifle online discussion in the case of *Popular Science* magazine, which scrapped its comments section, with the warning that 'lively, intellectual debate' and the ability to inform the public about science issues were 'under threat'. Wolfe's work not only highlights the risk to student journalists on cyberspace, but also the need to quickly recognise the threat and deal with it preemptively.

The *Wansolwara* experience shows that the intimidation and harassment of journalism students is neither new, nor is it confined to cyberspace. Insofar as *Wansolwara* is concerned, the phenomenon is nearly as old as the 20-year-old newspaper itself. New Zealand-based media academic Philip Cass (2016), the founding lecturer of *Wansolwara,* has highlighted how early in the paper's history, the coverage of some financial irregularities within the USP Student Association led to threats against student reporters.

Methodology

This study used non-probability purposive sampling, whereby the researcher

uses personal judgment to select case studies to help answer the research questions or achieve the research objectives (Black, 2010). The mixed purpose approach combines one or more purposive sampling techniques (Babbie, 2010). In this study we pooled three inter-related procedures: *critical case sampling,* which focuses on specific dramatic or important cases; *intensity method*, which selects a small number of excellent examples of the phenomenon of interest (but not extreme cases) based on prior knowledge; and *critical case selection*, which picks samples likely to yield the most information, or have the greatest impact.

This study's lead researcher has been teaching the print and online journalism course at University of the South Pacific since 2001. The associate researcher is a USP Journalism alumni, now a teaching assistant with the programme. We used prior knowledge and experience to systematically identify three news stories with information-rich narratives to be used as case studies. The articles—published in 2001, 2005 and 2015—dealt with the low pass rate of USP's Samoan students and the misuse of USP Student Association finances. These cases stood out because of the backlash they attracted when initially published. The story selection was guided by the literature on qualitative methodologies, which recommends small samples that provide key insights into the issues being explored. Size doesn't matter: As Patton (2002) asserts, the reliability and value of qualitative research is often enhanced by the information richness of the cases rather than the size of the sample.

After the stories were identified, the authors were contacted and informed about the study's goals, purpose and methods. All three agreed to participate and go on the record, with the option of withdrawing, without prejudice, at any time of their choosing. The interviews were conducted by phone, email and in person. The interview questions centred on the themes derived from the literature. They included:
- Did you expect the reactions that your story received?
- How well did the course prepare you for the stresses, and what more could be done?
- What were the psychological impacts of the negative reactions?
- How were your studies affected?
- What about your attitude towards journalism as a future career?
- Any long term impact and learning outcomes.

The data analysis drew insights from Braun and Clarke's (2006) six steps of thematic analysis, which involves close reading and understanding of the data, and identifying and analysing the themes and patterns that emerge. With regards to limitations, the first two interviewees had left the university when the interviews took place. The third interviewee was still a student. This blend yielded a good mix of reflective and current viewpoints.

Case Study One—Samoa Probes Study Slump

Case Study One involved the ostracism of Misa Vicky Lepou, then a final year Samoan student, over a page one lead story entitled Samoa Probes Study Slump published in September 2001. The story was about the Samoan government and New Zealand Aid investigating a dramatic slump in first year students' academic performance by up to 70 percent. The reasons cited included disruptions caused by Fiji's 2000 coup, excessive socialising, and homesickness. The story quoted prominent Samoans making appeals to the students to study harder.

According to Misa, the story was negatively received by the Samoan student body as it was deemed insulting (M. V. Lepou, personal communication, 6 June 2016). Misa's actions were seen to have breached Samoan solidarity, based on the cultural concept of *fa'asamoa*, which means the Samoan way. *Fa'asamoa* requires individuals to act in the best interest of the wider community rather than individual interests (Masoe & Prescott, 2011; Raby & Tarrow, 2013). Misa had some premonition about the negative reaction, but she was not wholly prepared for the full extent of the backlash, which included being shunned and excluded from the Samoan student community. She was brought to tears by a particularly harsh reaction from a fellow Samoan student. Her parents came to mind, and she started questioning herself. Her studies were affected, and for a short while, she felt like giving up journalism. Misa stated:

> I was emotionally depressed. I tried so much to keep myself together and think things over; whether I did the right thing or not given the impact of the story on our community. (Lepou, personal communication, 6 June 2016)

With regards to coping mechanisms, Misa said support of journalism staff and fellow students was crucial. Studying about the challenges Pacific Island journalists faced helped prepare her for the coming ordeal. The journalistic work of her lecturer, David Robie, was an inspiration:

> The intense programme exposed me to a lot of case studies that featured far worse risks regional and international journalists faced. Seeing David Robie's work and how he has been behind us all was something to be proud of. (Lepou, personal communication, 6 June 2016)

Family support was also vital. When the story reached Samoa, Misa's father indicated that he was proud of her work. Misa stated: 'Your family of course will always be the first behind you' (Lepou, personal communication, 6 June 2016). With regards to learning outcomes, Misa indicated that the experience made her 'thick-skinned'. She realised that negative reactions to some stories were inevitable. She was willing to endure the consequences if the story led to positive outcomes.

> I thought that if this story is going to have an impact (politically) on my education, I would endure the consequences. But it will not change who I am if it's my calling to be a journalist. (Lepou, personal communication, 6 June 2016)

On how well the journalism course prepared her to face such forms of social pressure, Misa stated that the emphasis on journalistic independence and the importance of the watchdog role were quite relevant. On what could be done to better prepare students, Misa recommended more mentoring and forewarning about the possible consequences of certain stories.

Case Study Two—Audit Shock

Case Study Two involved threats and coercion against second year student Erica Lee, for a page one lead story entitled, Audit Shock, published in September 2005. The story highlighted an audit report showing a FJ$90,000 discrepancy in the USP Student Association finances. This included 'fictitious' expenditure that might never be recovered. The student president and treasurer refused comment. There were allegations of personal purchases, including a car. A separate committee had been formed to look into the matter. Police had also been called in.

The student executives disputed the facts in the story. Lee faced a menacing response, with three student executives warning her that 'something would happen' if she did not retract the story. On another occasion, one executive drove his car towards her in an intimidating manner while she was crossing outside USP (E. Lee, personal communication, 15 June 2016). The executives in question hurled abuse at Lee when they came across her on campus. Lee had a suspicion there would be a backlash:

> Yes, I was prepared. My lecturer Shailendra was a great mentor and he had helped me with the initial story structure and told me about what I might expect after publishing the story. (Lee, personal communication, 15 June 2016)

For several weeks, Lee was constantly looking over her shoulder, which affected her movement (Lee, personal communication, 15 June 2016). However, in time, Lee not only overcame her initial apprehensions, she felt that she had become a better student as a result of the experience. She developed a stronger interest in reporting and started writing more articles for *Wansolwara*. Regarding learning outcomes, Lee stated that she became familiar with some of the practicalities of financial procedures and developed a keenness for investigative journalism:

> …as time passed, I thought that what I was doing was right. I received a lot of great feedback. It also helped me to refocus as a student because in my first year, I didn't really put in a lot of effort. I became interested in

> investigative journalism. That was probably part of the reason why I joined the anti-corruption commission as a public affairs officer. (Lee, personal communication, 15 June 2016)

In terms of coping mechanisms, the USP Journalism Students Association (JSA) was quite crucial. Three senior male journalism students chaperoned her around campus. The guidance, support, and mentoring from the lecturers also helped. She felt that the experience hardened her resolve. Lee was further buoyed by winning an award at the annual USP Journalism awards.

> I received a lot of great feedback on the story. Being recognised with two awards for those investigative pieces really made me feel proud. Even though there were weeks of fear, I overcame that. The network and support that JSA provides is great. (Lee, personal communication, 15 June 2016)

On how well the course prepared her to handle such pressures, Lee stated that the lecturers had informed her about what to expect. On what could be done to better prepare students, Lee felt that a thorough briefing about the risks would be useful, as well as guidelines on how to respond to aggressive reactions, including clear instructions about who to call, and the formation of peer support networks (Lee, personal communication, 15 June 2016).

Case Study Three—Five Years, Zero Audits

In Case Study Three, the line between intimidation and violence was crossed, and cyber bullying emerged as a new threat. It was in reaction to another page one story titled, Five Years, Zero Audits, published in April 2015. Written by second year student Shalveer Singh, the story revealed that the student body had failed to produce audited accounts for five consecutive years since 2009. The USP Student Federal chair Whitlam Saeni blamed the failure to audit on inadequate funding, although the 2013 annual income was nearly FJ$214,000. Asked whether the student association was transparent, acting president Andrew Semeli replied: '50/50'.

Shortly after the story was published, Saeni, a Solomon Islander, disputed some facts, and stated that he had not given permission to have his photo taken during the interview. Saeni assaulted Singh on campus (USP probe over student chief attack, 2015). Singh, who was shaken but unhurt, also faced cyber bullying. On whether he had anticipated such a reaction, Singh said that he had learnt how journalists were sometimes treated badly. He was ready to take risks in future, but did not expect problems in his second year of studies. Cyber bullying came as a complete surprise (S. Singh, personal communication, 25 June 2016). In Singh's case, the online comments were posted on the Solomon Island Students Association Facebook page. One comment described Singh as 'gay' while another

said that Saeni should have punched Singh 'harder'.

Initially, Singh was quite disheartened, but he recovered. In terms of the impact on his education, the incident did not change his views about studying or practising journalism. Regarding coping mechanisms, the support of fellow students and mentoring by the lecturers was a boost (Singh, personal communication, 25 June 2016).

Winning an award at the annual USP Journalism prize-giving was further inspiration. In terms of learning outcomes, Singh realised the value of thoroughly researching the subject matter and asking tough questions. He also learnt lessons beyond journalism, such as dealing with USP administration in relation to his case and following things through. He was encouraged to see the USP Student Association make positive changes as a result of his story. Reflected Singh:

> I realised this was my chosen career so I have to cope with incidents psychologically. Seeing the student association start to audit their reports properly was empowering. (Singh, personal communication, 25 June 2016)

On how well the course prepared students to face such pressures, Singh said he did not anticipate being assaulted or cyber bullied because these sorts of actions by student leaders were unexpected. Singh believes journalism students should be briefed in their first year about what to do if caught in this type of situation. He felt that the revival of the JSA was really important.

Discussion of the findings and USP journalism responses

In this section, we collate, group and analyse related themes, and discuss USP Journalism's responses.

On how well the course prepared students for the pressures and what more could be done:

In all three case studies, the student reporters had only some inclination about what was in store. They felt that they could have been better prepared with more forewarning. Misa Vicky Lepou was caught unawares by her fellow Samoans' chilly reception and hostility; Erica Lee did not expect the thuggish behaviour she encountered; and Shalveer Singh was surprised by his assault and the cyber bullying. Class discussions, case studies of journalist repression in the Pacific as well as briefings and prior warnings by the lecturers helped. Students suggested that briefings could be more thorough, specific with greater emphasis on how to respond to and cope with both aggressive and non-aggressive reactions.

USP Journalism response: Staff briefed students about the potentially negative fallouts, but to some extent, they too were caught unawares, partly because the specifics and full extent of what unfolds after a story is published cannot always be anticipated, and partly because the students did not fully inform staff

about the seriousness of the developments. In PBL, teachers act as facilitators rather than disseminators (Barrows, 1996), but this study indicates that, even while merely facilitating, the lecturers still need to work closely with students, especially on potentially troublesome stories. This has to happen throughout the course of the assignment to better anticipate potential outcomes and strategise how to respond to specific cases. Course outlines focus more on how to cover and write stories, and far less on how to respond to the fallout. This imbalance needs to be addressed, particularly in the internet age, as Wolfe's (2016) pioneering work indicates.

Lecturers also need to keep students fully updated about any and all negative reactions to a story as often, students are not forthcoming about harassment issues. The lead author knew about some of the issues associated with the case studies used, but only became fully aware of what the students had to endure after conducting this research. The findings highlight the need for tutorials and workshops on forms of social pressure students could face. This research, and others about the challenges faced by *Wansolwara* reporters (Drugunalevu & Manarae, 2015), could be introduced into teaching.

On the emotional impact of the negative reactions, effect on studies, and coping mechanisms:
For a short while, students experienced fear, hurt, depression, sadness, self-doubt, anger, and disheartenment. At least one student said she felt like giving up journalism. For Misa Vicky Lepou, allegations that her story dishonoured *fa'asamoa* cut deep. Because Samoan society encourages individuals to identify themselves as part of the extended community (Masoe & Prescott, 2011; Raby & Tarrow, 2013), portraying Misa as an outsider from within was an effective way of making her feel isolated from her closely-knit campus community. For her and the two other student reporters, the coping mechanisms included staff, student and family support, positive feedback received on stories, and being recognised at the awards night.

USP Journalism response: This research was a revelation of sorts with respect to the emotional turmoil experienced by students. Misa Vicky Lepou's case study highlighted the clash between media's liberally-oriented Fourth Estate role applied by Pacific journalists, and some Pacific cultural norms based on group rights and respect for authority (Kenix, 2015; Tupuola, 1994). This is a tension whose effects on young student journalists needs to be monitored and addressed.

This study's findings could have international ramifications in terms of coping mechanisms to deal with the emotional stress students encounter in the line of duty, especially given the growing risk of trolling globally (Wolfe, 2016). This research showed that positive feedback on stories and recognition of journalistic endeavour countered the negativity. Another boost was support from fellow journalism students. These findings vindicated USP Journalism's

move to encourage the revival of the JSA and the awards ceremony. In 2016, the JSA reported to USP authorities alleged harassment of a student journalist by a USP staff member while on assignment. The JSA lodged the complaint jointly with the USP Students Association (the irony is worth noting). In June 2016 the JSA also issued a media statement in support of the striking University of Papua New Guinea students (USP students condemn 'highly reckless' police, 2016). The JSA president Shalveer Singh urged the authorities to exercise restraint, criticised the police for their 'recklessness' and described the PNG students as our 'brothers and sisters' (USP students condemn, 2016). This example shows that journalism student associations can be an integral 'part' of PBL. Besides camaraderie with victimised students, such associations play a part in increasing students involvement in democratic governance and civic life. In the case of JSA, such consciousness transcend their own university and national borders. Hartnett (2010) has highlighted such outcomes of PBL in journalism.

Based on the findings, USP Journalism has taken steps to encourage the JSA to expand and solidify its networks to include media advocacy groups such as the Pacific Freedom Forum, the Fiji Media Association, and the Pacific Media Centre, based at the Auckland University of Technology. USP journalism students are members of the Fiji Media Association and participate in its activities. Other coping mechanisms include the USP counselling centre at the Laucala Campus. The centre provides free, confidential professional services to both students and staff. USP Journalism has resolved to be more alert and report the more serious cases to the police.

Long-term impact on student journalists and learning outcomes
As previously discussed, the despondency felt by the affected students was temporary, and any thoughts about dropping out of the journalism course were fleeting, with all completing their programmes. In all three cases, the students emerged stronger from the experience. One student stated, it 'made me thick-skinned' while another found it 'empowering'. This is evidence of preparation for the future challenges of practising journalism as professionals (Robie, 2012). For example, Singh was motivated to do more investigative stories (his next major assignment in 2016 looked at the increasing availability of hard drugs in Fiji). The case studies showed that through applied journalism, students who had been coasting through their coursework began to take their studies more seriously. This illustrates increased student motivation driven by working on real-life, professionally-relevant problems, a strong feature of PBS (Speaking of teaching, 2001, p. 2).

USP Journalism response: The PBL approach offered early lessons on how to deal with negativity, threats and harassment. Unpleasant as such hostile reactions were, they were not entirely unwelcome. The case studies show that learning to

cope with antagonism builds student resolve, which cannot be fully achieved in the classroom alone. The case studies reinforce the idea of encouraging student journalists to tackle difficult story assignments rather than avoid them. That the students did not experience any long-term effects as a result of their negative experiences does not negate the need for the establishment of strong support systems. Not all students would be as hardy as those in the case studies, who were assigned the difficult stories in the first place because of their leadership potential. The case studies represent just one incident, from which recovery was fairly swift. In the real world, the pressures will likely be much higher and more frequent, particularly in the Pacific context (see Smiles, 2001).

Conclusion

This research analysed how USP student journalists coped with intimidation, cultural coercion and assault from their peers while on the beat. The study followed previous ones on how students tackled institutional pressures, and the learning outcomes, such as developing new problem-solving skills in real life situations (Drugunalevu & Manarae, 2015). This latest paper, focused on social pressure, indicated that student journalists developed resilience and fortitude, and a deeper appreciation of the media's watchdog role. The experiences were deemed as good preparation for life as a professional journalist in the Pacific context.

The outcomes reiterate the efficacy of the PBL approach in journalism education and strengthen the findings of previous studies on the subject matter (Robie, 2012). The study reinforces the idea that students should not be cocooned because they learn from exposure to confronting situations. However, if students are going to be exposed to antagonising situations, then it is incumbent upon journalism educators to better understand and deal with the potential psychological hazards. So far the emphasis seems to have been on physical hazards (Dart Centre, n.d; Wake, 2016), which implies that they are considered more important than psychological hazards. This attitude is being challenged in the internet age and proliferation of social media, which pose new and magnified threats. Even students covering the supposedly benign campus beats are not immune to cyber bullying and trolling (see Wolfe, 2016). These forms of pressure are not to be underestimated as they can be psychologically and emotionally damaging, especially for youth, even driving them to the point of attempting suicide (Hinduja & Patching, 2007), more so in the trolling environment.

The case studies showed that the under-pressure student reporters thrived on the support received from fellow students, teaching staff and family members. This support network played an important part in helping students shake off the negativity and carry on with the journalistic work with renewed zeal. Students also received succour from the journalism student body, the USP students association, professional journalists association and regional media advocacy

groups. University journalism programmes might want to consider supporting the establishment of similar networks: As Wolfe (2016) has pointed out, students will need support to deal with the new troll environment. Otherwise, they may avoid encounters and self-censor. Wolfe's assertions show that social pressures can affect the very core of journalism, and need to be taken seriously as part of learning and teaching.

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5. From *Pacific Scoop* to *Asia Pacific Report*

A case study in an independent campus-industry media partnership

Abstract: Media convergence within the news and current affairs landscape over the past two decades has opened opportunities for competing newspapers, television stations and online publishers to form alliances to approach digital and editorial challenges with innovative strategies. The partnerships have often enabled journalists to embrace multimedia platforms with flexibility and initiative. This has fostered a trend in 'gatewatching' and a citizen responsive and involved grassroots media rather than legacy mainstream gatekeeping, top-down models. Such committed media attempts in search of investigative journalism accompanied by 'public' and 'civic' journalism engagement initiatives have also been emulated by some journalism schools in the Asia-Pacific region. This has paralleled the evolution of journalism as a research methodology with academic application over the past decade. Selecting two New Zealand-based complementary and pioneering Pacific digital news and analysis publications, *Pacific Scoop* (founded 2009) and *Asia-Pacific Report* (2016), produced by a journalism school programme in partnership with established independent media as a combined case study, this article will demonstrate how academia-based gatewatching media can effectively challenge mainstream gatekeeping media. *Pacific Scoop* was established by an Auckland university in partnership with New Zealand's largest independent publisher, Scoop Media Limited, and launched at the Māori Expo in 2009. The article also explores the transition of *Pacific Scoop* into *Asia-Pacific Report*, launched in partnership with an innovative web-based partner, *Evening Report*. The study analyses the strategic and innovation efforts in the context of continuing disruptions to New Zealand's legacy media practices related to the Asia-Pacific region.

Keywords: Asia Pacific Report, digital media, experiential learning, gatekeeping, gatewatching, independent media, legacy media, New Zealand Pacific Scoop, Papua New Guinea, problem-based learning, Samoa, Scoop Media, student publication

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Introduction

MEDIA convergence within the news and current affairs landscape over the past two decades has opened opportunities for competing newspapers, television stations and online publishers to form alliances to approach digital and editorial challenges with innovative strategies. The partnerships have often enabled journalists to embrace multimedia platforms with flexibility and initiative (Dailey, Demo & Spillman, 2005; Flew, 2009). This has fostered a trend in gatewatching, citizen responsive and involved grassroots media rather than more conventional mainstream gatekeeping, top-down models (Bruns, 2011). Such committed media attempts in search of investigative journalism accompanied by 'public' and 'civic' journalism engagement initiatives have also been emulated by some journalism schools in the Asia-Pacific region (Cass, 2002, 2016; Robie, 2001, 2004, 2006, 2012, 2014). This has paralleled the evolution of journalism as a research methodology with academic application over the past decade (*Asia-Pacific Media Educator* [various], 2015; Bacon, 2006, 2012; Davies, 2009, 2014; 2016; Flew, 2009; Nash, 2016; Pearson, Patching & Wilshere-Cumming, 2015; Robie, 2015, 2016a). Selecting two New Zealand-based complementary and pioneering Pacific digital news and analysis publications, *Pacific Scoop* and *Asia-Pacific Report*, produced by a journalism school programme in partnership with established independent media as a combined case study, this article will demonstrate how academia-based gatewatching media can effectively challenge mainstream gatekeeping media. *Pacific Scoop* was established by Auckland University of Technology's Pacific Media Centre in partnership with New Zealand's largest independent publisher, Scoop Media Limited, and launched at the Māori Expo in Auckland in 2009. It has operated successfully since then with several student-driven postgraduate media projects, including the Leaders Summit of the 16-nation Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) in Auckland, New Zealand, in 2011, featuring the UN Secretary-General; the 2012 PIF Forum in the Cook Islands with US State Secretary Hilary Clinton as a visiting dignitary; the 2014 West Papua media freedom symposium and Fiji General Election ending eight years of post-military coup pariah status; and the 30th anniversary in 2015 of the bombing of the environmental ship *Rainbow Warrior* by French secret agents.

The 'live' experiential approach provided by problem-based learning (PBL) environments develops confidence and a sense of competence among student journalists (Berney & Robie, 2007; Cass, 2002; Hanney, 2005; Hartnett, 2010; Meadows, 1997; Pearson, 2000; Robie, 2010; Robie & Singh, 2004; Sheridan Burns & Hazell, 1999). As a concept, it is regarded as a method of 'learning by discovery' as initially developed by Plato. Students use intuition to solve problems in a simulated or real context. In modern times, PBL became widely adopted by health sciences in the 1950s in the United States (Meadows, 1997, pp. 98). It

was later adapted as a methodology by other disciplines, including architecture, engineering and geography. Several journalism schools in Australia adopted it in the mid-1990s, especially related to covering issues such as cross-cultural reporting and youth suicides (Sheridan Burns & Hazell, 1999). Teaching and learning based on the 'real world' of structured problems faced by newsroom professionals is a highly suited framework for journalism school publishing. As Sheridan Burns and Hazell have described it:

> Valuing process over product and learning over teaching, it aims to develop life-long learning skills so that graduates can apply their knowledge and understanding to new situations. (Sheridan Burns & Hazell, 1999, p. 58)

Problem-based learning—active, constructive and reflexive—is arguably the closest tertiary students can get to real-life experience before graduation. It involves greater realism and free inquiry and develops decision-making skills. It also calls on students making greater use of their existing knowledge to gain new knowledge, skills and insight. Hanney argues that problem-based learning (PBL) as an educational methodology, or strategy, using 'live projects' broadens learning opportunities beyond the transfer of factual knowledge and generalisations. He says it can be thought of as 'both a curriculum and a process' (Hanney, 2005, p. 109). Often the PBL process is designed to produce students who will take up a challenge with initiative and enthusiasm; reason reflectively, accurately and creatively from an integrated and flexible knowledge base; monitor and assess their own progress; and collaborate effectively as a team to achieve a common goal—in this case the newspaper or news outlet. According to Savin-Baden, with this form of experiential learning, students are encouraged to 'use reasoning abilities to manage and solve complex problems' (Savin-Baden & Major, 2004, p. 11). Based on 20 years of experience as a prisons rights and peace advocate, Hartnett, 2010 has argued for a form of media education that is more enriching intellectually and made more politically relevant by 'turning our efforts toward community service, problem-based learning and new means of collective scholarly production' for educating journalists. This means creating and developing independent and robust campus-based media. He argues that using PBL as a methodology in teaching journalism in a publishing context helps media becoming 'enmeshed to its very core in the larger promises of democratic governance, enlightenment principles and civic life' (p. 71). While all four of the case example news issues assessed in this article contrast in their structure and style, use of PBL as a learning experience is a common factor and this has been most developed with *Asia Pacific Report*.

The case study includes these and other projects as indicators of independent journalism produced by postgraduate student journalists who covered, researched

and analysed contemporary events and issues. Since the legacy business model for Scoop Media has changed into a dynamic crowdfunding and public foundation approach (Thompson, 2015), the article explores the transition of *Pacific Scoop* into a new independent digital venture, *Asia-Pacific Report*, launched in early 2016 with an innovative web-based partner, *Evening Report*. The study researches and analyses the strategic and innovation efforts in the context of continuing disruptions to New Zealand's legacy media practices related to the Asia-Pacific region.

Public interest journalism renewal of Scoop and *Pacific Scoop*

Founded in 1999, Scoop Media, arguably the most important and most innovative of independent news media organisations for more than a decade in New Zealand, established a 'hub of intelligence for the professionals (not just media)' (Scoop Media, n.d.). As an online strategy, the news of the day was delivered free in the public domain in a form 'creating a no-spin media environment'. With an eroding advertiser base in the past five years, it was clear the strategy needed to be modified for survival. Towards the end of 2014, Scoop initiated a transformation by becoming New Zealand's first general news publisher owned by a charitable trust board. Dubbed 'Operation Chrysalis', the project set out to turn the 16-year-old online publishing business into a new business model— 'one connected directly to its readers, [and] owned by a not-for-profit' (Scoop Foundation for Public Interest Journalism, 2015). A message from the 'new Scoop' team declared:

> The New Scoop publishing company will shortly adopt a new constitution which will add further protections around editorial integrity.
>
> Today [15 September 2015] we launched a website and public campaign to announce the fruits of our work at takebackthenews.nz. All our readers, and indeed all New Zealanders, are invited to participate in the future of the Scoop project.
>
> With the use of an infographic this document sets out how the New Scoop structure is designed and intended to work. (Scoop Foundation, 2015)

The statement said the 'challenge of Scoop' was 'creating a village' (Figure 1):

> The challenge of Scoop is one of coming together for a common purpose—to protect and preserve the function and values of professional news in New Zealand society during a period of great economic disruption to the news industry. On Day One, 16th September, New Scoop will begin again as a start-up, albeit one which is a little over 16 years old and which already has substantial income and 500,000 monthly readers. (Scoop Foundation, 2015)

Figure 1: Scoop's designer Scott Broadley created this 'village' infographic to set out 'key relationships' in the vision for the new not-for-profit structure.

In early 2016, Alastair Thompson stepped down as editor and was replaced by former senior *Listener* journalist Gordon Campbell. In March, the Scoop Foundation Trust Board announced that veteran journalist and broadcaster Jeremy Rose and Public Good Aotearoa convenor Jan Rivers had been appointed as members. Margaret Thompson remained as Trust Board chair with the fourth member being Alastair Thompson. The announcement also stated that the New Scoop was 'supported by nearly 1000 Scoop Foundation members and over 100 accredited organisations' (New trustees for Scoop Foundation, 2016).

In an impact statement published in June 2016, the Scoop Foundation for Public Interest Journalism stated that 'an informed citizenry is a basic requirement for democracy. Our founding support is to support ethical journalism training and the publication of trustworthy public interest information, freely accessible

to all New Zealanders'. The statement also said 'Scoop Publishing Ltd publishes www.scoop.co.nz and is a wholly-owned subsidary of the Charitable Trust. All profits must be applied to the objectives of the Trust' (Scoop Foundation for Public Interest Journalism, 2015).

Given this vision of creating a sustainable, low-cost, business model that provides for 'free access to independent, reliable, archived news information for more people in New Zealand' and a platform to support the diversity of voices that reflects the 'real society' of New Zealand, it may seem curious timing that one of the educational components of the Scoop umbrella should choose to break away and launch a new initiative (Scoop Foundation, 2016). However, on closer examination, it is clear why *Pacific Scoop* morphed into the independent *Asia Pacific Report* in January 2016.

Pacific Media Centre Online was established in mid-2007 as the umbrella website for AUT's Pacific Media Centre (PMC), a research and publication unit providing independent research tools, books and resources for the region (www.pmc.aut.ac.nz). It also initially became the publication outlet for students on a postgraduate Asia-Pacific Journalism Studies paper, established in 2007 as the first course of its kind at any New Zealand university. The *PMC Online* website was closely associated with the *Pacific Journalism Review* research journal's website www.pjreview.info and the Pacific Media Watch monitoring service and database. Both the PMC and Scoop Media Ltd, collaborated to launch *Pacific Scoop* as a specialist news and analysis coverage of the South Pacific region. It was also both an educational outlet and a publication open to contributing academics and journalists. Catering for this niche field was a collaborative effort between Scoop co-editor Selwyn Manning and me. In August 2009, the partnership between the PMC and the Scoop Media group resulted in the launching of *Pacific Scoop* as a joint collaborative publication at the AUT Māori Expo. This was a unique development between an industry media group and an academic institution. The then Scoop co-editor and general manager, Alastair Thompson, recalled:

> Pacific coverage is something that Scoop has focused on since we were founded in 1999 shortly before New Zealand hosted APEC in Auckland. We have always sought to service New Zealand news needs with an eye on the international—and in that regard the Pacific is the area that we as a nation are most concerned with and most engaged with. We also identified that the Pacific is an area which is poorly covered by New Zealand and international media and is therefore something we could make an impact in. In the four years from 2004-2008 Scoop had also covered the Pacific Forum closely. (A. Thompson, personal communication, 23 May 2011).

At the time, Scoop was ranked third by the Neilsen Net/Ratings in its news category and was 'finally recognised' in the Qantas Media Awards as a finalist for Best News

Site in 2007 (Introducing Scoop.co.nz, 2011). According to Thompson, the opportunity to work with the PMC arose shortly after I established the centre in 2007. 'We had previously worked with David in coverage of the Fiji coups and other Pacific news via his *Pacific Media Watch* service,' he said. 'Around the same time, we had just established the hosting infrastructure which made launching and populating *Pacific Scoop* significantly easier.' The PMC's connections to media organisations and contributors throughout the Pacific 'are unparalleled' and so it seemed like a relationship which would 'work well for both parties' (Thompson, personal communication, 2011). Thompson cate- gorised the weaknesses of New Zealand media reportage of the region thus:

> Generally coverage of the Pacific only occurs in New Zealand media in times of crisis and disaster. This is not ideal. Scoop's stream of raw news (press releases and speeches), however, is [fairly] constant and can form a more comprehensive backdrop to the news coverage which is provided by PMCs correspondents and students when news of significance to them arises. (Thompson, personal communication, 2011)

Then Scoop co-editor Selwyn Manning reflected after the launch of *Pacific Scoop*:

> Once the idea was conceived, common ground between Scoop Media and the Pacific Media Centre was identified. We shared a vision of creating and sustaining a web-based media hub that would offer insightful items (both written text and multimedia reports) to an audience that is interested in, and active in, Pacific issues and affairs both here in Aotearoa/New Zealand and in the wider Pacific region. (S. Manning, personal communication, 10 October 2009)

Pacific Scoop described itself as a new regional 'hub' portal partnership venture: 'The idea is to produce a distinct blend of news, current affairs and analysis—a fresh and independent "voice" of the Pacific … We are keen to tell the hidden stories and address justice for the marginalised.' Education, culture, creativity, environment, health, human rights, media, social justice, resource development, regional security and technology are some of the topics high on the reportage and learning list for student journalists. '*Pacific Scoop* is a good example of developing synergies between academia and industry,' noted Manning (Ibid.) It is an example of a symbiotic relationship between Scoop Media and the PMC. The centre brings a wealth of experience on Pacific affairs, and alongside this experience comes the 'respect of significant academics, journalists, students, decision-makers from throughout the Pacific'. These contacts, and the information they submit to *Pacific Scoop*, is what sets it aside from other online offerings, Manning added.

Students at Auckland University of Technology on the postgraduate Asia-Pacific Journalism course produced the bulk of the original news and current affairs copy and images. They were required to produce a portfolio of three in-depth news feature articles on a Pacific issue of up to 1200 words and a minimum of five sources. Supplementing the daily file from students from AUT, Divine Word University in Papua New Guinea, USP and the National University of Samoa were articles by leading Pacific academic staff, such as economics professor Wadan Narsey, development studies professor Crosbie Walsh, and governance associate professor Scott MacWilliam at the Crawford School of the Australian National University, regional journalists and civil society advocates and analysts. Complementing the PMC's initiative, Professor Walsh, who founded the development studies programme at the University of the South Pacific, had himself been a prominent Fiji blog publisher (crosbiew.blogspot.com) and authored a definitive paper on Fiji political and media blogs (Walsh, 2010), noted:

> There are television and radio channels devoted to the Pacific but they are aimed primarily at a Pacific Islander audience. *Pacific Scoop* appeals to a wider audience, it can (and does) publish controversial material and, other than the blogs, readers interested in Pacific Islands affairs have nowhere else to go… Its neutrality and political balance gives it entry to places where the more polemical blogs rarely trespass. I think its greatest weakness is its vulnerability: it relies too heavily on the work of one man, and it operates on limited finances. (C. Walsh, personal communication, 26 May 2011)

The metamorphosis from *Pacific Scoop* to *Asia Pacific Report*

By late 2015, the climate around *Pacific Scoop* had changed (Figure 2). Co-founder Selwyn Manning had resigned as co-editor in 2011 and concluded his roles on Scoop Media's board in the same year. Through his new company, Multimedia Investments Ltd, Manning founded in 2012 security-intelligence analysis site 36th-Parallel.com, open-source intelligence sites ForeignAffairs.co.nz, LiveNews.co.nz, NewsKitchen.eu and de.Newskitchen.eu in 2012. The following year, he co-founded the highly popular *Daily Blog*, which recruited an ever-growing stable of progressive columnists and commentators and collaborated with Radio Waatea to offer New Zealand's only daily current affairs programme, the half-hour *Fifth Estate*. In 2014, Manning founded and launched EveningReport.nz in which reportage and analysis converged with public service webcasting.

By then the PMC had found the *Pacific Scoop* format increasingly limited for the type of ground-breaking digital initiatives it wanted to achieve. An active digital microsite collaboration with Little Island Press publisher Tony Murrow led to production of Eyes of Fire: 30 Years On, a digital microsite based on my

Figure 2: *Pacific Scoop* **at the time of changeover and launch of** *Asia Pacific Report,* **29 January 2016.**

updated 1989 book, *Eyes of Fire: The Last Voyage of the Rainbow Warrior* (Robie, 2016a). Featuring a series of oral histories produced by AUT journalism and television students in 2015, was a key factor in the PMC's enthusiasm to establish a pioneering new venture. A subsequent meeting with Manning, who outlined a series of options, convinced me to press ahead with establishing *Asia Pacific Report*.

Reflecting on the 2009 launch of *Pacific Scoop*, Manning argues that 'it was quite a successful effort at branding a niche service like this', but he cautioned that perhaps it benefitted strongly from being attached to Scoop Media (Manning, personal communication, 6 July 2016). Manning also offered some insights into the changing times.

> Since 2009, Scoop Media Ltd suffered from stagnation and also a significant drop in revenue. [This was] largely due to increased competition in the online domestic news market and a collapse of the online advertising market. Consequently its brand suffered from the company's inability to

> inject surplus-to-operation revenue into site and function development. Its internal pressures also prevented it from addressing a shift in online audience behaviour including a dramatic increase in social media usage and a decline in site-specific unique access. This pattern is not unique to Scoop but [is] common among the 1990/2000 generation of online news media. (Manning, personal communication, 2016)

According to Manning, this example demonstrates a 'fundamental shift in online content values'. In the 2000s, value 'could be measured, applied and acquired' from content published exclusively to a single online site. Since 2010, argues Manning, 'steady and definable degradation of single content has been in evidence'. In 2016, it has now become 'necessary to calculate value through reach' (Manning, personal communication,2016).

With fewer people seeking information from a single site, content is more likely to accrue added value through syndication of content beyond single site expression, but rather expressed in multiple networks of interconnected sites, interests, niches and media. This new media environment has its parallels in today's multimedia convergence models.

Multimedia Investments Ltd, the parent company to EveningReport.nz, owns or part owns a network of complementary news outlets, each occupying a specific niche, cumulatively exporting more than 30,000 published items per month to global aggregation companies, including Dow Jones, Factiva, Lexus Nexus, Moreover.com, and Acquire Media internationally, and Knowledge Basket's Newztext based in New Zealand. The joint venture between Multimedia Investments Ltd and the PMC's *Asia Pacific Report* plugs the website's 'Asia-Pacific-rich' content into this network and enables it to achieve considerable reach, adding value to the readership potential to each item published (Manning, personal communication, 2016).

Establishing this opportunity of reach and the opportunity to create a modern online environment where the PMC and AUT Asia-Pacific students can apply and develop their talents was a key factor driving *Asia Pacific Report* within a rich learning environment (see Fiji Report—'Bearing Witness', 2016).

What does *Asia-Pacific Report* offer that was not already part of *Pacific Scoop*? The new venture has a far stronger 'Asia-Pacific' mix with greater and more relevant Asia content. It is roughly 2/3rds Pacific, 1/3rd Asian, with frequent other pieces, usually analysis, that are truly global. One of the more successful audience reaches in the past six months of publishing was with the Philippines presidential election when *Asia Pacific Report* ran a live feed from *Rappler* in Manila on May 9 (with the anchor page having 1786 views that day) (LIVE: #PHVote2-16, 2016). Between the 2006 and 2012 national census, the Filipino diaspora community more than doubled from 15,285 to 37.302. In 2013, 40,350

people claimed Filipino ethnicity (Story: Filipinos, n.d.). *Asia Pacific Report* has also run several insightful articles about the tough-talking and assassin-encouraging president-elect Rodrigo Duterte before he was sworn in on June 30 (Robie, 2016).

Asia-Pacific reportage deficit

Manning argues that AsiaPacificReport.nz is able to 'speak to its brand'. For example, to apply a comparative, *Pacific Scoop* by name was primarily a site designed to address a reportage deficit in the Polynesian and part of the Melanesian sectors of the Pacific. However, 'the same reportage deficit can be applied to western Melanesia and Southeast Asia' (Manning, personal communication, 2016). He adds:

> The issues that impact on Polynesia often have their parallels in Melanesia and Southeast Asia. *Asia Pacific Report* is able to embrace, advocate, and report on the entire APAC region, wherever the need for reportage arises. Significant relationships have been established between the Pacific Media Centre and new media outlets in South East Asia. An impressive number of students have benefited from internships in this sector. *Asia Pacific Report* reflects this in its digital DNA. (Manning, personal communication, 2016)

Another important factor is that unlike most media in New Zealand, *Asia Pacific Report* actually focuses on media coverage outside New Zealand while having an impact within New Zealand. This reflects the fact the AUT Asia Pacific Journalism Studies postgraduate paper is the only international journalism studies course of its kind in New Zealand, in spite of the fact that the National government's policy is to invest in Southeast Asian political or social capital as well as business (hence funding being provided for the establishment of a NZ Institute of Pacific Research in early 2016 and a proposal to establish a Southeast Asian Studies centre of excellence later in the year). Manning reflects on the skewed media coverage linked to parochial editorial policies:

> Due to intense competition among the mainstream news media, the tendency for editors is to focus on New Zealand-specific news and angles. The preoccupation for domestic regionalisation excludes consideration of many BIG issues impacting in the wider geographic region. Commercial imperatives, minimal reporter number pressures, poor contact and professional development, would suggest this situation will not change in the medium term.
>
> Radio New Zealand International is the exception to the above. *Asia Pacific Report* was founded on an APAC regional reportage strategy and is able to express the dedicated commitment to reportage on this patch. (Manning, personal communication, 2016)

Both Manning and this author see this publishing initiative as 'strategically positioning itself as a primary provider of content—both text and multimedia for the region, especially where human rights and peace journalism are concerned'. According to Google Analytics, Indonesia has frequently figured among the top five audiences on *Asia Pacific Report* (usually behind New Zealand, Australia and the United States), especially at times of strong West Papuan coverage. At other times, Fiji, Papua New Guinea or Vanuatu might rank in the top five. One month (May 2016), Papua New Guinea was top.

> Opportunities to express a reportage policy and sensitivity to human rights, report socio-political events that cause and effect consequences that impact on the people and environment of the APAC region. This message is contained onsite for reference, and is syndicated out to a global audience. It is a message that is both unique and compelling. Content is King, and the challenge is to bring about an understanding that leads to positive change.
>
> The site specific audience analytics suggest a growing appreciative audience. It is early days for *Asia Pacific Report*, but it has already established itself as a media outlet that can be relied upon as a primary source of information and reportage about this region. (Manning, personal communication, 2016)

The following section outlines some exemplars of Asia-Pacific reportage drawing from a PBL context:

Case 1: February-March 2016: De Brum, Nuclear Zero lawyers and climate change

Since the last week of January 2016 with the launch of *Asia Pacific Report* by Pacific Cooperation Foundation chairman Laulu Mac Leauanae, the website has projected the strong climate change and environmental legacy earlier exhibited by *Pacific Scoop*, with the first story reaching close to 2000 views being an exclusive report about Marshall Islands Foreign Minister Tony de Brum and the republic's legal team Nuclear Zero being nominated for a Nobel Peace Prize for their 'courageous step' in filing lawsuits against the nine nuclear nations (Archer, 2016). They were nominated by the Oslo-based International Peace Bureau, which is dedicated to the vision of a world without war and is itself a Nobel Peace Laureate. Tony de Brum was one of the four winners of the 2015 Right Livelihood Award, also known as the 'Alternative Nobel Prize'. The people of the Marshall Islands were joint recipients.

Between February 15-17, *Asia Pacific Report* comprehensively covered the 'In the Eye of the Storm' climate change conference in Wellington, particularly through the work of a freelance journalist, Thomas Leaycraft, in collaboration with Scoop Media (see for example, Leaycraft, 2016). In April, the Pacific Media Centre dispatched two journalists, TJ Aumua and Ami Dhabuwala, to Fiji in the

mid-semester break to work with the University of the South Pacific's Centre for the Environment and Sustainable Development (PaCE-SD) to research and report on a 'bearing witness' climate change PBL assignment. As part of this project, they visited a village, Daku, in the Rewa River delta and witnessed first-hand how the people have been empowered by adaptation (Fiji Report—'Bearing Witness', 2016). The next PBL example involves aviation and public safety.

Case 2: Kilman government vs *Vanuatu Daily Post* on air safety

On 27 January 2016, after the *Vanuatu Daily Post* reported a front page story exposing a Port Vila international airport safety issue, caretaker Prime Minister Sato Kilman accused the newspaper of bringing his 'name into disrepute', and of 'partisan bias' (Caretaker PM slams *Vanuatu Daily Post*, 2016). Editorial director Dan McGarry rejected this attack and penned a fresh editorial:

> … [T]he accusation that we have somehow politicised the issue is simply false. The entire piece is an argument *against* politicising this topic.
>   Yes, Mr Kilman's government is hardly the only one guilty of playing political football with the lives of our travellers. We agree on that point. The key point in the editorial was:
>   "*Three different governments, three different plans. That's no way to run a country*." (McGarry, 2016)

Republishing this editorial with McGarry's permission as a news story meant that this item was the first on *Asia Pacific Report* to nudge 1000 views. The issue was vitally important for the region and while New Zealand media only reported Air New Zealand pulling out its scheduled flights, *Asia Pacific Report* provided broader, more nuanced coverage about the politics and media freedom information behind the safety issues. Ten well-informed articles on the issue over the next few weeks concluded with a report on May 8 declaring that the Bauerfield Airport had been 'rehabilitated' and a 'new tourism era' was being ushered in (Vanuatu airport runway repairs, 2016). The *Asia Pacific Report* coverage was thanks to collaboration with the *Vanuatu Daily Post* and citizen journalists and social media through *Vanuatu Daily Digest*. Four months later, PBL reporting involved a crisis in Papua New Guinea.

Case 3: May-June 2016: University unrest in Papua New Guinea

For several weeks in May and June 2016, the hashtag #UPNG4PNG became a 'hot' item as universities mounted a series of peaceful protests and class boycotts seeking to force Prime Minister Peter O'Neill from office over corruption allegations (Kama, B. 2016). This climaxed on June 8 when PNG police opened fire on a peaceful demonstration when they failed to arrest the Student Representative Council president, Kenneth Rapa, and later at Unitech on June 25 when off-

campus 'marauders' killed a student with bush knives (Kama, L. 2016; Unitech student dies, 2016). Although initial reports of four deaths at UPNG were reported globally (Figures 3, 4), this was later downgraded to at least 23 wounded, four of them critically who later recovered (Davidson, 2016). Students at the country's universities, particularly UPNG, were the latest in a 'long list of those in the firing line for denouncing the leadership of Papua New Guinea's seemingly impregnable Prime Minister Peter O'Neill' (Kama, 2016b). The students wanted O'Neill to resign and also for the police commissioner not to suppress investigations into corruption allegations implicating the prime minister. The students had been on strike since the end of April until finally the frustrated UPNG administration abandoned the academic year and disbanded the SRC, stripping it of its campus authority (Aupong, 2016).
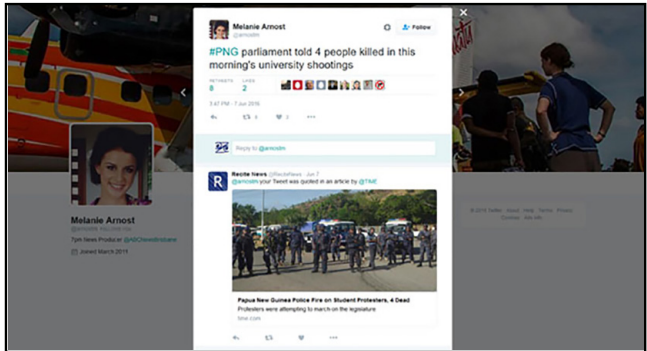
Figure 3: Melanie Arnost reports the first tweet about '4 people' being killed at the University of Papua New Guinea police shootings on 8 June 2016.

But in spite of the students' persistent campaign, even mounting a lawsuit against the UPNG management, and their track record of being political dissidents, there seems little chance of O'Neill stepping down. In an analysis of the struggle in the Lowy Institute's *The Interpreter* and *Café Pacific*, Australian National University legal studies doctoral candidate Bal Kama assessed their strength.

> Tertiary student movement in [Papua New Guinea] has been a powerful tool for political activism on national issues since Independence. Back in 1991, students were involved in a violent protest against the government for increasing MPs' salary.
>
> In 1997, students joined the PNG Defence Force to protest against the use of Sandline mercenaries in the Bougainville crisis, and demanded the resignation of the then Prime Minister Sir Julius Chan. Chan withdrew the mercenaries and resigned from office.
>
> In 2001, students protested against the privatisation of state assets and the land mobilisation programme (LMP) administered by Sir Mekere Morauta's government. Eventually, Mekere withdrew the policies, including the LMP that sought to acquire customary land rights as surety for loans provided to the government and was part of the World Bank's structural adjustment programme (SAP).

Figure 4: Helen Davidson's article in *The Guardian* headlined 'Papua New Guinea: four students reported dead after police open fire on march', 8 June 2016.

> However, the success of the protest came at a huge cost with three students allegedly shot dead by security forces. (Kama, B., 2016)

The PNG Constitution provides for the right to protest, to hold public assembly, and for freedom of expression. However, these are qualified rights, meaning they can be restricted if it appears that a protest would cause disharmony and instability. The laws were tightened after the bloody outcome of the 2001 protest against Mekere's government about which two young *Uni Tavur* student journalists gave testimony to the Woods Commission of Inquiry into the tragedy (Marshall, 2001; Wakus, 2001). The recent protests have been essentially within university campuses because of the restrictions and associated risks in taking to the streets (Ibid.). In the absence of reporting of the students versus O'Neill developments by New Zealand media (apart from Radio New Zealand International), *Asia Pacific Report* extensively covered the unrest in collaboration with digital media, such as *Loop PNG* and *PNG Today*, and citizen journalists, including one among the staff of the university who supplied us with regular quality images (see Images: Students accused, 2016).

While the constitutional crisis continued to simmer in Papua New Guinea, another more cultural issue played out in New Zealand and Samoa which also challenged student journalists in a PBL context.

Case 4: June 2016: *Samoa Observer* front-page suicide controversy

In June 2016, anger mounted over the reporting of the death of a young Samoan transgender woman in Apia on the front page of a *Sunday Samoan* edition

of the *Samoan Observer* (19 June 2016). Reaction spread to New Zealand with prominent transrights campaigner Phylesha Brown-Acton declaring the media coverage had left her 'absolutely disgusted' (*Sunday Samoan* condemned, 2016).

On the front page of its *Sunday Samoan* edition, the *Samoa Observer* showed a full-length image of 20-year-old Jeanine Tuivaiki's lifeless body hanging from the rafters in a central Apia church hall. In the accompanying news story, the newspaper misgendered the tragic young woman. 'I am absolutely disgusted by the *Samoa Observer* and their front page photo of a young *fa'afafine* woman,' said Brown-Acton, who described the reporting as 'completely inappropriate and disrespectful'.

> Where is the respect for this young person and her family? The use of such an image to sell newspapers is the lowest form of sales tactics and the editor and the reporter should be held accountable for such degrading journalism. (*Sunday Samoan* condemned, 2016)

The word *fa'afafine* meaning includes the prefix '*Fa'a'*, meaning 'in the manner of', and *fafine* means 'woman' (Milner, 1966, p. 52). This 'third gender' (Danielsson, et al, 1978) is well-accepted in Samoan culture and has a significant place in Pacific social mores; they are traditionally trained from a young age to do women's daily work in an *Aiga* (Samoan family group).

Confronted with the public hostility, the *Samoa Observer* followed up by publishing an initial front page apology on July 20, headed 'And if you're offended by it still, we apologise', that critics saw as closer to a self-justification, which in turn also drew widespread criticism on social media. Finally, editor-in-chief Gotoa'itele Savea Sano Malifa wrote a personal apology—he had not been involved in the editorial decision to publish the front page image and story— to *Samoa Observer* readers published in the July 21 edition.

> Let me say this is not an easy letter for me to write. Still, I feel duty-bound to write these words, since it is our duty to tell the public we serve, the truth.
>
> The truth is that last week, we made a sad mistake when we published a story on the late Jeanine Tuivaiki, on the front page of the *Sunday Samoan*.
>
> We now accept that there has been an inexcusable lapse of judgment on our part, and for that we are sincerely regretful.
>
> Yesterday, we met with members of Jeannie Tuivaiki's family at their home at Vaiusu, where we extended our sincere apologies, and we are now thankful that we have done so.
>
> And so to Jeanine's family we are very sorry.
>
> To the LGBT [Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender] community in Samoa and abroad, we offer our humble apologies. (Apology to our readers, 2016)

However, this apology in which Savea also pointed out that the newspaper had been a strong supporter of the rights of the fa'afafine over many years, did not stem the deluge of hostile letters and social media attacks. This prompted Kalafi Moala, chief executive of the *Taimi 'o Tonga* group and deputy chair of the Pasifika Media Association (PasiMA), to pen his own personal message trying to bring some perspective back into the debate:

> A brother has made a terrible mistake. He has, however, taken responsibility for it and has apologised. Those of us who are offended need to offer forgiveness in the spirit of Pacific compassion, and move on.
>
> I have known Savea for almost 30 years, and he is one of the most professional and enduring journalists in our region. He has also been very successful in building a news organisation, and a daily publication that has made all of us Pacific people proud.
>
> The *Samoa Observer* has a code of ethics, and Savea is one whom I know to advocate passionately for the need for media organisations to have a code of ethics. There is no excuse for mistakes so blatant as this suicide report, and I would be the last one to offer any justification for what the *Samoa Observer* did.
>
> Reaction to the *Sunday Samoan* report has been largely fair, and reasonable. Media is often the harshest critic of itself, but criticism is usually left with a close-ended condemnation without any solutions. (Moala, 2016).

In some respects, critics saw the reportage in the *Sunday Samoan* as reflecting a 'historical bias' in the way in which some media in Samoa and elsewhere in the

Figure 5: Le Va's Pasifika media guidelines 'whiteboard' video embedded in *Asia Pacific Report's* articles related to the *Samoa Observer* transgender suicide controversy, June 2016.
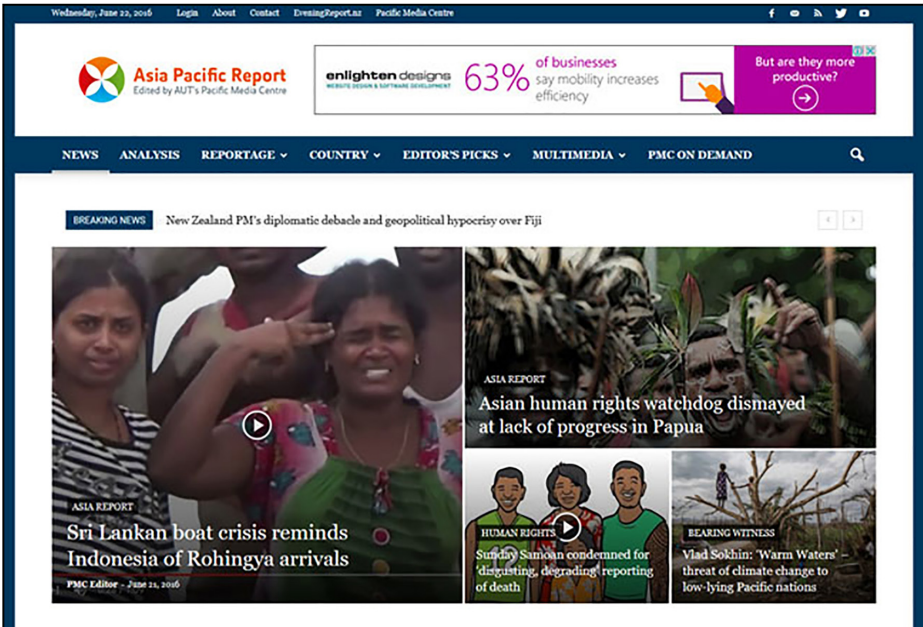
Figure 6: A typical *Asia Pacific Report* 'display top' on the home page—a Sri Lankan refugee makes a distraught 'shoot me' gesture after Indonesian authorities refused food, water, or any help, 21 June 2016.

Pacific treat transgender, gay and lesbian news. Editor Moala introduced some balance into the public backlash.

Asia Pacific Report had no 'solutions' either, but rather than joining the 'blame game' that many media indulged in, stirring even greater offence, this news website and its sister project, Pacific Media Watch, attempted to treat the editorial blunder as a PBL experience and to contribute to a more informed and sensitive approach by embedding constructive video resources and links available to Pacific journalists. Pasifika media can play a key role in leading 'safe messaging' about reporting suicide to Pacific communities. In partnership with Pasifika media in February, Le Va (2016), launched the 'Pasifika media guidelines for reporting suicide in New Zealand', a whiteboard video providing an overview of the guidelines (Figure 5). The guidelines can be downloaded from Le Va's website (www.leva.co.nz). Pasifika journalist Sandra Kailahi and 23 Pasifika media organisations contributed to co-developing the guidelines.

All four of these case studies—involving reporting of Nuclear Zero, Vanuatu's international airport, the Papua New Guinea government police crackdown on students, and the youthful suicide in a Samoan church—illustrate how PBL, in this case involving real incidents and issues rather than simulated ones, can contribute strongly to student journalists gaining professional experience and insights that will prepare them for a reflective and insightful media career.

Conclusion

Faced with the contemporary cynical clickbait culture predominant in mainstream news media, it is important for academic institutions that host schools of communication to offer alternative models that demonstrate media as a successful political institution and cornerstone of democracy. Five elements central to the 'rhetorical and philosophical justification of the Fourth Estate' were identified by (Schultz, 1998) as political purpose and independence; commercial priorities; the importance of public opinion; the diversity of information and viewpoints presented; and the degree of accountability. Journalism education today is about engaging these elements and producing well-rounded, well-educated journalists who have sound critical thinking abilities and a commitment to the media being part of the broader society's solutions, not adding to its problems. As Geoff Kemp (2013) has reminded the Fourth Estate, it acts as a 'proxy for the public's rights'; university communication studies and journalism programmes must revive the democratic fabric in a fragmented media environment. While Schultz's 'commercial priorities' category echoes the global debate on media 'business models' (McChesney & Pickard, 2011), independent campus-based serious media demonstrate an alternative economic model. This article highlights a case study of student-based journalism that is making a difference. It is not only contributing to investigative journalism in the Pacific but is, in that process, also providing a space for a new generation of student journalists who are committed to covering a range of social issues. Quality and independent campus-based media play a critical role in developing the full potential of student journalists. Such media is founded on a robust methodology of experiential and problem-based learning (PBL) with reflexive workshops. Journalists with a quality all-round tertiary education with a strong exposure to disciplines such as business, economics, geography, government, history/politics, human rights, language and culture, and the environment are a sound investment in a nation's cultural capital (Robie, 2004, p. 248; 2014). An independent student media working in collaboration with academics, independent journalists and citizen journalists, as demonstrated by the *Asia Pacific Report* and the earlier *Pacific Scoop* models, contribute to a new generation of journalists with a deeper self-understanding and stronger sense of the Fourth Estate for the benefit of all society, especially in support of social justice.

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6. The ghost of Felix Culpa
Adventures in the journalism education trade

Abstract: What is the most effective way to teach the realities of journalism to students? This article argues that the most effective model is the community newspaper, which provides students with the opportunity to learn how to write for their own community, but also to learn the fundamentals of running a news outlet, from selling advertising to liaising with printers. It also argues that the same lessons can be applied in the digital age to online news sites and to students who need to know how to keep themselves afloat as independent journalists. Drawing on 20 years' of experience teaching journalism in different countries, including Australia, Fiji and the United Arab Emirates (UAE), the article looks at what worked, what did not and what lessons can be learned for the future.

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I think it would be fun to run a newspaper. – *Citizen Kane*

I N 1904, the American newspaper magnate Joseph Pulitzer found himself defending the school of journalism he had recently endowed at Columbia University. He had been criticised because it was not sufficiently attached to the realities of journalism, irrelevant, theoretical and would serve no great purpose. Pulitzer declared that it was precisely his ambition to create a school of journalism where the journalists and editors of the future could be inspired towards the loftiest goals of their profession, untainted by the tawdry concerns of commerce. In ringing tones, he told the readers of *The North American Review*:

> Not to teach typesetting, not to explain the methods of business management, not to reproduce with trivial variations the course of a commercial college. This is not university work. It needs no endowment. It is the idea of work for the community, not commerce, not for one's self, but primarily for the public, that needs to be taught. The School of Journalism is to be, in my conception, not only not commercial, but anti-commercial. It is to exalt principle, knowledge, culture, at the expense of business if need be.

> It is to set up ideals, to keep the counting-room in its proper place, and to make the soul of the editor the soul of the paper. (Pulitzer, 1904, p. 33)

Journalism educators have been fighting over how to best educate journalists ever since. There has been, at times, heated debate over the best method through which to inculcate the professional skills and attitudes necessary for journalists. I have always believed that journalism students learn best by doing as much as possible, by seeing their work in print, or online, or on air.

To adapt a phrase from Napoleon, I believe that every journalist carries in his or her knapsack the em rule of an editor. My aim in teaching journalism has been to provide students with the experiences and skills that will help them understand as many facets of newspaper production as possible so that they can be owner-operators, editors or freelancers who will survive. Even in a digital age, students who want to go into business for themselves as freelancers, trusted bloggers, vloggers or citizen journalists have to have some idea of the financial, professional and practical realities of keeping themselves afloat.

So I'm afraid that I part company with Pulitzer. It is wonderful to have lofty ideals and every journalism student should be instructed to believe in the highest professional standards of accuracy, probity and public duty. Unfortunately, if you cannot pay your printer, or the company hosting your web page or for your broadcasting license, then your lofty ideals will fall rather flat.

The method I have usually chosen to emulate is a community weekly. It is a model I am familiar with professionally and it seems to me to have all the attributes one needs: It is compact, certainly doable from a student point of view and it introduces to students a whole range of possible tasks from selling advertising to liaising with the printers to (at least in the pre-digital era) understanding what the people who handled our colour separations needed and why. It is also a model that emulates to a degree the high demands placed on writers and sub-editors.

However, one must acknowledge that not everybody is enamoured of this method of learning by doing. As Deuze (2006) points out, there are those for whom a laboratory newspaper, radio station or website 'is a costly waste of faculty time and resources, taking time and money away from teaching and research' (p. 29). This is especially so when the sceptics have never been journalists and they can pose a danger to such projects if they are allocating staff workloads or departmental resources.

Community newspapers, whether urban or rural, are where a great many journalists work and arguably demand more of journalists than elsewhere in the breadth of tasks required. As Hart (2001) notes, graduates who join a small country masthead often find they are expected to write, subedit, take pictures and do the layout.

In Australia, according to Cafarella (2016), trainee journalists may make up half of the editorial staff of community newspapers:

producing up to 16 stories a week on anything from complex planning issues to golden wedding anniversaries. Lack of staff and resources mean that the loftier ideals of journalism often give way for the more practical issues of finding enough stories and dealing with pushy advertising representatives. (Cafarella, 2016, p. 7)

On a university campus, student media, of whatever kind, can become a vital part of the community, something very akin to the role of the media in suburban or rural communities.

It is no exaggeration to suggest that a local newspaper forms an organic part of a community's life. It usually serves an immediate need for various practical information as well as supporting a less tangible, even tacit, need for some confirmation of collective values. (Vine, 2001, p. 40)

Hapney (2013) argues that student newspapers fulfil a major social function, but also serve to educate journalism students about the realities of the industry:

The role of the student press is fourfold. First, it chronicles life on campuses by informing readers about events ranging from national, international, and local news to student protests, athletic events, and the like. Secondly, the press provides a forum in which students, faculty members, administrators, staff members, and others can debate issues of concern. Thirdly, it acts as a watchdog to uncover problems on campus such as crime and cafeteria health code violations. Fourth, student media are a training ground for a new generation of journalists…[ ] …student newspapers play an important role as they report news, publish the opinions and discussions of members of campus communities, and may print advertisements of interest to students, faculty members, and others on their campuses. Budding journalists can improve their skills if they can enjoy the freedom needed to work as independent professionals. (Hapney, 2013, p. 116)

One element that has always driven me and which never seems to be mentioned in textbooks or journal articles, is that teaching these skills needs to be fun. The students must be enthused, happy and willing to work long hours—and so must the staff. You are all working together towards a common goal and if you are with an enthusiastic team that is clearly engaged, who regard themselves and what they are doing as something special, then it will work.

As technology and resources have changed, so have the outlets for student work. The practical needs, however, have not. Students who aspire to work for themselves or to set up independent online news outlets online will need to understand something of the technology and face the same reality of having to pay for services. And whatever the technology or the outlet, the requirement for well written, honest, balanced, news never changes.

This article tells, in a series of vignettes, my own experiences of teaching journalism in various places around the world through student media. This has mostly been through community newspapers and reflects the arguments made above. Sometimes everything has gone splendidly. At others it has gone horribly flat. But at least I can hope that there are enough journalists who can aim to fulfil Pulitzer's loftiest ambitions and still understand that the ink and accountancy and technology he affected to disdain all play their part.

Four Winds and Felix Culpa (CIAE, CQU)

In the second semester of 1977, Dr Shelton Gunaratne, the journalism lecturer at what was then the Capricornia Institute of Advanced Education (now Central Queensland University) in Rockhampton, started a journalism student newspaper, *Four Winds*. In his unhappy recollections of his time at the CIAE, Gunaratne (2012) says his original plan was to start a weekly publication. It was a wildly over-ambitious scheme that was doomed to failure, for, as he noted, there were neither the institutional funds nor the willingness to support the project.

Gunaratne, perhaps inspired by ideas of independent student productions he had encountered during his studies in the United States, was constantly at loggerheads with departmental administrators and superiors he regarded as his intellectual and academic inferiors.

Four Winds, so named because the site of the campus has once been called Four Winds Hill, was subject to checking by the department

Figure 1: *Felix Culpa*

and the situation got to such a level that I led a group of students to protest to the CIAE's director, Arthur Appleton.[1] The publication struggled along for years, with sometimes two and sometimes three issues a semester, sometimes just a

collection of pages stapled together with little regard for layout and design. After a decade of struggle, Gunaratne returned to the United States in 1985.

After filling Gunaratne's shoes with a series of short term replacements, the CIAE advertised for a journalism lecturer at the end of 1987. The Brisbane *Express*, for which I was chief writer, had closed without warning and I was painfully aware that a life of part time subbing on the Brisbane *Courier-Mail* would not feed my growing family. It was the height of the Fitzgerald inquiry into the rampant corruption of the Bjelke-Petersen regime and plenty of good stories were coming cross the subs' desk, but I needed a permanent job and applied to my alma mater. To my great surprise they offered me the job and so I returned to Rockhampton to teach journalism.

I discovered that *Four Winds* was still alive under the care of fellow former student turned academic, Liz Huf. Huf was a former Melbourne journalist and would later go on to launch the long running poetry magazine, *Idiom 23* (CQUniNews, 2008). I gradually took over production of *Four Winds* and, acting largely on instinct, decided that it should fulfil bigger aims than just being a repository of student work.

I wanted the paper to become a tabloid. I wanted it to be in colour. I wanted it to be financially self-supporting and, if possible, make a profit. I wanted it to be a paper where the students would learn about every aspect of putting out a publication, from dealing with our printers in Gympie, to organising our colour separations with the repro house in Brisbane, selling ads, making editorial decisions, chasing down good stories and covering events on and off the campus and being as independent as possible. Unlike Gunaratne, I had no illusions about the administration's desire to wield a blue pen. I thought my job was to make them change their minds if necessary.

I wanted to produce journalists and people who could go off and start up their own newspaper, or walk into a newsroom and be able to turn their hand to pretty much anything. This was the age when desktop publishing had arrived and so, with a battery of Mac512Ks with tiny black and white screens and a copy of Pagemaker 1, we set out to make a newspaper. I decided we could make a real newspaper that would serve the needs of both the journalism course and serve the student community. We ran a state election special, covered campus issues, student union activities and did one sheet specials on graduation day so that students and families could have a souvenir issue on the day they graduated. It was on one of those graduation days that my former students claim that we actually produced the first online newspaper in Australia. We generally gave students at least a year's experience on the paper through two layout and design courses. From time to time we also affected changes on campus. It was an oddity that the three flags which flew outside the CIAE administration building were the Queensland state flag, the Australian blue ensign and the Union Jack. It was

always felt the British flag was there because the Institute's director, Arthur Appleton, was British. However, when it continued to fly after his departure, one of my students asked Appleton's replacement whether it could not be replaced with the Aboriginal land rights flag. This was done almost immediately and it was a major symbolic change for the whole campus.

Being in Rockhampton was no barrier to covering the world. When Mount Pinatubo in the Philippines erupted in 1991, one of our students, who was on holiday in the country at the time, immediately headed there with camera ready and brought back a great story. Soon after the Soviet Union collapsed in 1989 I learned from a friend that a couple of tradesmen who had been working in Moscow had returned to Gladstone, about 70km south of Rockhampton, and we quickly arranged an interview and permission to use their photos of tanks in the streets of the Russian capital.

After a few years one of my students suggested that we rename the paper *Felix Culpa*.[2] Meaning lucky fault or happy accident, it was a fairly good description of how we operated and it dealt with my long standing discontent with *Four Winds* as a name. Thereafter, we got a lot of mail addressed to Mr F. Culpa.

We did not always please everybody. A campus feminist group protested when we ran an advertisement for an ex-Penthouse model appearing at a nightclub popular with students and the engineering students demanded that we photograph them burning a pile of our newspapers in protest at a story we had run mocking them for running out of beer at a function.

The dean, David Myers, smiled benevolently upon us and signed off on our expenses without too much demur. However, as dean he was the final arbiter of what went in the paper, along with the head of the communication programme, Grahame Griffin. A system was already well entrenched when I arrived that they signed off the page proofs and when we changed our name to *Felix Culpa* we extended the Roman nomenclature by listing them as 'Imprimatur' and 'Nihil Obstat.'

My students had access to the journalism lab 24 hours a day and were familiar with the night time security staff. One of the female security staff was quite convinced that she had heard a shot being fired in the early hours of the morning and, since she was going through a very unpleasant break up with her partner, was convinced that he had shot at her.

The students got hold of the story before dawn and by the time I arrived at 9am they were all stirred up because the security guard's supervisor had arrived, found out what was happening, was annoyed, refusing to talk to my students and making it clear he would prefer nothing appeared. I went to see him and gradually persuaded him that the best thing he could do was to issue a statement. This he did, pointing out that it had been a stormy night, that nobody had seen anything and that the security guard could have heard a branch breaking. It may not have been the most dramatic response, but as I pointed out to him, my students had

the story and if they did not get a response then it would spread to the cafeteria and the student bar and by nightfall people would be claiming that somebody had opened up with a machine gun. I got a statement and the students got a story.

Producing *Felix Culpa* was always fun and by the time we moved into our new lab, we were making a profit, so we moved things up a notch. We put in a second hand fridge, a video, TV, stereo, fold-out couches, our own fax machine and phone and the students blue tacked a barnyard full of plastic farm animals upside down to the ceiling so they could shoot them off when they got bored at 2am.

I left for Papua New Guinea in 1994 to work on *The Times of PNG* and then moved to the University of the South Pacific in Fiji in 1995. *Felix* was carried on by my former student and successor, the late Jeff Young. Jeff, who died tragically in 2006, was a highly intelligent person and skilled journalist, who had run his own newspaper before joining the teaching staff (CQUniNews, 2006). Soon after Young's death, the Chair of Journalism Media and Communication at CQU, Professor Alan Knight left, and the journalism programme withered. *Felix Culpa* was gone.

Except that it wasn't, because thanks to the efforts of one of my former students, Dan Logovik, it survives as a Facebook group. Hence the title of this article.

Wansolwara (USP, Fiji)

At the beginning of 1995 I moved to Fiji where I joined the French-funded journalism programme run by the redoubtable François Turmel, formerly of the BBC. After a year I decided to start a student newspaper at USP. As I told *The Fiji Times* at the paper's 20th anniversary celebrations on 21 October 2016:

> When we started it, it was very much an experiment. We were doing it with inexperienced first-year students so it was a big learning process for all of us because even for me we were using digital photography, things I had never done before. (Susu, 2016)

David Robie (2004) has covered this period extensively in his own account

Figure 2: Volume two, issue one of *Wansolwara*. Note the vertical masthead.

of his experiences teaching journalism in the Pacific, *Mekim Nius*. As I told him when interviewed in Suva in 2001 (quoted in Robie, 2004, pp. 179-181):

> Common sense would have dictated that I start the paper with a second or third year group of students who were familiar with desktop publishing, but I felt that what was needed was a group of students who would stay with the paper for a few years and grow with it. I therefore decided that I would give the project to what was then the first year class ... [P]rogramme leader François Turmel gave his blessing to the project and persuaded the French Embassy to fund us.
>
> We didn't actually have a name for the paper and the suggestion that we call it the *Stanley Weekly* was not met with complete enthusiasm by our first editor, Stan Simpson.   However, it occurred to me that an expression I had heard in Papua New Guinea might be appropriate—*Wansolwara*.
>
> *Wansolwara* expresses the idea that all of us who are born in or live in the Pacific are bound together by the ocean, whether our home is Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Tahiti, the Marianas—or even Australia and New Zealand! USP is home to students and staff from all over the great ocean, so *Wansolwara* seemed a perfect name. (Cass, quoted in Robie, 2004, p. 179)

Publishing the first edition was far from easy. In November 1996, the first edition came out. It was late, there were few advertisements and some technical problems were obvious. 'Our aim had been to strike a balance between campus news and a broader range of stories about issues affecting everybody in the Pacific. In the first issue, for instance, we had a piece on the use of skin lightening creams.' Later we dealt with issues, including 'the civil war on Bougainville, the role of *fa'fine* in Samoa and suicides in Fiji' (Cass, quoted in Robie, 2004, p. 179).

> We had also begun to be noticed by the students. Our coverage of some questionable goings on at student functions and financial irregularities in the USP Students Association led to one of our staff, Mithleshni Gurdayal, being threatened—always a sign that our reporting was not only true, but causing embarrassment. (Cass, quoted in Robie, 2004, p. 181)

The success of *Wansolwara* as a teaching tool is best judged by how well students respond to the practical opportunities it offers and the entry to the work force which can flow from those experiences.

When David Robie took over the journalism course at USP in 1998, he brought with him the experience of several years of running the journalism laboratory newspaper *Uni Tavur* at UPNG (founded by Ross Stevens with New Zealand aid at independence in 1975) (Robie, 2004, p. 123). Like *Felix Culpa*, *Uni Tavur* had been run along community newspaper lines, with advertising

sold to cover costs (Robie, 1997). During his time at USP, Robie established an advertising regime to pay for printing and production.

> *Wansolwara* has been arguably the most successful economic model for a training newspaper in the South Pacific region because it has been able to self-fund publication for the past decade and consolidate its publishing structure. (Robie, 2006, p. 28)

On 21 October 2016, *Wansolwara* marked its 20th anniversary as part of the USP journalism programme's awards night. Journalism student Chrisnrita Aumanu, who won the 2016 award as best *Wansolwara* editor, said: '*Wansolwara* is a great news outlet, as it is a great platform for student journalists to put on paper what they have been taught in classrooms. Moreover, *Wansolwara* moulds budding journalists like us to write better stories each and every time with a sense of pride when we see our bylines' (Aumanu, 2016).

Head of Journalism Dr Shailendra Singh said USP students practised what he called 'real-time journalism' at USP. He told *The Islands Sun* (2016) the need for well-trained journalists had increased with the onset of social media and citizen journalism, especially in the face of continuing development problems in the region.

Of the students who worked on *Wansolwara* over the years, many have gone into prominent positions in journalism and the communications industry. According to *The Islands Sun* (2016), several head their own news publications or have held editorial positions and others are successful publishers. Possibly more importantly for the development of the region's media,

> …many regional/international organisations that were previously held by expatriates are now filled by USP Journalism graduates. A number of them have become communication specialists and serve government and non-government organisations at national and international level. (The Islands Sun, 2016)

The Coranto (Teesside University, UK)

Between 1997 and 2000, I taught at Teesside University in the UK. Our course was run in a very shaky partnership with Darlington College of Technology, where the students already had a newspaper, *The Badger*. This was not printed, but was simply run off in black and white and the sheets put on the notice board. Before the collaboration—and the course—collapsed (even a last ditch meeting in a private box during a match at the Middlesbrough football stadium could not save the partnership), I managed to get out two editions of *The Coranto* at Teesside.

Printed in colour and relying largely on feature stories, this was never meant to replace *The Badger*, but to complement it by doing something quite different.

Apart from the print edition, the students were required to make an audio version, which was broadcast on Alpha FM in Darlington. A cassette copy of the programme was produced for distribution to libraries. It was a fairly primitive attempt at a multi-media news outlet.

I had included a television news production module to the journalism programme, using the skills of a highly experienced freelancer. Students shot and recorded news bulletins in the university's media centre. If the journalism programme had continued, this would have been incorporated into *The Coranto*.

Al Miror/The Mirror (Zayed University, United Arab Emirates)

Figure 3: *The Coranto*

After Teesside, I moved to Zayed University (ZU) in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) at the end of 2000. The university was brand new, reflecting the vision of the country's president, Sheikh Zayed, for a university that would provide young Emirati women with a government-funded, Western-style, English-language education.

All our degrees had the word 'science' tacked on to the end of them to make them more acceptable to sceptical families, something that was especially necessary for parents who could not understand why anybody would want to study journalism and communication when these were clearly unsuitable jobs for young women. I taught in the College of Communication Science and taught journalism and newspaper layout and design.

My students produced a full colour glossy A4 publication for the UAE's national day celebrations in 2001, so I decided to be more ambitious and produce a bilingual student newspaper. I thought this was a project that could not fail to ignite my students' interest and be attractive to the student readership.

I thought *Al Miror/ The Mirror* was a fabulous idea, but it just did not work. For a start, newspapers and journalism were not part of most of the students'

cultural background. With few exceptions, they didn't read newspapers, watch or listen to news. Newspaper production in the UAE on any large scale dated back only to the early 1970s and the press was, in any case, heavily censored.[3]

For the bulk of the students, news was simply not something that concerned them. Secondly, because of the general level of English, so much subbing had to be done on their stories that production progressed at a snail's pace. Thirdly, because of the way the campus and the culture operated, the students could only work on it in class. Students left at 5pm and did not work weekends. It took a year to get the first issue done and by that stage it was no longer a newspaper, but a collection of work from two different classes.

Eventually the paper was finished and went to the dean for approval. Then it ascended to much higher levels for approval and there it sat for more than a year and got old and grew whiskers and died. My colleagues on the Dubai campus had similar experiences when they tried to start a news magazine, although since theirs mentioned the invasion of Afghanistan, its demise was assured from the start. Eventually I became assistant dean in Abu Dhabi and was sucked into the vortex of administration and didn't teach journalism at ZU again.

Somebody else came along and produced *The Mirror*, an English language magazine with lots of stories about 'our field trip to Paris' and fashion tips. There was no further attempt to produce a bilingual publication.

My colleague Ed Freedman, a former CBS sports producer, had far more luck. He started ZUTV, which was streamed within the Abu Dhabi campus, the cultural mores of an all-female student population meaning it could not be seen anywhere else. Using a converted office painted bright blue as a set, the programme was immensely popular with the students involved.

As the *Gulf News* reported, ZUTV stories included:

> …the National Day tribute paid to Shaikh Zayed, the Breast Cancer Awareness Campaign, a blood donation drive for thalassemia patients on Valentine's Day and German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder's visit to ZU's Abu Dhabi campus.
>
> The entire crew feels that working on the television programme is a great way to get hands on experience in broadcast journalism. It is also a good opportunity to meet high profile people and earn recognition for our work. (Nemer, 2005)

As Walters, Quinn, et al (2005, p. 63) pointed out, despite being very high consumers of media, our students spent as much time on the internet as they did in the combined activities of reading magazines, newspapers and books. This generation had effectively bypassed print altogether and gone to television and the internet. A serious bilingual newspaper must have seemed like a very dull proposition to all but the most dedicated and those with the best English.

After Gutenberg (Unitec, New Zealand)

A recent publication from Griffith University in Brisbane notes:

> Good communication skills are at the top of the list of what potential employers look for in graduates. The vast majority of business transactions involve written communication of some kind. Employers of graduates often express concern that students graduate with inadequate basic written communication skills. It is generally expected that university graduates have good literacy skills that can transfer into various work contexts, but research shows that this is not always the case. (www.griffith.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0004/290920/Written-communication.pdf)

These comments are even more pertinent for would-be journalists and anybody wanting to work in the communication industry. At Unitec, which I joined in 2010, we have only one journalism-type course, COMM6537 News Writing, which is offered in the Bachelor of Communication. Our degree concentrates on communication courses, but I strongly believe that any graduate benefits from learning the journalistic skills of interviewing, researching and synthesising information and presenting in a concise, readable, accurate form. It is also useful for PR hacks trying to get their 'sponsored' copy into print if they know what a real story looks like.

I revised the course extensively and like the proverbial quart into a pint pot, squeezed pretty much everything I could into it, from print to online to radio writing, ethics and the law. Students enrolled in the course are expected to produce five stories during semester and their work needed an outlet. Four of them are individual pieces while the final assignment is a group radio project. The course was highly praised by our external moderator from Auckland University of Technology in 2015.

In 2015, the radio work was done in-house, but this year we have been working with community radio station Planet FM on recording and uploading podcasts of the students' group radio projects.

At the end of 2015 I took over *After Gutenberg*, which had been run in fits and starts as a general student journal in the Department of Communication Studies at Unitec. I used it as a home for samples of the best student work in print, audio and online journalism. We managed one edition in 2015 which came out gradually over the summer under the banner *After Gutenberg Summer Special*.

The *AG Summer Special* consists of a front page with three links to a downloadable pdf A4 magazine that can also be read online, a selection of pieces that were designed to imitate the requirements of a very short online story accompanied by a photo and link to supporting material and links to YouTube where the radio group assignments were uploaded. Because the News Writing course does not have any design content, the *AG Summer Special* was assembled largely

Figure 4: The *After Gutenberg* front page.
https://ia600204.us.archive.org/18/items/AGConsolidatedVerFeb2016/AG%20Consolidated%20
Ver%20Feb%202016.pdf.

by myself with help from our technical expert Mun Naqvi and help from two postgrad students, Anusha Bhana and Steve Ellmers.

As with everything else I have worked on over the years, the *AG Summer Special* was designed to showcase the students' work. For the moment, it cannot be anything else. News Writing only runs in second semester, there are no design courses and no way of giving students credit for working on the project. Because this is an introductory course, it means that we only generate a limited amount of usable copy and because the course has to teach the basics, that means essentially 10 paragraph stories rather than features.

In short, for the moment at least, *After Gutenberg* is tied to the course, not the other way round. We intend to use this format again in 2017, but with external links to Planet FM.

Lessons learned

After 20 years of producing student news outlets around the world, I have learned some lessons that might be useful for anybody attempting the same thing:

1. The first and most obvious is that there is no point in having students producing stories unless they have an outlet. That outlet must be visible and tangible and not look like just another classroom exercise.

2. Any product must be able to cover campus news and larger events and appeal to a target audience. Remember *The Mirror* magazine? I hated it. The students loved it.
3. Journalism and student media production is very culturally specific, even when it is a country that speaks the same language as you.
4. Students must be given the opportunity to experience as many facets of media production as possible. This means they should do anything and everything that gives them a full understanding of what makes the medium work. Besides writing (or recording or shooting video or creating websites) that means selling ads and knowing as much as you can about the production side.

I have had students who have gone on to work for some of the biggest media outlets in the world—and some of the smallest—along with freelancers and PR people and book editors and producers. I like to think the experience of working on *Felix Culpa* or *Wansolwara* or *The Coranto* went some way to putting them there.

Students can indeed work online and never have to meet, but I have found that having one place to call their own is important. It helps create a centre point for the project and the *esprit de corps* that is essential to keeping a student publication going.

And finally, make sure you have at least one staff member crazy enough to devote the hours to the supervision and encouragement needed to make it all work.

Notes

1. Quite why I became so concerned, I do not know. While I was a journalism student I devoted my energies to the irregular production of the student union publication, *Sensorium*, which had nothing to do with news. It contained long rants about the evils of the fascist Bjelke-Petersen regime, spoof ads, satire, hand drawn stencils of flowers and birds and lots of stuff we stole from Monty Python and *National Lampoon* and was run off on a Gestetner in the dead of night by a tiny cabal of hairy students. It was much more fun.
2. The name means Lucky Fault and derives from the writings of St Augustine, particularly as used in the paschal vigil mass: 'O felix culpa quae talem et tantum meruit habere redemptorem.'
3. In fact newspapers in the UAE dated back to the 1920s and 1930s, something two students discovered for me when they found an Arabic book about the history of the local press and translated portions for me. (www.ejournalism.au.com/ejournalist/v1n2.html)

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7. Radio New Zealand International
Reporting the Pacific in tight times

Abstract: Radio New Zealand International (RNZI) broadcasts from New Zealand into the South Pacific and is relayed to South Pacific listeners by their various national news services. In 2006, American academic Andrew M. Clark characterised the role of RNZI as 'providing a service for the people of the South Pacific' that also provided 'an important public diplomacy tool for the New Zealand government' (Clark, 2006). A decade on, this article evaluates the ongoing use and utility of RNZI as a taxpayer-funded voice of and from New Zealand, as a service for the diverse peoples of the South Pacific and as a tool of New Zealand's transnational diplomatic efforts. RNZI is still a key source of local and regional information and connection for the distinct cultures and nations of the vast South Pacific area, whose peoples have strong links to New Zealand through historical ties and contemporary diasporae living in the country. But, RNZI now faces mounting financial pressure, a government swinging between indifference and hostility to public broadcasting and questions of legitimacy and reach in the 'digital age'. With RNZI under pressure in 2016, key questions arise about its present and future. What is RNZI doing well and not so well? What role should New Zealand's domestic and international politics play in the organisation and its outputs? And how might its importance and impact be measured and understood in such a culturally and geographically diverse region as the South Pacific? Using a variety of sources, including documents released to the author under the New Zealand Official Information Act, this article explores the role of RNZI in the contemporary New Zealand and South Pacific media environments.

Keywords: broadcasting, diplomacy, *Dateline Pacific*, international journalism, New Zealand, Pacific news, radio, Radio New Zealand International, RNZI

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Introduction

RADIO New Zealand International (RNZI) is a news and current affairs radio service generated in Wellington, New Zealand and broadcast via shortwave, digital relay and online streaming into the South Pacific and

beyond. Its key tasks are to provide timely, accurate, fair and balanced news, weather and current affairs to Pacific peoples, with a focus on the South Pacific. New Zealand provides this service as part of wider transnational aid and assistance it gives to South Pacific nations due to the strong ex-colonial and diasporic links between New Zealand and the Islands. While the service is based in New Zealand, it uses local reporters in the Pacific Islands to bolster its coverage of events as the need arises. This cultivation of local sources is an important ancillary role of RNZI, as it helps further its reach while also raising the level of journalistic endeavour in the region by promoting good reporting practices and open societies. RNZI is operated by Radio New Zealand, a commercial-free and taxpayer funded public radio service and has been broadcasting in one form or another since 1948. It also provides Pacific news and current affairs content to Radio New Zealand's other services, Radio New Zealand National (a current affairs and news service) and Radio New Zealand Concert (a fine music service).

RNZI's tax-payer funding is currently 'ring fenced' off from that of Radio New Zealand, being provided in a separate allocation by the Ministry of Culture & Heritage (MCH), in order to guarantee a minimum level of funding inside the Radio New Zealand operation (W. Zweifel, personal communication, June 23, 2016). This demonstrates a unique and important role for the service, which is part of a wider New Zealand government strategy of engaging with the Pacific through multiple channels. Around 20 radio stations throughout the South Pacific islands rebroadcast the service, and its flagship daily news and current affairs show, *Dateline Pacific,* is also rebroadcasted on the London-based World Radio Network as well as broadcasters in the United States, Europe, Asia and the Middle East. Parts of the programme are also rebroadcast by the BBC's World Service in the Pacific Islands (Radio New Zealand International, 2016).[1]

According to a 2013/2014 RNZI report to the New Zealand government, more than 75 percent of people in the Pacific listen to RNZI via their own local broadcaster and/or through relays of programmes on the British Broadcasting Corporation's (BBC's) World Service Pacific stations. There was also significant use of internet streaming and replaying of programming through the internet, with 1.6 million pageviews of the RNZI website recorded in that year (Radio New Zealand International Audience Estimates, June 2014, p. 1). RNZI's services are complemented by the BBC service, but also the United States based Voice of America (VOA) and Radio Australia, which have a similar remit to present news and current affairs from the region. RNZI is used across the South Pacific as a news service for local radio stations and also carries specialised programming and long-form features that relate to events and peoples of the region. RNZI also plays a critical role in collating and broadcasting weather information for the region, which is susceptible to extreme weather events such as cyclones and other

large storms. The service also plays a pivotal role in other civil defence emergencies, such as broadcasting tsunami warnings to the region, which has significant seismic activity as part of the Pacific 'Rim of Fire' tectonic plate activity zone. (Radio New Zealand International, 2016). Radio New Zealand International is therefore a critical and life-saving service for the peoples of the region and according to the RNZI website, it is 'well respected and widely listened to across the Pacific and beyond' (Radio New Zealand International, 2016).

The South Pacific in context

The South Pacific Islands are a diverse and atomized collection of nations spread over the vastness of the Pacific Ocean, generally south of the equator. These tropical and sparsely populated islands were some of the last settled land masses of global human migration and still feature some of the most isolated cultures on Earth today. During the period of European and American colonial expansion, all of the islands were claimed variously for France, the United Kingdom, Germany and The United States and others as missionaries, whalers, sealers, traders and eventually full colonial enterprises took over as these powers struggled for political, military and economic dominance in the region. These colonial enterprises are still noticeable today across a broad spectrum of outside influence and control over these island nations, with everything from virtually complete control over groups of islands (the French colonial outposts of New Caledonia, and French Polynesia among others) and so called 'free associations' such as those of the Cook Islands, Tokelau and Niue which are significantly funded by the New Zealand government and whose peoples can claim New Zealand citizenship. Some former colonies have won total independence from colonial administration since World War Two, with Fiji, Tonga and Western Samoa completely self-governed, but retaining significant connections through diasporae and economic links with the bigger states of Australia and New Zealand. English and French are still spoken in the colonies and ex-colonies and various Christian denominations are the dominant religions, often practised with vigour and local cultural inflections that date back to the early colonial days (Fraenkel, 2012).

The South Pacific is therefore still very much a region of influence of the traditional colonial powers, with recent developments such as the incursion of Chinese infrastructure and other funding and Russian military assistance to a growing number of small Pacific nations causing concerns in New Zealand and Australia.[2] The United States has a significant military presence through the US Pacific Fleet in Hawaii and Marine Corps forward base outside Darwin, both of which counterbalance Russian and Chinese interests in the region. The South Pacific, while idyllic in the popular imagination, is still a contested space in the wider global framework of competition for resources such as fisheries, minerals, oil and arable land.

The South Pacific is also dealing with the long-term effects of atmospheric and underwater testing of nuclear weapons from 1946 until 1996 by the United States, France and the United Kingdom (Robie, 2015; Watters, n.d.). Some restoration of damaged atolls and compensation has been made to displaced Islanders and those suffering from long term effects of nuclear fallout, island nations are still taking legal action in international forums in order to publicise the significant and ongoing health, societal and economic impacts of nuclear testing in the region (Buchanan, 2014).

Another pressing issue which complicated the geopolitical balance of influence in the region is the effect of climate change caused by global warming—with entire low-lying island groups and their populations (such as those of Kiribati) soon to be completely inundated by rising seas and increasingly being battered by more and more powerful cyclones and other adverse weather conditions. These issues are likely to force mass migration events, putting significant strains on nearby nations that are also feeling the effects of the loss of food-growing land, temperature-sensitive fisheries and potable water supplies, as they are threatened by encroaching seas (Finucane, Keener, Marra, Smith & Spooner, 2012). The South Pacific faces major social, political and economic disruption in coming decades and will very likely become even more reliant on outside assistance from major players in the region such as the United States, China, Australia and New Zealand.

With these structures and issues in mind, this article examines the role and impact of Radio New Zealand International in its focus on and interactions with Pacific societies and cultures, but also its utility as an extension of the New Zealand government—political, diplomatic and economic policies in the South Pacific region.

Radio New Zealand International in 2006

In 2006, American academic Andrew M. Clark characterised the role of RNZI as 'providing a service for the people of the South Pacific' that also provided 'an important public diplomacy tool for the New Zealand government'' (Clark, 2006, p. 113). Clark was developing on his earlier study of Radio Australia's role in the wider Asia Pacific and in particular, the Melanesian region, where he demonstrated significant differences in the approach of the Australian and New Zealand governments' international broadcasting activities. Clark noted the different funding streams of the two broadcasters, with Radio Australia International funded out of the same budget allocations as the national commercial free public broadcaster, The Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), and Radio New Zealand International funded until 2002 by the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Trade and then by the Ministry for Culture & Heritage (Clark, 2003, p. 97).

These different funding agencies pointed to critical differences in the way the two governments approached these broadcasters, with Australia's service arguably less directed to the foreign policy and trade goals of the incumbent government than the New Zealand service until 2002. A change to MCH funding made RNZI's mandate different from that of earlier administrations, causing potential tensions when reporting fractious Pacific issues such as political infighting and corruption in a more independent environment (Clark, 2003, pp. 97-8). In Clark's 2006 estimation, RNZI had remained closely aligned with the diplomatic goals of the New Zealand government, while carefully treading a fine line of reporting accurately on serious Pacific issues (such as military coups in Fiji) that put critical pressure on New Zealand's relationships with its Pacific neighbors (Clark, 2006, pp. 112-3).

Clark also noted in 2006 RNZI's 'value and utility' in providing 'capacity to engender goodwill and put the New Zealand government in the best possible light' while providing a role model of open media systems and highly professional independent reporting practice for aspiring Pacific journalists and emergent media organisations in the region (Clark, 2006, pp. 111-3). This also extended to training Pacific broadcasters as the region's media outlets struggled with 'precarious' finances (Clark, 2006, p. 112). RNZI had also suffered from 'halfhearted commitment and continuous rounds of budget cuts over the years, although there was cause for optimism in 2006, with a more supportive left-leaning and internationalist Labour-led administration in government at the time (Clark, 2006, p. 113). This situation is now revisited after 10 years in order to evaluate the ongoing contribution and contemporary position of RNZI in New Zealand's broadcasting and diplomatic operations.

Radio New Zealand International and the National-led government

In November 2008, the centre-right, National-led coalition won government from the three-term, Labour-led administration. The new government had campaigned on a platform of reduced government, reduced taxes and no significant changes to funding for most branches of the state, including broadcasting (*National Business Review*, July 7, 2008). This had the effect of freezing and also reducing funding across state activities in broadcasting, including Radio New Zealand International. This policy has seen a measurable decline in funding for the service, as inflation has hit bottom-line costs for RNZI and the other state broadcast operations in the Radio New Zealand stable. This dwindling resource base has been further eroded by more recent directives from the Minister of Broadcasting, through the Board of Radio New Zealand for RNZI to operate with reduced funding of $50,000 a year since 2013, despite already running at unplanned deficits of $109,000 in 2012/2013[3], $26,000 in 2013/2014 (Ministry for Culture & Heritage, 2014) and $66,000 by June 2015 (Ministry for Culture & Heritage, 2015).

These reductions and deficits exacerbate an already tightening fiscal situation. There has been a notable reduction in funding for RNZI when comparing the 2008-2009 and the 2014-2015 financial years. RNZI received total funding in 2008-2009 of \$2,284,000 while spending \$2,237,000 for a surplus of \$47,000 for the year (Radio New Zealand Annual Report 2008-2009). This compares with RNZI receiving total funding in 2014-2015 of \$2,224,000 while spending \$231,000,000 for a deficit of \$88,000 (Radio New Zealand Annual Report 2014-2015). This decrease in funding, coupled with increasing costs is not offset by any reduction in services or broadcast outputs over the period, with measures such as total hours of original Pacific programming actually increasing across the period (Radio New Zealand Annual Report 2008-2009 & 2014-2015). There is no reason given for these funding reductions in material sourced under the Official Information Act, public statements of responsible Ministers, the Radio New Zealand management group or public documentation such as Radio New Zealand's annual reports for the period. It must then be assumed that the reductions are part of the overall freeze on funding for Radio New Zealand and other state broadcasting activities and as such, are attempts to move resources to other MCH activities to cover shortfalls elsewhere. The General Manager of RNZI, Linden Clark, was moved into a human resources management role at Radio New Zealand in June 2016, with ongoing oversight of RNZI as part of her portfolio of responsibilities (Thompson, 2016). According to RNZI news editor Walter Zweifel, Clark had been seconded to Radio New Zealand to head up a review of its music offerings for some time before taking on the new role, while still being paid out of the RNZI funding allocation. It was not clear if this situation had changed with Clark moving into the new role, with the return of the wage costs of Clark to RNZI to fund its own team, which would provide significant extra capacity for RNZI's operations in a time of dwindling budgets (W. Zweifel, personal communication, June 23, 2016).

Radio New Zealand International and international diplomacy

According to documents released to the author under the New Zealand Official Information Act in late 2015, there has been a notable amount of discussion between government ministers and departments about the role of Radio New Zealand International in recent years. In particular, there is a renewed focus on relationships with New Zealand's Pacific neighbours and the use of media generated in New Zealand to enhance and deepen connections through news and current affairs activity on RNZI, but also through providing more content through online platforms and the potential of televised sport such as rugby, a key sport for Pacific and New Zealand peoples alike (Broadcasting to the Pacific, n.d.).

Interestingly (and disappointingly), there is quite thorough redaction of many documents that deal with RNZI's role in New Zealand's diplomatic efforts in

the region—especially those that feature discussions between the organisation's management, the Ministry for Broadcasting and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Trade. This is typical of the National-led government, which, as noted by increasing numbers of journalists and academics, has used exceptions to releasing information in the Act (such as the one used in these documents—national security), to severely delay, overly redact or otherwise limit information releases (Mediawatch, 2015). This got to the point that the Act's overseer—the Office of the Chief Ombudsman—was called in to investigate multiple complaints about information being withheld by Ministers and departments, with a subsequent report from the office showing large and unhelpful variations in compliance and freedom of information across government activities (Wakem, 2015, Politik, 2015).

Despite this, enough information can be gleaned from the documents to see the ongoing expectation of RNZI playing a part in New Zealand's diplomatic efforts in the South Pacific. This can be seen as a tranche of New Zealand's diplomatic *modus operandi* of exercising what Joseph Nye (1990) termed 'soft power'—the use of 'communications, organisations and institutional skills' in order to achieve political goals in international relations (Nye, 1990, p. 157-8). Nye, who originally developed the theories of soft power, pointed to radio broadcasting as a key technology in expanding political views beyond national borders, using the United States international radio service Voice of America (VOA) as an example of the utility of radio in reaching across national, linguistic and political boundaries as a means of persuasion, attraction and information sharing that projects national power in non-military ways (Nye, 2004, pp. 4-6). According to Hoadley (2007), New Zealand is a prime example of a 'progressive small state' that has capitalised on the use of soft power—relying on 'respect, trust, admiration, persuasiveness, and leadership rather than compulsion by an armed force or a dominant economy' to promote security and stability in its region (Hoadley, 2007, p. 19). This is what Andrew Clark observed of Radio New Zealand International's work in 2003 and 2006, which is also evident in these (albeit, heavily redacted) documents.

One example is a Ministry for Culture & Heritage report titled Broadcasting to the Pacific: Future Role of RNZI. This report was received with no indication of author(s), destination(s) or subsequent actions and is significantly redacted. However, it does cover a 'timeframe' for action and also discussions with the Minister of Broadcasting, 'senior members of the New Zealand broadcasting industry', 'officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Trade (MFAT)' and a meeting with Television New Zealand (Broadcasting to the Pacific, n.d. p. 1). Judging by the tone, content and those consulted, this would seem to be a document generated by the Ministry for Culture & Heritage.

These discussions were to 'determine whether, for cultural and diplomatic

purposes, RNZI's current level of service to South Pacific listeners should be maintained' (Broadcasting to the Pacific, n.d. p. 1). The operative word seems to be 'should' here, and the inclusion of 'senior members of the New Zealand broadcasting industry' and the public television broadcaster would imply a deep and thorough evaluation of the role that RNZI was playing in attaining wider government goals in the region. The report notes discussions around providing RNZI services through online delivery platforms, but concludes that 'it is unlikely that local infrastructure in the South Pacific has reached a stage where it can provide the same level of coverage as the current analogue shortwave service' (Broadcasting to the Pacific, n.d.). This acknowledges the relative lack of internet services in the Pacific Islands and the restrictively high cost of those available for media content delivery. The report also states that 'RNZI's role has diplomatic and economic, as well as cultural implications', necessitating the involvement of MFAT in any decisions made (Broadcasting to the Pacific, n.d. p.2). Further discussion acknowledges the ongoing importance of RNZI and also a 'work programme' at MFAT to 'provide sports programming to Pacific Island nations' through a new service. MFAT said that once operational, it would be 'interested in exploring possibilities for providing RNZI content' (Broadcasting to the Pacific, n. d., p. 2). This document firmly frames RNZI as part of the wider diplomatic apparatus of the New Zealand government, in which 'cultural' outputs seem secondary to 'diplomatic and economic' concerns under the current administration.

RNZI news editor Walter Zweifel also notes the soft power potentials of Radio New Zealand in its reporting on conflicts in the region (Zweifel, personal communication, 2016). Of particular importance is RNZI's independence and accuracy in dealing with sources and reporting facts in a measured and responsible manner (Zweifel, 2010, pp. 70-1). This means that RNZI—and by extension—the New Zealand government and its agents can be seen as trusted parties in these tense and volatile conflagrations (Zweifel, personal communication, 2016).

This was particularly important in New Zealand's involvement in the de-escalation of a major conflict on Bougainville Island during the 1990s, as a decade-long civil war between rebel Islanders and the government of Papua New Guinea spilled over into nearby Solomon Islands (Zweifel, 2010, p. 70). RNZI's careful cultivation of sources and frank but reliable reporting helped to secure negotiations in which New Zealand played a key part as a host of talks between the warring parties and then a key monitor of the subsequent truce, by providing unarmed peacekeepers to help stabilise the nation (Zweifel, personal communication, 2016). Here Zweifel points to the power of RNZI as not just a reliable source of information, but also as part of the good Pacific citizenship New Zealand wishes to demonstrate in the region, with an open media and other highly functional democratic institutions setting a good example for nations emerging from decolonisation and constructing self-governance in various forms.

At the coalface: Radio New Zealand International on-air in 2016

However, Radio New Zealand International's output is not so neatly aligned with New Zealand's diplomatic goals and at times would seem to be working at cross-purposes with the smooth and unified application of soft power by the New Zealand government in engaging with its Pacific neighbours. RNZI is first and foremost an independent news service, created daily by a dedicated team of highly-trained professional journalists and producers, who constantly demonstrate freedom from direct government interference in their output. This is in stark contradiction to many national news services in Pacific nations, with countries like Fiji practising heavy censorship of the media by statute and others such as Tonga and West Papua New Guinea routinely and severely restricting free speech and journalistic endeavours that criticise power structures in those territories (*Pacific Media Watch*, 2016).

A brief survey of RNZI material previously broadcast and made available online in June 2016 shows RNZI's independent position on topical and controversial stories from the region. Stories about ethnic tensions in Solomon Islands, political upheavals in Cook Islands, government fraud in Papua New Guinea and banning of corporal punishment in Samoan schools demonstrate a high level of professional and critical engagement with diverse Pacific communities and a breadth and depth of newsgathering in the region that is unique to RNZI (Radio New Zealand International, 2016, June 19, 21 & 23). There is no indication of deference to the governments or other powerful players within these countries and all sources are treated fairly in terms of right of reply and inclusion in stories.

Zweifel relates a strong sense of pride in the professional and balanced reportage of RNZI staff and their in-depth knowledge of Pacific issues that allows them to tell richer stories for their listeners (Zweifel, personal communication, 2016). At the time of writing, one staff reporter had reduced his workload to part-time in order to complete a degree in International Relations at the University of Auckland, with the strong support of the organisation as it would add further to their capabilities in the region (Zweifel, personal communication, 2016).

Changes in RNZI and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Trade relationship

Zweifel reveals that there has been a change in the relationship between RNZI and the diplomatic arm of the New Zealand government, since it was decoupled from MFAT funding in 2002. Zweifel recounts a strained relationship 'in the '90s, when they didn't really trust us', but only one minor incident of 'interference' from a staff member employed by MFAT to work with RNZI over 'toning down' coverage of industrial action in Vanuatu, which Zweifel refused to do (Zweifel personal communication, 2016). This downplays more serious threats to the future of RNZI in the late 1990s. In 1997 the Treasury proposed significant cuts to

the service as part of wider government belt-tightening (Clark, 2006, p. 109). Then in 1998, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Don McKinnon, threatened to close the service altogether as he thought it was wasting MFAT resources for little diplomatic benefit (Clark, 2006, p. 108). This was averted by RNZI discussions with the Minister that pointed out the utility of the service as a media and civil defence partner in the Pacific. This was backed by support and advocacy from the influential Commonwealth Broadcasters Association (of which RNZI was a long standing member) and a public pressure group called 'Save Radio New Zealand International' which published criticism of the move and lobbied the minister and the others in government and the opposition (Clark, 2006, p. 109-110). According to Zweifel, McKinnon later claimed to have 'saved' Radio New Zealand International from being disestablished (Zweifel, personal communication, 2016).

On the question of any direct influence of direction from the New Zealand government, Zweifel is unequivocal:

> No, I have to praise government, we don't have to report to government, we don't get suggestions … we are a truly independent radio station … no interference, and you know, it's worth saying. (Zweifel, personal communication, 2016)

But, Zweifel contends that the relationship had 'cooled … in the last 15 years', with less direct contact between the two organisations since their separation in 2002, meaning that MFAT was no longer keeping RNZI 'in the loop' or 'advised' about diplomatic issues, foreign policy and particular Pacific programmes and delegations. This is seen as not so much deliberate, but more a lack of engagement with RNZI due to competing pressures on MFAT as an organisation—to the point that RNZI sometimes knows more about important foreign visitors and events than MFAT (Zweifel, personal communication, 2016). Zweifel does not see the relationship as particularly problematic, but arguably slightly advantageous to RNZI in that 'they are not keeping us in the loop, but they are also not interfering with us (Zweifel, personal communication, 2016).

This would seem to somewhat contradict assertions at government level that 'RNZI's role has diplomatic and economic, as well as cultural implications' (Broadcasting to the Pacific, n.d., p. 2). However, this might also augur a new appreciation of the role of RNZI as a provider of content that is 'gifted' to New Zealand's South Pacific island partners and as an influential outlet for the New Zealand government's views on the region. This needs to be balanced with Zweifel's contention that RNZI is strongly independent and free from government interference. This would reaffirm Clark's 2006 assessment of the service as an unsuitable 'vehicle for promoting trade and foreign affairs issues' due to its 'fair and objective reporting' (Clark, 2006, pp. 112-3).

Radio New Zealand International's role in the South Pacific

Radio New Zealand International fills a gap in South Pacific media and civil defence broadcasting coverage, providing news and emergency information services in critical situations to remote islands that are heavily reliant on accurate weather and other life-saving information, that cannot be generated locally. Again, this demonstrates New Zealand's commitment to the region and its willingness to be a good neighbour and a helping hand in times of trouble. This also extends to RNZI's ability to cultivate reliable sources and be a balanced voice in reporting on war and conflict in the region. This in turn reinforces New Zealand's diplomatic efforts and strengthens its hand in negotiations and monitoring of turbulent political situations.

It is also worth considering who would fill the void if New Zealand relinquished its position in Pacific broadcasting when considering the developing power structures and fault lines of the wider region. New Zealand's dominant position in South Pacific news services has kept other nations with different agendas out of the media choices in the region, which is advantageous to New Zealand's deep cultural, political and economic connections with the Islands. The economic power of China (and conceivably Russia) could well be brought to bear in new media services aimed into the region in support of wider political and economic goals. China has begun a new and more assertive phase of engagement with the region, typified by a comment in China's official Xinhua news agency commentary that China was pursuing a 'peaceful rise' and is developing 'growing international influence, particularly its clout in the Asia Pacific' (Xinhuanet, 2016).

At the moment, New Zealand enjoys relatively uncontested opportunities in news gathering, access and broadcasting in the region. To weaken or abandon this privileged position may provide impetus to other players, reducing New Zealand's influence considerably. This might also threaten the development of strong, independent media outlets in the region, with news services mimicking the well-documented state-controlled censorship of news being replicated in other players' international broadcast services. This would be coupled with a loss of appropriate professional journalism training based in democratic principles, stunting local independent journalism.

This is a concern when considering Radio New Zealand International's current funding reductions, which have also meant a reduction in technical broadcast capability. On 1 July 2016, Radio New Zealand International retired one of its two transmitters, meaning a reduction in programme times for many Pacific listeners, especially in the 'breakfast' time slot (Clark, 2016). According to Zweifel, this is a direct outcome of cost pressures, with a replacement to continue all services costing NZ$1-2 million and therefore out of reach for the organisation (Zweifel, personal communication, 2016). Although RNZI retains

'a mix of analogue shortwave, digital DRM shortwave, satellite, partnerships and online content delivery', there is a real service loss for listeners in the region with the decommissioning of the transmitter (Clark, 2016). Arresting this loss and funding Radio New Zealand International appropriately is critical to its ongoing performance and capacity to enhance the lives of the diverse peoples of the South Pacific, but also in projecting New Zealand's values into its own region and beyond.

Conclusion

Radio New Zealand International plays a pivotal role in sourcing and reporting reliable information for audiences in the Pacific Islands, New Zealand and elsewhere. It is a proudly independent news service, claiming to suffer little or no direct interference in its operations or outputs from the New Zealand government, even when this reporting could be seen to be potentially damaging to New Zealand's international diplomatic efforts. They are also an exemplar of democratic media freedoms in a region that has too few examples. This role is arguably as important as any attempt to turn the service into a 'mouthpiece' of the New Zealand government, however tempting that might be. Funding an accurate, fair and reliable news service in the Pacific is an appropriate application of New Zealand's 'soft power' approach to international affairs—demonstrating the benefits of a functional, dynamic and open democracy with a trade-based economy reliant on solid transnational partnerships and good international governance. Added to this ability to project preferred political settings into the region is RNZI's role in supporting journalists from Pacific countries in their efforts to provide accurate and timely information and to develop their journalistic practice. This 'capacity building' helps to strengthen local media outlets in the Islands, further enhancing democratic developments in the region. The critical involvement of a free, informed and engaged media is a continuing challenge for most nations of the Pacific. New Zealand has a significant and critical presence in the media of the South Pacific, which enhances the security and stability of the whole region.

Notes

1. For a detailed discussion of Radio New Zealand International's history, see: Clark, A. M. (2006). Radio New Zealand International: The voice of New Zealand, broadcasting to the Pacific, *Journal of Radio Studies*, *13*(1), 102-115.
2. Russia donated a shipment of 20 containers of small arms and other military equipment as well as military trainers to Fiji in early 2016, in what has been described by foreign policy experts as 'an opening move in a battle for influence in the region'. Source:www. theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/22/secretive-shipment-of-arms-donated-by-russia-to-fiji-raises-concerns

3. RNZI is funded June to June for accounting purposes. There is wider discussion and some activism around the effects of the 'funding freeze' applied to Radio New Zealand, available through a public group protesting against the situation, Save Radio New Zealand. The group's website contains articles and links that cover the controversy well: www.saveradionz.co.nz/

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Interview

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8. Pasifika solutions for Pacific problems

Commentary: The issues that challenge the stewardship of Pasifika peoples are as complex and diverse as the Pacific itself. We have our own conceptual tools that help us understand these complex issues. Our problem has been that we have a hard time using the tools of others and we end up with somewhat distorted understanding of our own issues. No wonder we have problems sometimes in communicating our issues to the people we serve. Telling our own stories, in our own language, with our own conceptual tools, so that we can construct meaning and bring understanding is the aim of Pacific journalism.

KALAFI MOALA
Publisher, Taimi 'o Tonga

THINK it is of great significance that the World Journalism Education Congress (WJEC) in July 2016 was held in the city of Auckland. Not only is it the biggest Polynesian city in the world, it is also the one city where Pacific peoples have a substantial influence in every social sphere.

Auckland is the hub of education, trade, transportation and communication for Western Pacific Island nations. There are many of us from the Pacific Islands who regard Auckland as home, or our second home.

I want to emphatically call on journalism educators and journalists from around the world, to please give your fellow journalists and journalism educators in our Pacific region your kind attention and to help our trade so that we can lift the level of journalism in our region to something we can be proud of.

Despite our small population and land size, we are not insignificant. Covering one third of the Earth's surface is the vast Ocean called the Pacific, a term that refers to both people and place. This is our home. It is where we live. This area stretches from the Arctic to the Antarctic, from Asia to the Americas and includes the most dynamic volcanoes on earth as well as the highest reaching mountains, stretching from the ocean floors to the heavens.

The Pacific is home to the richest diversity of air, land and sea life on Planet Earth. Among its 30,000 islands live multitudes of Islanders. Some of us are brown. Some are black and some are white. But we are all Oceanians, human

beings with dreams and aspirations, with rights and needs to be met.

We are proud of our ability to live and adapt to the unique challenges that we face in our world.

The Polynesians were definitely the most skilled seafarers of Pasifika. Their large, double-hulled canoes sailed throughout the vast waters of the Pacific looking for new lands and new conquests as well as trading partners.

The famous English explorer Captain James Cook wrote in his diary about the three visits he made to Tonga in the 1770s. He wrote that he was surprised by the size and speed of the Tongan double-hulled canoes, known as *kalias*. They would sail teasingly behind his ship and circle it while it was going at full speed. The kalias were so large they could carry up to 200 warriors.

Our ancestors built those double-hulled canoes to sail all over this vast Pacific ocean.

As the late Professor 'Epeli Hau'ofa wrote: 'We are not islands of the seas, but a sea of islands. That is our home.' Hau'ofa was the son of Tongan missionaries to Papua New Guinea, whose academic work revolved around the islands of Oceania. He was born a Tongan, raised in Papua New Guinea and settled in Fiji where he worked at the University of the South Pacific until he died.

The ocean, Hau'ofa wrote, does not separate us, rather it connects us. Its endless resources and opportunities offer sustainable life and creativity.

The issues that challenge the stewardship of Pasifika's peoples are as complex and diverse as Pasifika itself. Our people, but especially those from Tuvalu and Kiribati, face challenges with global warming and climate change; Tokelau and Niue are islands that are no longer home to most of their people; there are Island nations in Polynesia and Micronesia that have been victims of French and American nuclear testing; there are fellow Islanders in West Papua who are being oppressed under the colonial rule of an Asian power and there are Island nations that are more and more dependent on aid from outside. Our people are being killed off by an unforgiving enemy, Non Communicable Diseases; there are Island nations whose future both economically and politically will be more determined by others than themselves; and there is—the ongoing re-colonisation of all Pasifika by economically powerful nations—both Western and Eastern, a phenomenon that has put the peoples of Pasifika back into the subservient role that was common in the golden era of colonisation.

We have our own conceptual tools that help us understand these complex issues. Our problem has been that we have a hard time using the tools of others and we end up with somewhat distorted understanding of our own issues. No wonder we have problems sometimes in communicating our issues to the people we serve.

Telling our own stories, in our own language, with our own conceptual tools, so that we can construct meaning and bring understanding is the aim of

Pacific journalism.

We may not be successful in achieving this aim in many of our islands, but if we fail, it will not be for lack of trying.

Ken Doctor of Newsonomics.com asks: 'What is the difference between being informed and being educated?'

'What's the line between learning something new and being taught something new?'

Journalism and education are both about knowledge.

Are news media and universities just two ways of doing the same thing—gaining knowledge? But not all knowledge is appropriate. Relevancy is often begging at the door of journalism education.

There are quite a number of stories that need to be told and analysed. These are stories and issues that are part of the realities of our life in the Pacific:

- The impact of climate change—flooding, hurricanes, tsunamis
- The impact of nuclear testing—Marshall Islands and French Polynesian stories
- The impact of unemployment—labour mobility solutions
- The impact of NCDs—deaths, loss of income, creation of poverty
- The impact of the abuse of power—violence, corruption and addictive behaviours
- The impact of ignorance, being vulnerable to exploitation
- The impact of the geopolitical shifts of power.

In our region, there is a geopolitical shift taking place in which power no longer exclusively belongs to the West, but is shared by Asian powers. Washington, London, Canberra and Wellington no longer dictate what goes on in the Pacific. Beijing, New Delhi, Tokyo and Seoul have joined in the power struggle in our region.

Yes, SHIFT happens!

Stories need to be told from the perspective, not of power, or of the oppressor, but of the vulnerable and the oppressed; those affected by the decisions and actions of the powerful.

Many of the 'solutions' being offered for our region are not necessarily ours, but are being derived, imported and imposed from distant and differently oriented continents. The 'solutions' have brought with them more complex problems that compound those we've been trying to resolve.

I call on you, our Journalism Educators, to include Pasifika in your curriculum and to help us in our quest to deliver quality journalism to our people.

Kalafi Moala, a Tongan author, commentator, broadcaster and publisher of the kingdom's first independent newspaper, Taimi 'o Tonga, delivered this concluding keynote speech at the World Journalism Education Congress (WJEC) conference at Auckland University of Technology in July 2016. He is on the editorial board of Pacific Journalism Review *and is the author of* Island Kingdom Strikes Back: The Story of an Independent Island Newspaper—Taimi 'o Tonga *and other books.*
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Causes for concern
The state of New Zealand journalism in 2015

Abstract: This survey of New Zealand journalists, completed in late 2015, shows the impact of the rapid move to a digital news environment. Journalists are more educated, but working longer hours and feeling more pressure, both ethically and resource-wise, than they were only two years ago. Technological changes are felt acutely, particularly the use of social media and user-generated content. Journalists are concerned that advertising and commercial pressures are stronger, while overall standards are weakening. This study also shows, for the first time, that women are seriously disadvantaged in pay and promotion despite making up most of the workforce. Despite these challenges, overall job satisfaction remains at similar levels to previous surveys and journalists' own commitment to ethical standards and journalism's fourth-estate role remains strong.

Keywords: attitudes, employment, ethics, gender, journalists, journalism education, New Zealand, survey

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L IKE most countries, New Zealand journalism is experiencing significant change, with most major media organisations having restructured in the past two-to-three years to meet new technological and commercial pressures involved with the move to online news gathering and dissemination. All the main media organisations have moved or are moving to online news, with converged newsrooms serving both online outlets and offline outlets such as print, radio or television. The decline in off-line advertising revenue and the slow growth of digital advertising income is putting additional pressure on news media organisations, which have responded by cutting journalist positions, especially in subediting. Many middle-and-upper management positions have also changed or been disestablished. Simultaneously, the rapid growth of social media has provided journalists with new news sources and dissemination outlets, while also introducing new ethical dilemmas about intrusion into personal social media spaces.

These changes raise important questions about their impact on New Zealand journalists. Earlier surveys of New Zealand journalists have generally confirmed that they position themselves within the Anglophone tradition, seeing themselves as independent, objective reporters giving the public important information (Hannis, et al. 2014; Hollings, Samson, Tilley, & Lealand, 2007). These surveys have also noted concerns about rising commercial and technological pressures due to the move to digital journalism and about the lack of ethnic diversity in the workforce. A particular concern, noted in both quantitative surveys and qualitative research, has been gender inequality, but there has been no reliable data to confirm its extent across the workforce. A 2007 survey found that women, although predominating in the workforce, earned less than men, but did not control for experience, rank or age (Hollings, et al., 2007). In a study of New Zealand women journalists, Strong (2011) found they were leaving journalism early, in part because of the predominantly masculine newsroom culture, but did not quantify pay or rank discrimination. A 2013 survey found women outnumbered men in most roles, except in senior management, but drew no conclusions about pay (Hannis, et al., 2014).

In order to examine what these developments in the transformation of journalism mean for journalists' professional views and backgrounds, this article reports on the findings of a 2015 survey of New Zealand journalists. The study was conducted as part of the Worlds of Journalism Study (www.worldsofjournalism.org), the first-ever global survey of journalists, which encompassed more than 60 countries.

Methodology

In order to define who qualified as a respondent for this study of New Zealand journalists, we relied on established definitions such as those by Weaver and Wilhoit (1986), who define a journalist as someone who has some editorial responsibility over news content. Only professional journalists were surveyed, i.e. those who earned at least 50 percent of their income from paid work for news media and who were involved in producing and editing journalistic content, editorial supervision or co-ordination. In line with the broader framework for the study, we excluded amateur journalists, such as bloggers or citizen journalists. We included a wide range of publishing platforms in our approach, such as newspapers, magazines, television stations, radio stations, online media and news agencies.

While in the past it has often been difficult and time-consuming to identify journalists in New Zealand, the spread of available databases has allowed for improved efficiency. Using two public databases targeted at public relations practitioners who want to reach journalists, we were able to identify a total of 2415 unique email addresses. We conducted considerable cross-checking and deeper

examination of random entries to ensure they were current and exhaustive of the actual number of journalist positions in individual news organisations. While we were satisfied that the vast majority of journalists were captured across the two databases, we also recognised that not all news workers may have been listed. Our conservative estimate assumes that the New Zealand journalist population is no more than 3000.

Following the identification of journalists' email addresses, we sent invitations to all 2415 accounts, with a link to the survey, which was hosted on the Survey Monkey platform. The questionnaire had been developed collaboratively by the wide range of investigators involved in the Worlds of Journalism Study and we used the standard questionnaire. Two questions, on job satisfaction and experience of reporting practices, were added for the New Zealand context. Following the original invitation, sent on 30 November 2015, two reminders were sent to those who had not responded, with each one week apart. The survey was closed on 14 January 2016. Individual reminders were also sent to incomplete responses a maximum of two times. Of the 2415 accounts, 19 respondents opted out of the survey, while 117 invitations could not be delivered. A further 15 respondents emailed us to state they did not qualify for the survey criteria of what constitutes a journalist. The total number of valid emails of journalist respondents for the purpose of response rate calculation was therefore 2283. In total, 656 started the survey; however, 117 responses needed to be excluded because they did not answer any of the substantial questions, or turned out not to be journalists. Thus, the final number of valid responses was 539, resulting in a response rate of 23.6 percent. Considering the study was conducted via an online survey, this is a relatively high response rate. We estimate this gives our results a margin of error of 5 percent with 99 percent confidence, or 3.8 percent at the 95 percent confidence level.

Results

Age
Journalists in this survey were slightly older on average than in previous surveys. The median age was 44 years and the mean age 43.16 years. This is considerably older than the 2013 survey sample, where the estimated median was 38 years and estimated mean was 40 years (Hannis, 2014). In 2007, the estimated median was 39 years. As each journalist's exact age was collected in this survey, we can give a precise median and mean, rather than the estimated median and mean of previous surveys. For brevity, we have collated ages into bands. These are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: New Zealand journalists by age	Frequency	Percent
20 years or less	3	0.6
21 - 30 years	106	21.1
31 -40 years	95	18.9
41 - 50 years	122	24.3
51 - 60 years	124	24.7
More than 60 years	53	10.5
TOTAL	503	100

Employment details

The vast majority of our respondents appeared to be in relatively secure employment, with 87 percent stating they had a full-time contract. Only 6 percent were employed part-time and another 6 percent were freelancers. Most (88 percent) worked for one newsroom, while another 7 percent worked for two. Almost one-quarter had other paid jobs, suggesting that a not insignificant minority need to supplement their income through non-journalistic work. Only one-third (33 percent) belonged to some kind of professional association, a result that is almost identical to 2013. More than one-third (38 percent) worked on a specific beat, of which the economy/ business (16 percent) sports (14 percent) and crime/police/ the courts/ emergency services (9.4 percent) were the most common.

Gender

As in previous surveys (Hannis, 2014; Hollings, 2007; Lealand, 2004), most New Zealand journalists are women. However, this numeric majority does not result in increased power, as this survey showed women are still disadvantaged in a range of ways. As Table 2 shows, women are on average six years younger than men and have 5.3 years less work experience. This demonstrates that journalists from both genders are, on average, joining the industry at around the same age, i.e. when they are 26 to 27 years old. Yet, women are significantly under-represented in junior and senior management roles, where their numbers are far fewer than those of men. While only half of men work in non-management roles, that is the case for two-thirds of women. While at first sight the bias towards men in management roles may be because they are more experienced, closer examination shows that is not the case. In fact, the five-year gap in experience holds true in both junior and senior ranks, thus negating any role that experience may play. Given that women have predominated in the profession since at least 2007 and probably several years before that, this suggests that

women are not being considered equally for promotion. Similarly, women are also paid significantly less, an aspect further examined in the following section. Adding to these aspects is the fact that women tend to be significantly more likely to have a university degree. Women also appear to be in more tenuous employment conditions, with slightly fewer of them in full-time employment, but this difference is not statistically significant.

Table 2: Key demographics of New Zealand journalists		
	Female	Male
Age (mean)	41	47
Experience (mean)	14.4	19.7
Salary (median, after tax)	$44,104	$55,552
Rank (in percent)		
Senior manager	14.9%	23.5%
Junior manager	19.2%	26.3%
Non-management staff	65.9%	50.2%
University degree (in percent)	89.3%	80.7%
Full-time employment	84.7%	90%

Income

In 2015, the median income was $49,639 after tax (calculated following Jeffcoat's formula for calculating the median from banded data (1995). This was an increase of 5.36 percent in real terms since 2013 ($47,110 after tax in 2015 currency value, calculated using the RBNZ inflation calculator, using the first quarter of 2013 and last quarter of 2015 as start and end points (RBNZ, 2016). The mean income for 2015 after tax rose 6.1 percent in real terms from $52,317 in 2013 to $55,543. Converted into before-tax figures, using the IRD online calculator (IRD, 2016), median income rose 6.4 percent to $61,000, from $57,328, again in 2015 dollars, while mean income rose 7.1 percent from $64,767 to $69,400. Over the approximately two years between surveys, this is a rise of about 3 percent per annum in real terms.

However, these broad increases conceal significant differences, with experience, location, gender, rank and education determining how much a journalist will earn (Table 3). Not surprisingly, how long journalists have been in the job is still the most important predictor for how much they will be able to earn. A multiple regression of various potential influences reveals journalists' experience accounts for the largest share of influences on salary, explaining just over one-third of the variance in the model (R^2=.343, adjusted R^2=.334, $F(6, 426)$=37.1,

Table 3: Predictors of New Zealand journalists' salary

Variable	β [95% CI]	B	sr²	p
Experience (in years)	0.056 [0.042, 0.07]	0.346	0.095	***
Gender (1=Female)	0.666 [0.355, 0.976]	0.172	0.027	***
Rank-and-file journalist	-0.617 [-0.95, -0.283]	-0.156	0.020	***
Location (1=Regional/Local)	-1.022 [-1.333, -0711]	-0.257	0.064	***
Education (1=University Degree)	0.703 [0.119, 1.288]	0.096	0.009	*
Specialised Education (1=studied journalism)	-0.173 [-0.498, 0.153]	-0.043	0.002	

Notes:

N=400; CI=Confidence Interval; *p<.05; ***p<.001; B=unstandardised; β=standardised regression coefficients; sr²=squared semi-partial corelations for each predictor in a regression model.

This model shows the factors predicting salary level are experience, gender, rank, location and having a university degree.

p<.001). Second-most important is a journalist's location, with regional and local journalists earning significantly less than their counterparts in metropolitan areas. Gender is also a significant influence here, with the median after-tax salary of men being 26 percent higher than that of women. Unsurprisingly, rank is also an important criterion, with junior and senior managers more likely to earn more. At the same time, experience appears still more important than rank. Finally, journalists' education matters, with those who have earned a university degree more likely to have a higher income. However, it does not seem to matter whether journalists have studied journalism. Those who specialised in journalism during their degree were not more likely to earn a higher income than those who did not.

Table 4: New Zealand journalists by job description

	Number	Percent
Senior management	109	20.2
Middle management	120	22.3
Rank and file	310	57.5
TOTAL	539	100

Position in newsroom and experience

Rank and file journalists continue to make up the bulk of the workforce, accounting for almost two thirds of respondents. The relatively high proportion of senior management is probably due to the large number of small independent media outlets captured in this survey (Table 4). Again, this may have influenced experience, with a high proportion (two-thirds) having more than 10 years' experience (Table 5).

Table 5: New Zealand journalists experience in years		
	Number	Percent
1 year or less	N/A	N/A
More than 1 year but less than 2	24	4.8
2 or more but less than 5	73	14.5
5 or more but less than 10	72	14.3
10 years or more	334	64.4
Total	503	100

Ethnicity

Despite the growth in Indigenous media in recent years, with the advent of a Māori Television Service and the establishment of news organisations targeting Pasifika and Asian New Zealanders, the vast majority of the workforce remains European in origin. However, this survey did show an increase in Māori journalists compared to previous surveys, which suggests the workforce may be slowly becoming more representative, at least of Māori (Table 6).

Table 6: New Zealand journalists' ethnicity		
	Number	Percent
NZ European	434	86.1
Māori	40	7.9
Pacific peoples	9	1.8
Asian	8	1.6
Other	13	2.4
Total	504	100

Platforms

For the 2015 survey, journalists could select more than one medium, reflecting changes in workplace practice, where news workers increasingly work across a variety of different distribution platforms. Organisations that had a significant offline presence as well as significant online sites (e.g. Stuff, *NZ Herald*, Television New Zealand, and Radio New Zealand) were coded for their main offline medium as well as for online. Only those journalists whose organisation had no offline presence were coded for online only. For example, Stuff and *NZ Herald* rely on their print media to generate much of their copy and were therefore considered to be both print and online. The results reveal the strong impact of convergence on New Zealand journalism, with almost 86 percent of news workers now publishing across more than one platform. In contrast, very few work in only one medium.

Table 7: New Zealand journalists by medium 2015		
	Frequency	Percent
Newspaper	271	50.2
Magazine	86	16
Radio	89	16.5
Television	58	10.8
Multi-platform	463	85.9
Online only	23	4.3
Other (e.g. news agency)	3	0.6
Total	539	100

Note: Percentages add up to more than 100 because multiple mentions were possible.

Job satisfaction

Despite the various challenges for New Zealand journalists, job satisfaction remains quite high. Almost four in five (78.6 percent) stated they were 'somewhat' or 'very satisfied' with their job, compared with 82.1 percent in 2013. A t-test of the job satisfaction means revealed no statistically significant difference and we can therefore note that there has been no significant shift in job satisfaction.

Table 8: New Zealand journalists' job satisfaction		
	Number	Percent
Very satisfied	136	33.5
Somewhat satisfied	183	45.1
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	27	6.7
Somewhat dissatisfied	47	11.6
Very dissatisfied	13	3.2
Total	406	100

Job autonomy

More than three-quarters of respondents (78 percent) said they had either 'complete freedom' or 'a great deal of freedom' when it came to selecting stories. Similarly, most journalists (78 percent) said they had either 'complete freedom' or 'a great deal of freedom' in deciding what aspects of a story should be emphasised. Seven percent said they had either 'no or little freedom'. These results do not appear connected with the fact that our 2015 sample included more junior and senior managers. Many respondents said they participated in editorial and newsroom co-ordination, such as attending editorial meetings or assigning reporters.

Almost two thirds (58 percent) said they participated 'very often' or 'all the time' in such activities. However, almost a quarter (22 percent) said they 'rarely or almost never' took part.

Role perceptions

Of 18 possible roles journalists might undertake in their jobs, we asked respondents to rate the importance of each role in their work using a five-point scale, where 1 was unimportant and 5 was extremely important (Table 9). The rank order of these roles remains much the same as in a previous survey conducted in 2013 (Hannis, 2014). The highest-rating role was 'Report things as they are' (a mean rating of 4.57). Other highly important roles (in descending order) were 'Let people express their views' (3.96), 'Be a detached observer' (3.95), 'Provide analysis of current affairs' (3.83), 'Provide information people need to make political decisions' (3.54) and 'Monitor and scrutinise political leaders' (3.69). As in 2013, journalists saw their main roles as being to report objectively and independently in order to inform the citizenry. The least important roles were 'Support government policy' (1.37), 'Convey a positive image of political leadership' (1.46), 'Set the political agenda' (2.0) and 'Be an adversary of the government' (2.08) Respondents thus did not see themselves as being necessarily a supporter or opponent of the government. They thought it more important to 'provide entertainment and relaxation' (3.12) and 'provide the kind of news that attracts the largest audience' (3.27) than to 'support national development' (2.63) 'motivate people to participate in political activity' (2.72) or even just to 'provide advice orientation and direction for daily life' (2.7). As in 2013, journalists appear to have a strong belief in their role as the Fourth Estate, but not to the extent of promoting social change.

In addition to the question above, respondents were asked to provide answers to the open-ended question: 'In your own words, what are the three most important roles of journalism?' More than 500 individual responses were recorded, from succinct one-liners to paragraph-length. By identifying recurrent words and phrases these responses were assigned to one of four categories. The first two categories dominated responses and comprised:

1. Responses which privileged aspects of professionalism or craft in journalism, as in the need to 'inform', 'educate', provide 'objective/unbiased/non-partisan/balanced' news coverage, as well as maintaining high standards of writing and reportage. In this respect, journalists were regarded as agents in processes of news gathering and dissemination. Two typical responses were: 'Honesty of reporting; communication of the facts; share a balance of opinions', and 'There's only one; to subjectively report the news in an even-handed manner that allows the reader to make a fully informed decision on any given topic'.

Table 9: Roles of New Zealand journalists				
	Number	Mean	Standard deviation	Very or extremely important (%)
Report things as they are	532	4.57	0.635	94
Let people express their views	526	3.96	0.978	71.4
Be a detached observer	530	3.95	0.995	71.5
Provide analysis of current affairs	526	3.83	1.025	67.9
Monitor and scrutinise political leaders	521	3.69	1.297	61.7
Monitor and scrutinise business	523	3.6	1.259	57.6
Provide information people need to make political decisions	527	3.54	1.291	61.1
Provide the kind of news that attracts the largest audience	527	3.27	1.194	43.5
Provide entertainment and relaxation	530	3.12	1.149	36.7
Advocate for social change	521	3.07	1.254	39
Influence public opinion	515	2.8	1.225	27.7
Motivate people to participate in political activity	518	2.72	1.339	31.3
Provide advice, orientation and direction for daily life	522	2.7	1.241	26.1
Support national development	502	2.63	1.231	24.5
Set the political agenda	506	2.42	1.177	18.1
Be an adversary of the government	494	2.08	1.146	11.9
Convey a positive image of political leadership	513	1.46	0.8	3.5
Support government policy	504	1.37	0.705	1.4

2. Responses which argued for journalists as watchdogs or guardians of the public good, in a fourth estate role which held the powerful accountable to their readers, listeners and viewers. In this respect, journalists were regarded as advocates for a greater good. Two typical responses were: 'Be the voice—to ask, challenge and explore on behalf of the public from a position of independence; tell the story—to inform, detail and explain to that public from a position of integrity; be the record—to chronicle the important, interesting and noteworthy from a position of authority', and 'keeping check on power—holding

government, business and other influencers to account and defending the media's freedom to do so.'

3. Responses which incorporated both of the above two roles, as in 'inform; entertain; hold people accountable or hold power to account; inform; entertain'.

4. Two other roles, which were cited by a small number of journalists, which pointed to the need for news organisations to be profitable and specific cultural agendas as in, 'deliver the information/news in simple language, easy to understand. In my case, translate the news accurately in Samoan to inform our listeners in their language'.

Education

More journalists appear to be entering the profession with a higher-level degree (Table 10). This probably reflects the fact that some New Zealand journalism schools are now offering journalism as a Masters-level qualification and these graduates are beginning to make their way into the industry. For example, in 2013 only a 10th of journalists had a Master's degree; in this survey 15 percent had. On the other hand, fewer journalists in this survey had a degree (85 percent, compared to 91 percent in 2013).

Table 10: Qualifications of New Zealand journaalists		
	Frequency	Percent
Doctorate	1	0.2
Master's degree	78	15.5
College/Bachelor's degree or equivalent	348	69.3
Undertook some university studies but no qualification	37	7.4
Completed high school	34	6.8
Did not complete high school	4	0.8
TOTAL	502	100

Ethics

Most journalists believed they should adhere to professional norms; almost all respondents (96 percent) agreed with the statement 'Journalists should always adhere to codes of professional ethics, regardless of situation and context' (Table 11). Within this broad agreement, however, there were nuances; 59 percent of respondents agreed with the statement 'What is ethical in journalism depends on the specific situation', while a third disagreed. Rank and file journalists (mean 3.4) were more likely to agree with this statement (F=4.82, df=2, p<.01)

Table 11: Ethics

	Number	Mean	Standard deviation	Agree (%)
Journalists should always adhere to codes of professional ethics, regardless of situation and context	534	4.64	0.649	96.1
What is ethical in journalism depends on the specific situation	530	3.24	1.414	59.2
What is ethical in journalism is a matter of personal judgment	533	2.63	1.362	38.1
It is acceptable to set aside moral standards if extraordinary circumstances require it	522	2.63	1.348	33.8

than senior managers (mean 2.95). A total of 38 percent (2013: 40 percent) agreed with the statement 'What is ethical in journalism is a matter of personal judgment', (while 52 percent disagree), with rank and file again being more likely to agree (mean 2.81) than junior management (mean 2.30), (F=7.045, df=2, p<.001). Almost the same proportion (34 percent) agreed that 'It is acceptable to set aside moral standards if extraordinary circumstances require it'. While almost half (48 percent) disagree with this statement. This suggests that rank and file journalists are less rigid about some of these ethical issues than their managers. There were no significant gender differences in the responses.

Reporting practices
The survey listed 10 common journalistic practices that involved an ethical dimension and asked respondents whether they could be justified in obtaining an important story, with 1 'being always justified', 2 'justified on occasion', and 3 being 'never justified'. The most acceptable practices were 'Using confidential business or government documents without authorisation' (mean rating 2.07), 'Using hidden microphones or cameras' (2.23), 'Using re-creations or dramatisations of news by actors' (2.28).

It appears that New Zealand journalists are usually comfortable with deceptive and intrusive practices in order to gain information, but are not when it comes to publishing (dramatisation by actors is not counted here as a deceptive dissemination practice, because viewers are usually alerted to the use of actors) (Table 12). This suggests that journalists see a clear distinction between newsgathering and news dissemination and, by inference, believe they can make ethical judgements about when to disseminate information gained through deception.

However, they are also much divided about the acceptability of some newsgathering practices. In particular, about half think it 'acceptable' to use personal

Table 12: Reporting practices among NZ journalists	Rank	Regarded as acceptable (%)
Using confidential business or government documents without authorisation	1	93
Using hidden microphones or cameras	2	76
Using re-creations or dramatisations of news by actors	3	69
Getting employed in a firm or organisation to gain inside information	4	50
Making use of personal documents such as letters and pictures without permission	5	49
Exerting pressure on unwilling informants to get a story	6	47
Paying people for confidential information	7	36
Reporting practices: claiming to be somebody else	8	26
Publishing stories with unverified content	9	23
Accepting money from sources	10	2

information without permission, on occasion, whereas half think it 'never justi-fied'. This is one practice which appears to be causing journalists some conflict, with a significant change in acceptability since 2013. We think this is most likely due to the increasing pressure from news organisations on journalists to use and access public social media accounts for stories.

As one said:

At a newspaper I previously worked for, we would occasionally take im-ages off Facebook to accompany stories—typically, these would be court stories and the images would be of offenders taken from their public Face-book pages. I understand the jury is still out over whether Facebook images are private or not, but I was never certain we were doing the right thing.

Likewise, a majority of journalists thought it 'never justified' to exert pressure on sources for a story, pretend to be someone else, pay for information, publish unverified content or accept money. One said, in relation to whether they had exerted pressure on unwilling informants:

I have certainly talked people around when they've had doubts about participating in a story but I have never threatened, blackmailed or bribed anybody.

Another said:
Talking someone into a story despite their objections is a matter of degree.

> If it crosses the line into bullying, then no. They must always know they
> have the choice not to give information.

The acceptability of using unverified content seems to depend on what journalists thought it meant. As one said, it is fine if verification is taken in the strict sense, as meaning content that is not attached to a named source:

> On occasion, I have been instructed to use the word that my paper 'understands' that such a situation is the case. That is only done when you know a fact to be true, but you cannot get someone to be quoted on the record. I have hardly ever had a complaint after using the phrase 'understands' for content that cannot be independently verified.

The ranking of acceptability of these practices remained very similar between 2013 and 2015.

By far the most unacceptable practice remains accepting money from sources.

Influences on the job

Journalists experience many pressures on the job and we wanted to see how they felt various pressures were affecting them (Table 12). The survey asked them to rate how much 25 possible influences affected their work as journalists, with 1 being 'not influential' and 5 being 'extremely influential'. Unsurprisingly, given the strong adherence to journalistic codes of ethics noted above, the strongest influence was 'Journalism ethics' (with a mean rating of 4.17). This was followed by 'Time limits' (3.87) 'Information access' (3.83), 'Media laws and regulation' (3.79) and 'Availability of newsgathering resources' (3.71). This is virtually identical to 2013, with the exception that time limits (ranked fourth then) have become significantly more pressing. As in 2013, the weakest perceived influence was 'Pressure groups' (1.93), 'Owners' and 'Profit expectations' (2.21).

Change

The dramatic changes in news brought about by the switch to digital dissemination and the rise of social media are reflected in journalists' perceptions of change in their industry. The survey asked them to rate 23 elements that may have altered over the past five years in New Zealand, with 1 being 'weakened a lot' and 5 being 'strengthened a lot'. 'Social media, such as Facebook or Twitter' strengthened the most, with a mean rating of 4.8, followed by 'the use of search engines' (4.63), 'user-generated content, such as blogs' (4.4), 'Profit-making pressures' (4.35), 'Advertising pressures' (4.07) and Working hours (4.03). There are significant shifts from 2013—while the ranking of the top three change elements is the same, the amount of perceived change has strengthened. Also, advertising pressures and working hours have now entered the top five, replacing 'The importance of technical skills' (4.0) and 'Audience feedback' (also 4.0).

The increasing commercial pressures on journalists also showed in those elements identified by respondents as having weakened the most. These were 'time available for researching stories' (1.76), 'the credibility of journalism' (2.25), 'ethical standards' (2.4), and 'journalists' freedom to make editorial decisions' (2.69). Clearly, then, journalists are feeling keenly the impact of new media and time pressures on their work practices.

Discussion

The findings presented in this article show the effects of the significant changes taking place in the New Zealand journalism workforce, with several rounds of restructuring and consequently redundancies taking place since the last survey in 2013. The difficult commercial environment is reflected in the perceived increase in profit-making pressures, advertising pressures, time pressures and working hours. The accelerating move to digital and online forms of newsgathering and news dissemination can be seen in the increase in use of social media and search engines. What is concerning is that journalists feel these changes have affected news quality, with a perception that the credibility of journalism, ethical standards and freedom to make editorial decisions have all fallen.

It is also of concern that women journalists, despite making up the majority of the workforce for at least the past decade, still lack parity with their male counterparts. Men with the same experience earn more than women and women of equal rank (except at the senior level) are also likely to be paid less. Women are also less likely to make it into the higher ranks of the profession. Given that women have predominated in the profession since at least 2007 and probably several years before that, this suggests that women are not being considered equally for promotion. This is similar to the pattern found in a recent survey of Australian journalists, where despite women predominating in the profession, they were disadvantaged in pay and promotion (Hanusch, 2013).

Another concern is that despite evidence of some improvement, Māori, Pasifika, and Asians remain under-represented in newsrooms. Māori make up only 7.9 percent of the workforce, despite making up 15 percent of the general population. This gap is similar to Australia, where only 1.8 percent of journalists identified as Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islanders, despite making up 2.5 percent of the population there (Hanusch, 2013).

In summary, journalists are better educated, but feel they are working longer hours, and feeling more pressure, both ethically and resource-wise, than they were only two years ago. Given all this, some may find it surprising that overall job satisfaction has remained high. It may be that the perceptions about declining standards are only that and the move to a digital environment has produced gains, such as in enhanced autonomy on the job, that have offset losses. Perceptions are not always accurate: Although journalists in this survey think it has become

more important to have a degree, especially one in journalism, there was actually a drop in the proportion of such-qualified journalists in this survey, compared to a previous survey. On the positive side, journalists are better educated than they have ever been, and overall adherence to ethical standards remains high.

It is clear that New Zealand journalists, despite these pressures, continue to take their role as guardians of democracy very seriously. The large number of independent operators captured in this survey suggests that the digital revolution is opening new opportunities for journalists to start their own smaller outlets, a challenge that appears to have been taken up especially by older journalists.

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Place-makers of the mind
Symbolic reconstruction of an inner city park

Abstract: In 2016, a specialist unit that teaches university journalism students how to report in partnership with Indigenous community organisations extended its story range to a news feature produced with members of the wider Nyoongar community of Perth, Western Australia. The story asked the question of what happened to a stalled proposal to co-badge a major inner city park with a Nyoongar name. In conceiving the story and producing it with assistance from our students, we achieved clarity on a local government decision where due process had not been followed. With the help of Nyoongar sources, our team sought to explain the cultural importance of the park and raise awareness of the decolonising potential of Indigenous place names. We and our students advanced discussion of the park's name, mediating between the broader public, Nyoongar people and a council administration to produce journalism that influenced a political process by privileging Indigenous voices. The following exegesis melds sense of place theory with the field theory of Pierre Bourdieu to situate the story and its producers in social space.

Keywords: Bourdieu and journalism, Indigenous, Indigenous affairs journalism, Indigenous place names, journalism education, journalism and place, Noongar voice, Nyoongar voice

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Introduction

THIS RESEARCH article combines sense of place theory and the field theory of Pierre Bourdieu to contextualise a news feature story conceived by us, and produced with the assistance of university students who were undertaking a specialist Indigenous affairs journalism unit, founded in 2013, called Aboriginal Community Engagement (ACE).

The paper is presented in two parts, an exegesis on the story, then the story itself titled 'Aboriginal park name revived'. The story re-elevated to public attention a lapsed debate over a plan to co-badge an inner city park with a name reflecting its importance to the Wadjuk Nyoongar people who have occupied what is now metropolitan Perth for at least 38,000 years (Pearce & Barbetti, 1981).

We and the students increased the visibility and transparency of a local council decision-making process, thereby performing a core role of journalism—to keep governments accountable. Our intention was to provide a platform for the oft-marginalised Wadjuk Nyoongar voice to be privileged and heard in debate over the park's name.[1] Working with Nyoongar people as story subjects and sources, we contested abbreviated and dominant collective memories (Zelizer, 1995, p. 214)—and some racist depictions—of the park. We were thus able to provide historical context that captured the park's under-recognised importance to Nyoongars from ancient to modern times. By reflecting here upon how we did that, we seek to make overt what journalists have long kept covert—their centrality in the production of collective memory (Zelizer, 2008, p. 79).

The exegesis commences with background about the topic of the story—a park called Weld Square, and a stalled plan to co-badge it with an Aboriginal name. We then briefly describe the ACE unit, which is outlined in more detail at Thomson, et al. (2016). To explain why we became interested in the topic of the story, we review literature that attests to the socio-political importance, and decolonising[2] potential, of place names, with an emphasis on the 242,000 sq km south-western corner of Australia where more than half of all place names are of Nyoongar origin. Finally, to situate the story and its producers in social space, we draw on work presented in Thomson, et al. (2015) that links sense of place theory to Bourdieusian field theory.

Part 1: The exegesis
Background
Because Nyoongar country was the first in Western Australia to be colonised, 'with significant lags to colonisation elsewhere in the state', Nyoongar people 'bore the brunt of colonisation' (Thomson, et al., 2016, p. 62). The Nyoongar community was 'enormously affected by white settlement …, forced off their land and dispersed to other areas' (Bennell v Western Australia, 2006). However, as the South West Aboriginal Land and Sea Council and others note, 'despite [now] being in a heavily urbanised area, Noongar people continue to practise traditional ways' (2009, p.xiii).

Located in the suburb of Perth, the epicentre of early Western Australian colonisation, Weld Square was named after the state's eighth governor, Frederick Weld. The park is a state-listed Aboriginal heritage site significant to Wadjuk Nyoongar people who had gathered there since long before the late 1800s when Governor Weld ordered that the place be transformed from a wetland into an Arcadian-style reserve. After becoming a park, Weld Square 'was used as a camping ground and meeting place and continues to have great importance for Aboriginal people' (City of Vincent, p. 1). In an article that won the Australian Institute of Landscape Architects' inaugural essay prize, Sawyer writes:

> Weld Square is a curious place, physically shaped by its colonial heritage yet spiritually defined by its black presence. Aborigines had established a strong connection to the site prior to white settlement. As one local commented, 'Noongar been living here since God was born, probably.' (Sawyer, 1998)

In the 20th century, the area around Weld Square, which sits immediately outside the municipal boundary of the City of Perth (Western Australia's capital city), gained renewed significance as a meeting place for Aboriginal people who, from 1927 until 1954, were prohibited from entering the capital city after 6pm (South West Aboriginal Land and Sea Council, n.d.). The prohibition stood even if an Aboriginal person held a native pass, a passport-like document that permitted daytime access only for Aboriginal people who had 'legitimate reason' to be in the so-called 'Prohibited Area'. From 1946 to 1960 the Aboriginal-run Coolbaroo League Dance Club was located across the street from Weld Square. The club was one of the few places in greater Perth where Aboriginal people and people of European descent could socialise, and vice versa. 'Coolbaroo' is a word of the Yamatji people of the Gascoyne and Murchison areas of Western Australia that means 'magpie', whose black and white plumage symbolised the club's multicultural ethos. Haebich (University of Western Australia, 2014) observes that:

> In creating the Coolbaroo dances, the League drew on the community's love of dancing and singing together dating from time immemorial and the capacity of dance and song to affirm their cultural and spiritual identities and bring strength to negotiate the political complexities of the new policy of assimilation. (University of Western Australia, 2014)

As Nyoongar elder Albert Corunna told us for the following story:

> When we came to dance right on the edge of the Prohibited Area, we made a political statement as well as having a good time.

The club hosted both Nyoongar and visiting entertainers including the world-famous Harlem Globetrotters and Nat King Cole (creativespirits.info, n.d.). After the club wound up, its leaders formed the Aboriginal Advancement Council, which 'remained a voice for social change' (creativespirits.info, n.d.). The council was also located near Weld Square.

Thomson (2011) was the first journalist to report that a plan to co-badge Weld Square with an Aboriginal name had been floated by officials at the City of Vincent, the municipality beside the City of Perth in which Weld Square is located. After a follow-up story (Thomson, 2012), he monitored council papers for any developments. There were few—until the agenda of the 2016 City of

Vincent annual general meeting revealed that former city councillor Dudley Maier had asked that the plan be reactivated. Maier's notice of motion in the agenda papers placed on the public record that the plan had never been referred to an advisory group, as agreed at a council meeting when he was a city councillor, and hence had not progressed according to due process.

Aboriginal Community Engagement unit

Maier's action provided impetus for teachers and students of the Aboriginal Community Engagement (ACE) unit to investigate why the plan had fallen off the public agenda. One aim was to keep the City of Vincent accountable on this potentially decolonising proposal. Another was to ensure that Nyoongar and other people were aware of—and had the opportunity to add their voice to—debate over the park's name. To this end, our students visited Weld Square several times to interview Nyoongar and other park-goers. The students also conducted interviews with two Nyoongar presenters at Noongar Radio (a partner organisation of the ACE programme), which is located across the street from Weld Square. Thomson located and conducted telephone interviews with two Nyoongar Elders authorised by custom to speak about the park: academic Ted Wilkes, and a more senior Elder, or as Associate Professor Wilkes called him, a *birdiya*, or 'boss', Elder, his uncle Albert Corunna. This approach to sourcing interviewees and informants is important in ACE, where we consciously seek out non-official (Ericson, et al., 1989) and otherwise marginalised sources: Hall, et al's (1978) counter-definers, who are routinely—often through omission—denied access to the media, only gaining access when they disrupt the 'social order' and/or speak and act in the terms set by that social order.

The story built on skills taught in ACE, which partners students with Nyoongar community organisations to tell journalistic stories that the organisations are willing to share. Through ACE, students are introduced to the action research cycle of look, think and act (Johnston, et al., 2015a) that shares much with the observe, listen and research; reflect, interpret and analyse; and report and publish aspects of reflexive journalistic practice. They receive tuition on the critical reflexivity of Bourdieu and reflective practice of Donald Schön that enables them to conceptualise their position in the journalistic field, and structure their reflections on practice. They learn about sense of place, particularly the concept of contested place and the under-recognised importance of the 'where' question in journalistic investigation in the era of the world wide web (Thomson, et al., 2015). Students also hear from Nyoongar lecturers with backgrounds in the field of cultural production. A field trip led by Curtin University's Elder-in-Residence, Simon Forrest, retraces the route of a punitive raid led by the state's first governor in 1834 that killed an estimated 14 to 30 Nyoongar people at Pinjarra, south of Perth (Stasiuk, 2015, pp. 77-79). The attack was a watershed moment

in the shared history of Aboriginal people and Western Australians of European descent (Forrest, 2014).

In ACE, the orthodox 'journalism teaching technique of simulating a deadline-driven newsroom, in which students are required to extract stories from sources in a compressed timeframe' is deliberately inverted (Thomson, et al., 2015, p. 149). The emphasis is on student collaboration with Indigenous community organisations first, and on story production second. For the Weld Square story, the collaboration was extended beyond individual community groups to representatives of the wider Wadjuk Nyoongar community. Staff and students worked over several weeks on a story that allowed Wadjuk Nyoongar people to share information in a timeframe with which they were comfortable. The story was published on 20 June 2016 on both the Curtin University news website https://inkwirenews.com.au and a new ACE website http://communityyarns.com.

ACE provided the theoretical framework for students to practise critically reflexive Indigenous affairs journalism on a story designed to influence public debate. In 2016, the 25th year since the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody recommended (1991a, Recommendation 207b) that Australian universities establish units of study dedicated to Aboriginal affairs reporting, it is timely to note that ACE and another Curtin University unit, Noongar Dandjoo (Johnston & Bishop, 2013), were the only two such units taught in Australia to be documented in academic literature. Both units encourage students to take on perspectives of Indigenous people, consistent with the intent of the Royal Commission, which noted that 'the voice of Aboriginal people is often markedly absent' from large-scale media publications (Royal Commission, 1991b, 12.6.6).

Discussion

Staff and students conducted desktop research on the history of Weld Square, which clarified how important the park is to Nyoongar people. One student tasked with sourcing the City of Vincent's side of the story was told, after several requests, that the council was too busy to respond. Thomson intervened by emailing the media liaison officer with whom the student had been dealing, and copying in the mayor. The city CEO belatedly commented, providing a frank admission that the plan should have been referred to the above-mentioned advisory group and assuring us that it would now be referred to the city's new Reconciliation Action Plan Working Group. The CEO added information about an upcoming celebration of Aboriginal culture at Weld Square.

In Western Australia it is becoming harder for journalism students to elicit responses from public officials because, increasingly, journalists' questions must be submitted via email to media relations staff. As they are often unsure if their work will be published and are not yet expert at asking questions, students are less likely than professional journalists to be taken seriously. Structurally, as new

entrants (Bourdieu, 1996/1992, p. 243) to the field, journalism students occupy a relatively dominated position—akin to Hall, et al's (1978) counter-definers in the power relations expressed through the journalist-source relationship. A field strategy we teach them is to interview well beyond official sources, both to include a greater diversity of voices and so they are not reliant on official sources getting back to them. We have found that when students and journalism educators work together on stories, the likelihood of student questions being taken seriously increases. By eventually agreeing to participate in the story, the city gained an opportunity to explain its position and promote its efforts at Weld Square to advance reconciliation between Perth's Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. The city's response also validated the importance of place names whose impact on the perpetuation or amelioration of colonialism often eludes public consciousness but whose analysis through the academic discipline of critical toponym studies is an established area of research, including in the Pacific (e.g. Herman (1999) in Hawai'i and Berg & Kearns (1996) in New Zealand).

Just as colonial symbolism embedded in flags that carry a Union Jack has been the subject of periodic debate across Australia (Foley, 1996) and recent debate (e.g. www.nz.com, n.d.) leading to a national referendum in New Zealand, we argue that colonial obliteration of Indigenous symbols in the form of place names merits greater consideration by journalists. As Cohen and Kliot (1992, p. 653) state, 'names are symbolic elements of landscape that reflect abstract or concrete national and local sentiments and goals'. In thinking about this, we draw on the work of Bourdieu who observes that in post-industrial societies symbolic manipulation is more powerful in reproducing social inequality than the threat of physical violence (Swartz, p. 82). Bourdieu's formative fieldwork in the 1960s with the Indigenous Kabyle people of Algeria and parallel consideration of colonialism were foundational in the development of his later concepts including 'habitus, field, and reflexive sociology' (Go, 2013, p. 51). He coined the term 'symbolic violence' to describe invisible and hence misrecognised (Calhoun & Wacquant, 2002, p. 1) inegalitarian power relations—particularly misrecognised by people and groups dominated by those relations. It is the *misrecognition* of symbolic violence that imbues it with power by 'induc[ing] the dominated to accept their exclusion as legitimate' (Wacquant, p. 28). Bourdieu's stated charter, to 'reveal that which is hidden' (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 246) with the goal of defusing the inegalitarian effects of misrecognition, accords with the ethos of social justice journalism taught in ACE.

The names of places have significant and enduring, if unrecognised and misrecognised, symbolic power to either reinforce social domination by cultural elites, or to assist the struggle of culturally dominated peoples to liberate themselves through movements including decolonisation and reconciliation. As Saparov wrote:

> Place-names are some of the most durable of national symbols. They can outlive most material artefacts of a civilisation. The material components of the cultural landscape may disappear or be destroyed, the civilisation that created them may also disappear but its place-names will most probably survive. (Saparov, 2003, p. 179)

In one international example, when making way for the former Soviet Union, the Bolsheviks 'destroyed the churches, monuments, institutions and place-names of the Tsarist regime' and 'undertook unprecedented place-name changing campaigns managing to replace up to half of all place-names in the USSR' (Saparov, 2003, pp. 180-181). In many of these places, the original names have been restored.

Saparov's 'up to half' estimation has inverse resonance in south-western Australia where 'more than 50 percent' of place names have their origin in the Nyoongar language (Collard, et al., 2011, p. 1). This is the largest proportion of preserved Indigenous place names of any Australian region (p. 1). Although relations between colonisers and Indigenous Australians have been vexed, University of Western Australia academic Leonard Collard (2011), a Nyoongar man, and his colleagues, observe that Nyoongar place names were preserved by the kind of cross-cultural collaboration that could inform and enrich the future of Australia (p. 7). In an interview with an ACE student (Leggett, 2015), Professor Collard explained the importance of Nyoongar place names allegorically, in terms of resistance to colonial dispossession and why, despite the substantial number of surviving Nyoongar place names, this form of redress remains important in Nyoongar country:

> When I was at school, my mum would say to me: 'Son, write your name on your school property'; i.e. my school bag, or my hat. And I would say to her, 'Mum, why would I do that? I know my name'.
> She would say, 'You might … but others might not'.
> And so, today, of course, we know that this is Noongar land – because it has our name on it. (Leggett, 2015)

Rapoport (1972, p. 338), an architecture academic, noted that Indigenous Australians do not 'move just in a landscape but in a humanised realm saturated with significations' and put great importance on the naming of places. Plumwood (2005) sees the return to Indigenous place names in some parts of Australia—which has included such national landmarks as Ayers Rock (Uluru), the Olgas (Kata Tjuta) and the Hamersley Ranges (Karijini)—as a form of 'deep republicanism' that respects 'the uniqueness and power of place as well as recognising its prior naming and occupation by Aboriginal people' (p. 386). She sees the restoration of Indigenous place names as a symbolic step toward

decolonisation. Consistent with this is Cohen and Kliot's observation that:

> In the twentieth century, colonialism, communism, decolonisation, and now the rejection of communism, have all been attended by widespread changes in place-names. (Cohen & Kliot,1992, p. 653)

Place names, of course, are a subset of all names, which Bourdieu (1989) says are 'the categories of perception, the schemata of classification, … the words … which construct social reality as much as they express it' (pp. 20-21). He continues:

> In the symbolic struggle for the production of common sense or, more precisely, for the monopoly over legitimate naming, agents put into action the symbolic capital that they have acquired in previous struggles and which may be juridically guaranteed. (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 21)

He adds that the ability to control the production of common sense by monopolising the power to name is the power to make the world (p. 22). Through this Bourdieusian lens it can be seen that our story deployed the symbolic power of journalism for egalitarian purposes to help break the monopoly, juridically held by local and state governments, over the naming of places. While progress toward democratising the name of Weld Square had been made half a decade ago, that process had ground to a halt. Our story revealed controversy over the imposition of 'just any' Aboriginal place name. With the help of Nyoongar sources, we and the students demonstrated that simplistically seizing on a place name had potential to perpetuate colonialism by serving, symbolically, to further displace Wadjuk Nyoongar people from inner Perth.

An example of attempted monopolisation of 'common sense' by members of an economically dominant sector of Perth society—its property development industry—can be seen in comments left unchallenged on an online chat forum (skyscrapercity.com, 2012) in relation to the posting of an earlier article by Thomson (2012) about the name of Weld Square:

> That Wongi Park idea is stupid. When I lived around the corner, the park was always full of drunk aboriginals. They were never 'chatting' or 'meeting'—just drinking and fighting, and occasionally begging for money. It's like the council wants to enshrine that behaviour and make it part of the park's 'culture'. What a load of shite.—*'city thing'*

> Isn't that recognising its heritage? 🙂 — *'wexford'*

> Give dual names to things that existed before European settlement. Allocating Aboriginal names to parks like this is just pathetic. — *'PerthCity'*

> Goonbag Park. —*'Ari Gold'*

In Australian slang, a goon bag is the plastic bladder from a cask of cheap wine. 'Ari Gold' is implying that Aboriginal people only gather at Weld Square to drink cheap alcohol. Relevant here is Spencer's (2005) observation that: 'the effects of drinking on Indigenous culture have clearly been used by white Australians to affirm their place on higher moral ground, and as a means of racist ridicule and paternalism …' (pp. 182-183).

By presenting a fuller and fairer picture of the park's heritage, our story confronted racist perceptions posted on skyscrapercity.com. By visiting the park and interviewing Nyoongar people who were there, our students debunked both the implication of 'Ari Gold' and the statement by 'city thing'. By offering a counter-view that explained Nyoongar people's profound connection to the park, we and the students contested the dominant and abbreviated collective memory (Zelizer, 1995, p. 214) of Weld Square as jaded Arcadian reserve and challenged the commenters' ability to monopolise people's perception of place. At a time when the term 'place-making' has crossed over from sociology and architecture and other spatial design fields, where it originally was concerned with community building, into a brand, thanks to its usurpation by the property industry (Project for public places, n.d.) to sell real estate, we and the students sought to disrupt the hegemonic construction of the park in the minds of Perth's people. We engaged in a symbolic form of place-making closer to the original spirit of the term.

Despite the skyscrapercity.com comments, and a lingering propensity for the current Western Australian government to name prominent places after members of the British royal family (Holmes & Thomson, 2012), several recently reshaped places have officially been given Nyoongar names. One example is Yagan Square, named after a Nyoongar freedom fighter at the time of colonisation, at the government's emerging $A5.3 billion Perth City Link project. Another is Perth's newest beach, at a marina development in the city's southern suburbs, which has been named 'Ngarkal Beach' after the Nyoongar name for 'seagull' (Thomson, 2014). By re-illuminating the plan to confer an Aboriginal name on an existing place in a city of two million people (as opposed to remote national parks such as Uluru, Kata Tjuta or Karijini) our pedagogical approach aimed to counter 'the notion held by many non-Indigenous Australians that real Aborigines live in the bush, and that Aboriginal people who live in urban areas have lost their culture' (Johnston, et al., 2015b, p. 196). We plan to follow up the Weld Square story with future students, and have several other place-based story ideas we would like to produce in collaboration with Nyoongar people.

In a globalised era when the 'where?' question in the 'what, where, who, why, how and when?' template of journalistic investigation is increasingly disregarded (see, for example, Buchanan, 2009; Funk, 2012), collaborating with Indigenous sources can reverse this by informing journalists about the underlying character

of places. From Bourdieu, who connects his theoretical mainstay of habitus (see Mason, et al., 2016) with the notion of place, stating that habitus 'implies a "sense of one's place" and a "sense of the place of others"' (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 19) within a field of endeavour, Thomson, et al. (2015, p. 141) suggest two potential benefits. One is that working with Indigenous people can help students imagine the type of journalist they want to be; the other is a more secure sense of place in the media for Indigenous people. This latter point is pertinent in Perth where there is a generally poor standard of Indigenous affairs journalism punctuated by misrepresentation and selective negative reporting (Thomson, et al., 2016, p. 46), which can be theorised in Bourdieusian terms as:

> the absence of homology between a highly dominated group of people in the field of social classes and the city's powerful subfield of large-scale journalism influenced by heteronomous economic forces that instead stimulate homologous correspondence with the top end of town. (Thomson, et al, 2016, pp. 48-49)

By contrast, Thomson, et al. (2016, p.49) observe that 'student journalists, who usually occupy the dominated subfield of small-scale journalism, have great potential to form relationships' with Indigenous sources to address the exclusion and negative media portrayals of Nyoongar people. In Bourdieu's (1993) words, 'the initiative of change falls almost by definition on the newcomers, i.e. the youngest, who are also those least endowed with specific capital' (p. 58).

In the footsteps of journalism educators elsewhere in Australia and the Pacific who have encouraged students to engage with Indigenous communities (Thomson, et al., 2015, p. 146), our team worked with Nyoongar people to produce a story on a topic of metropolitan significance that large-scale metropolitan news producers had declined to cover, but which a small-scale metropolitan news website (Thomson, 2011, 2012) and a locally owned suburban newspaper (Bell, 2012, 2013) did cover. As Bacon (2006) notes: 'The point of being in a university is to be able to question, not to replicate conventional practice' (p. 148). Through questioning conventional practice, we and the students engaged in the type of struggle that defines the structure of fields—that between large-scale producers which tend to dominate due to their access to large reserves of economic capital and small-scale producers instead more likely to possess more cultural capital than economic capital (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 124). The specific field struggle we entered was one between the news values of Perth's large-scale news producers that tend to valorise the holders of economic capital (Thomson, et al., 2016, pp. 48-49), and news values of the two abovementioned small-scale publishers that privileged the concerns of a people who have at least 38,000 years of cultural capital.

As small-scale journalistic producers whose news values were closer to the latter set of values, we—like Mason (2014, p. 167) as a freelancer when writing an Indigenous affairs story that won national journalism awards—were 'unconstrained by the routines and structures of mainstream news production, including deadlines, story competition, editorial preferences and privileging official sources'. This helped us form relationships and 'take the time required for trust to develop … [which] was given precedence over deadlines and other more orthodox journalistic considerations' (Mason, 2014, p. 161). Just as the most culturally attuned architects engage deeply with people and local conditions as accomplished place-makers in the physical world, we conclude that deep engagement with Indigenous people on place-based stories can empower journalism academics, practitioners and students to become proficient place-makers of the mind.

Leeandrew Holden and Pamela Morrison down at Weld Square.

Part 2: The story
This was originally published with a video, hyperlinks, pull-quote and an opinion poll at https://inkwirenews.com.au/2016/06/20/noongar-park-name-back-on-the-agenda/:

Aboriginal park name revived

ALASDAIR BEER, JACOB HIGGINS, REBECCA KERR, GENEVIEVE LAMOND, BONITA MASON, SAFIAH RIND, TELISSA RYDER, LAURA THOMAS and CHRIS THOMSON

A stalled plan to co-badge a major Perth park with a name that recognises its Aboriginal heritage has been officially jump-started, with a new council committee set to consider it next month.

Weld Square is an 11,500 sqm reserve bounded by Beaufort Street, Newcastle Street, Stirling Street and Parry Street in inner-Perth.

The park is overlooked by the urbane Ellington Jazz Club, and a phalanx of high-priced apartments in what, until a decade or so ago, was an unfashionable part of town.

Weld Square and its surrounds have never been unfashionable with Perth's Nyoongar people, however.

COOLBAROO CLUB

The reserve was once part of a wetland that drained into the Swan River, and has been a Nyoongar meeting place for thousands of years.

In the 1950s, the then Braille Hall, at the corner of Newcastle and Stirling streets, hosted Aboriginal-run Coolbaroo League Dance Club dances. The group behind the club, the Coolbaroo League, lobbied the State government of the day to rescind the Prohibited Areas Policy that from 1927 to 1954 banned all Aboriginal people from the City of Perth unless they had a work permit, and those with a permit from being in the Western Australian capital after 6pm.

Fast forward to 2016 and, at the City of Vincent's Annual General Meeting,

former city councillor Dudley Maier moved that a dormant plan to co-badge the park with a Nyoongar name acceptable to Perth's Aboriginal community be reactivated.

Ahead of the meeting, Maier advised that the plan had never been referred to the community-led Aboriginal Liaison and Reconciliation Advisory Group as required by a council decision of July 12, 2012.

Council CEO Len Kosova has confirmed the plan was not referred to the advisory group.

"This should have occurred and there is no clear evidence available to ascertain why it did not happen," Kosova said.

"It should be noted that the Aboriginal Liaison and Reconciliation Advisory Group is a community-driven group operating in the City of Vincent which the city has actively engaged with from time to time.

"However, that group is not a formal City of Vincent advisory group established by council."

On May 31 the city appointed a new Reconciliation Action Plan Working Group. Kosova said the group would meet for the first time in July, subject to availability of its members. He said the plan to co-name the park would be considered at that meeting.

"It is likely that the Working Group will deal with this matter through a specific action within the [council's] Reconciliation Action Plan," Kosova said.

OUSTED

Maier said that after he was voted out in 2013, a plan to co-badge the reserve as Weld Square/Wongi Park went nowhere, probably due to lack of interest among the council and the Vincent community generally.

He said the recommendation to refer the matter to the advisory group never eventuated, as the group never met.

"It was established, and I was notionally on it, but the group actually never met," Maier said.

"Had the group had a scheduled meeting it might have been added to the agenda.

"And the name 'Wongi' – a few people in Vincent thought it wasn't such a great name.

"I think maybe they were expecting a traditional name for the area, and there may not have been a traditional name."

Mechelle Wilson, a presenter and producer at Noongar Radio, which sits across Beaufort Street from Weld Square, opposes any notion that the park be named 'Wongi', due to a lack of relevance to Nyoongar people.

"I know this because my grandfather is from Nyoongar country and my grandmother is from Yamatji country where 'Wongi' means 'talk', definitely," Wilson said.

"You're using an Aboriginal name that has no relevance to this area whatsoever or the people—so if you'd [have] done that there would be a huge misunderstanding and it would also be great disrespect to use another First Nation's

language which also relates to another group of First Nation people.

"Wongi means 'talk' in Yamatji country which is Midwest area Aboriginal people, so there is no link towards this First Nation area here of Nyoongar people, and the word that we use on Nyoongar country for talk is 'Wangkiny' which is 'talk' and 'Wangkininy' which means talking.

"To look at the word 'Wongi', it also means 'Wongi', pronounced with a hard 'i', which are the Aboriginal people from The Goldfields like Kalgoorlie and that, so I'd say you got the wrong name and there's no connection with that name to this area.

"It doesn't belong."

The council's original idea to co-name the reserve 'Wongi Park' was meant to reflect the fact that Nyoongar people had met 'to talk' at the reserve for generations.

Another presenter and producer at Noongar Radio, Jodi Ryder, also a Nyoongar woman, said that giving the park a Nyoongar name would "be more inclusive for Aboriginal people".

GOVERNOR WELD

Named in 1873 after Western Australia's eighth governor, Frederick Weld, a New Zealander, Weld Square is a state-listed Aboriginal heritage site. Governor Weld engaged town planner William Ernest Bold and architect Harold Boas to design the park, which was not landscaped until 1898.

Maier said his favoured approach to recognising the park's Nyoongar heritage was for a sign to acknowledge its significance, without necessarily changing the name.

He said that while the city's Hyde and Robertson Parks have Nyoongar names discernible from colonial-era maps, no-one seemed able to provide an actual Nyoongar name for Weld Square.

"I suppose the idea we had was that Weld Square could be the first [in the city where Nyoongar heritage was recognised], and then you could have Hyde Park and Robertson Park, and things like that, where you could put some recognition, because Hyde Park and Robertson Park do have recognised Aboriginal Names; 'Boodjamooling' and 'Boodjameelup'," he said.

"So you don't have to change the name of Hyde Park, just put a sign up saying: 'This area has been used for tens of thousands of years; the Wadjuk name was "Boodjamooling'', or something like that.'"

MR CORUNNA'S STORY

Nyoongar elder Albert Corunna is the oldest surviving great great grandson of Midgegooroo who at the time of Perth's colonisation was a highly prominent Nyoongar leader.

In 1833, Midgegooroo became the only person ever executed by firing squad in Australia, after being accused but never tried of a leading role in the killing of two colonists near Bull Creek, now a southern suburb of metropolitan Perth.

Midgegooroo now has a bridge in eastern Perth, a street in Ellenbrook, an

avenue in Cockburn Central, and a national park in the Perth Hills named after him.

"I am one of the people who can speak for the Country where Weld Square is," Corunna said.

"The first time I heard of the Coolbaroo Club was when I was about 13 and my cousins went to the dance.

"This was when Coolbaroo was in East Perth and my cousins caught the bus from Bassendean."

Corunna still has a photo of his parents at the Coolbaroo Club at East Perth in 1948.

"Before the club started at Braille Hall on the corner of Stirling and Newcastle Streets there was a meeting at Eden Hill," he said.

"I went to hear the old people talk when I was a teenager.

"I went to the first dance when the Coolbaroo Club re-opened in 1952."

Corunna said his brother and he caught the bus from Sixth Avenue in Bassendean, which is now called Lord Street.

"We had no idea where we were going, but Barney Parfitt was on the same bus and he showed us where to get off," Corunna said.

"At the dance there was a piano player and [Coolbaroo Club leader] Ronnie Kickett was on the drums.

"It was old time dances and the hall was pretty full, mostly Nyoongar people from Eden Hill and East Perth."

Corunna said the dance started about 8pm and finished about 11.30.

"My brother and I caught the bus back to Bassendean and walked through the sand to Lottie Grange's place on what is now called Mary Crescent," he said.

Corunna recounted how on another night when he was about 17 and his brother about 19 they went into town to the pictures.

"At that time it was illegal for Aboriginal people to cross Newcastle Street without a pass," he said.

"I suppose we could have been arrested if the police had stopped us.

"That night we missed the bus home so we slept the night in Weld Square.

"We probably slept there because it was just outside the racial Prohibited Area."

Corunna said lots of Nyoongar people still slept in Weld Square when they had nowhere else to go.

"It is still a meeting place for Aboriginal people," he said.

"My suggestion is that Weld Square be named after the Coolbaroo League to remember those times when it was against the law for Blackfella to be in Perth after 6.00pm.

"When we came to dance right on the edge of the Prohibited Area, we made a political statement as well as having a good time."

Curtin University academic Ted Wilkes, himself a Nyoongar elder descended from Midgegooroo, said that Corunna was a boss, or birdiya, elder.

Associate Professor Wilkes said that if "Uncle Albert" suggested the park be named after the Coolbaroo League, then that was good enough for him.

"That's where a lot of our social and cultural activities were generated from, that area," he added.

LOCAL BUSINESS SUPPORT

Yen Tran, who co-owns the nearby Northbridge Pharmacy, said the plan to give Weld Square an Aboriginal name was a "great idea".

"… it would be a good representation of what the park has meant to our Indigenous people," Tran said.

"And it would be really lovely to carry that on and let other people know that it is there for a reason, because, obviously, we have all of the buildings around us and you know that is the only original piece of land that is still kept as it is."

Sam Rogers who owns Northbridge Dental, located not far from the park, was aware Weld Square had long been a meeting place for Aboriginal people.

"… and Weld, I don't know who Weld is," Rogers said.

"I think he was a governor or something …"

'BEAUFORT SQUARE'

Nyoongar woman Lynette Todd-Brophy, who was at the park when we dropped by, said she had always known it as 'Beaufort Park', not Weld Square.

Todd-Brophy said the Beaufort to whom she referred was Robert Beaufort Dinah (1898-1962), a boxer and Nyoongar leader. We can confirm this is not the same "Beaufort"—Irish explorer and inventor Sir Francis Beaufort—from whom adjacent Beaufort Street took its name.

Another Nyoongar woman we spoke to at Weld Square, Pamela Morrison, said she would support an Aboriginal name for the park.

"And I didn't even know it was called 'Weld Square', which means really nothing …," said Morrison whose views are featured in the following video alongside the opinions of other park-goers.

If a co-name were approved for the park, it would be the latest in a string of co-names around Australia, the best known one being Ayers Rock/Uluru which was co-badged in 1993. Most people now know the rock only by its traditional name of Uluru.

In recent years, many Perth places have been co-badged with a Nyoongar name, or given a Nyoongar name outright. The most prominent example is the mooted Yagan Square, to be named after the legendary Nyoongar freedom fighter, at the emerging Perth City Link project.

Yagan was Midgegooroo's son.

South-western Australia, including Perth, has the highest proportion of Indigenous place names of anywhere in Australia—with more than 50 percent being of Nyoongar origin.

The City of Vincent plans to celebrate NAIDOC Week on Saturday, July 9 at Weld Square from 12.30pm.

The celebration will recognise local Indigenous history, particularly the role of the Coolbaroo League.

"In recognition of the historical and cultural importance of Weld Square to

our local Indigenous community, the NAIDOC Week event also includes the unveiling of a new public artwork by WA artists Sandra Hill and Jenny Dawson, which commemorates and will include personal stories about the Coolbaroo League," Kosova said.

"This artwork was commissioned through major contributions from the City of Vincent and the Metropolitan Redevelopment Authority."

Notes

1. The spelling of 'Nyoongar' used in this story and in the above exegesis is the spelling that Corunna prefers except where we have quoted an alternative spelling from something that someone else has written.
2. While we recognise that Australia was colonised and there is no reversing the dispossession and other profound effects that came with that colonisation, we use the term 'decolonisation' here in a way similar to that used by Sweet et al. (2014, p. 626), as 'mitigating the effects of colonisation' rather than perpetuating them through, in this case, journalistic practice and production.

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The Len Brown Affair

The roles of new and old media in a New Zealand political sex scandal

Abstract: The power of online media to influence New Zealand local government politics was made clear in 2013 when a blogger revealed that Len Brown, the popular mayor of Auckland, had conducted a two-year, extramarital affair. The mainstream media picked up the story, Brown's popularity collapsed and in late 2015 he announced he would not stand again for mayor. This media scandal was, in part, driven by the fact that Brown was a celebrity. Unlike several high-profile sex scandals involving politicians overseas, Brown's career did not survive the controversy, perhaps because the public came to regard him as a practised liar. The media itself engaged in self-serving scandalous activity during the controversy. Today's shock bloggers are similar to the proto-journalists of the 17th century. Members of new and old media researching the scandal treated their secret sources very differently. The existence of the internet means such scandals can now exist in perpetuity. If the Len Brown Affair was an example of the media fulfilling its watchdog role—by exposing a lying politician—it was also an example of journalists furthering their own ends—political and commercial—by appealing to their audiences' purient interests.

Keywords: celebrity, gossip, Len Brown, media scandals, new media, New Zealand, political journalism, politics, watchdog

GRANT HANNIS
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Introduction

AUCKLAND is New Zealand's largest city, with a population of about 1.4 million, a third of the country's total population (Statistics New Zealand, 2016). The city's recent political life has been dominated by a sex scandal involving its left-leaning mayor, Len Brown. A once-popular politican, the revelations of Brown's personal life, along with irregularities in his financial situation brought to light by the scandal, saw Brown's popularity plummet. Confronted with the inevitable loss he would suffer at the polls, Brown decided not to stand for re-election.

Sex scandals involving politicians are nothing new, of course, but what was new about the Len Brown Affair was the part played by new media. The story was broken by Cameron Slater, an outspoken right-wing blogger. Slater had a political agenda in revealing the scandal—he wanted to destroy Brown's political career—and was able to use the relative freedom of the internet to do this. The mainstream media was forced to play catch-up, choosing to make known information that even Slater had decided not to reveal. For breaking such a major story, Slater was awarded the New Zealand journalism industry's inaugural best blog award. That accolade was controversial, particularly when emails hacked from Slater's account later revealed unsavoury details about how he researched the story.

This article considers the Len Brown Affair, in order to gain an understanding of the relative parts played by new and old media. My approach will be to first consider what scholars have concluded about overseas scandals. I will then recount the affair, clearly demarcating the roles played by new and old media. I will then discuss the insights gleaned and present my conclusions.

Background

A useful definition of media scandal is supplied by Lull and Hinerman (1997):

> A media scandal occurs when private facts that disgrace or offend the idealized, dominant morality of a social community are made public and narrativized by the media, producing a range of effects from ideological and cultural retrenchment to disruption and change. (Lull & Hinerman, 1997, p. 3)

That is to say, the media takes private information and makes it public, with the disclosure generally outraging society and producing any number of effects. The media's motives in doing this, the manner in which the outrage is reported and the precise effects engendered, have much occupied scholars.

Scandals often involve celebrities. It has been argued that the purpose of publishing scandals involving celebrities can be regarded as similar to that of dramatic tragedy: 'Effective gossip, like effective tragedy, delights in raising up its subjects on a pedestal and then delights in their fall back to ground' (Stephens, 2007, p. 95)

Perhaps the most well-known, political scandal was Watergate. In the early 1970s, *The Washington Post* helped break the story that then President Richard Nixon was involved in a cover-up to conceal the fact that the Republican Party had paid people to break into and bug the Democratic Party headquarters. Nixon was ultimately forced to resign (Woodward & Bernstein, 2014).

The consequences of reporting a scandal may not always be as laudable as bringing down a corrupt leader. When a US college newspaper published the

names of a pair of students caught having sex in a lift, the resulting embarrassment apparently saw the female student involved drop out of college (Knowlton & Reader, 2009). The newspaper's editor acknowledged that a major reason she published the piece was because her readers would find it interesting, but she also said it had a greater purpose: to warn others of the consequences of having sex in public. Knowlton and Reader (2009) were not convinced, saying this did not justify naming the couple. They also pointed out that such stories can remain on the internet for years, as the news media archives its stories online and others repost the items: 'The publication of such a story could very much impose a life sentence upon people who had long ago paid for their misdemeanor' (p. 141).

The audience's perceived moral stance can have a bearing on whether a news media outlet feels it should publish scandalous material. An audience that is 'generally tolerant of (or even demanding of) embarrassing information about individuals in their midst may give journalists a sense of licence to publish such information' (Knowlton & Reader, 2009, p. 139). Reports on sexual misconduct, for instance, play a greater role in the content of the sensationalist and celebrity-gossip press because that is what its readers crave.

Sex scandals in the media have a long history. *Publick occurrences both forreign and domestick*, published in Boston in 1690 and often taken to be the first newspaper published in the American colonies, contained a scandalous report on sexual impropriety in the French royal family. The king's son, the newspaper related, 'has revolted against him [the king] lately, and has great reason, if reports be true, that the father used to lie with the son's wife' (Harris, 1690, p. 3). The author, Benjamin Harris, was rabidly anti-Catholic and no doubt took delight in making fun of the French royal family. Taking offence at such reportage—or perhaps just using it as a pretext to silence an independent media—the colonial government closed the paper down (Stephens, 2009).

In recent years, we can think of numerous sex scandals involving politicians. There was, for example, British politician Boris Johnson, who had extramarital affairs and fathered a love child (Morris, 2013); ex-US congressman Anthony Weiner, who engaged in extramarital sexting (FoxNews.com, 2013); US President Bill Clinton's affair with intern Monica Lewinsky (Morton, 2012); and the 2005 recordings that came to light recently of Donald Trump boasting about how he sexually harassed women (Fahrenthold, 2016). Politicians' careers can prove remarkably resilient to such scandal. Whereas Weiner eventually found himself unelectable, Johnson remains a high-profile politician and when Clinton left office most Americans thought he had done a good job despite his sexual controversies (Langer, 2001).

As for Trump, of course, he went on to be elected President.

We may be sceptical about the news media's motives in publishing sex scandals. The politican involved in such a scandal is typically caught telling lies

and behaving immorally. In revealing such scandals it may be the case the media is fulfilling a watchdog role, helping to ensure our elected representatives are honest and morally upright. But it could simply be the media is catering to its audience's purient interest in the sleazier side of life to sell newspapers. Even in cases of genuine outrage, the breathless tone of much reporting of scandal renders it a media-constructed phenomenon: 'A muted police report and a red-headline media scandal…can report on exactly the same historical-factual event. Nevertheless, they are worlds apart from each other' (Ehrat, 2011, p. 7).

Even when media scandals result in regulatory or other significant change, it may not address the root cause of the problems. West (2006) points out that the financial scandals of WorldCom and Enron led to 'arguably the most thorough securities law revisions since the New Deal' (p. 325). But Bethany McLean, a journalist who played a key role in breaking the Enron scandal, was soon warning that the legal changes instituted had not stopped the attitudes that had created the scandals in the first place, citing the later subprime crisis as proof (McLean, 2008). Likewise, West notes that in Japan, an epidemic of men groping women in trains led to the introduction of women-only carriages. But police told him this meant women who continued to travel in mixed-sex carriages were regarded by gropers as 'asking for it' (West, 2006, p. 326). Nevertheless, West notes that scandals do act as a gauge of what is acceptable, 'forcing debate on topics that might otherwise have gone untouched, especially on taboo topics like sex' (p. 326).

Sometimes the media themselves are the perpetrator of scandalous activity. The *News of the World*'s hacking of mobile phone records, including those of a murder victim, caused widespread outrage, ultimately leading to the paper's closure and the embarrassment of its press baron owner, Rupert Murdoch (Davies, 2014). Similarly, the scandal over CBS's reliance on bogus records about George Bush's military record—termed 'memogate'—tainted the reputation of leading journalist Dan Rather, who subsequently left the network (Ehrat, 2011). There is also the recent scandal of NBC news anchor Brian Williams falsely claiming to have been in an aircraft shot down during the Iraq War (Reuters, 2015).

So, we may have a clear idea of what a media scandal is and that they have always been popular with readers. But we are less clear on the media's motives in publishing scandals—is it to effect genuine change or just to profit from their audience's appetite for the outrageous? Also, it is not clear what effect publication can have. It may result in changes as profound and admirable as the removal of a corrupt president, but it may result simply in superficial regulatory change or be as unfortunate as a student deciding she must leave her studies due to personal embarrassment. In the modern digital age, such stories can exist indefinitely online. The woman at the centre of the Len Brown Affair found this out to her cost.

The Len Brown Affair

Background

Len Brown originally trained as a lawyer, but began a successful local government political career in the greater Auckland region. He has been aligned to the New Zealand Labour Party since his youth. Manukau is the city immediately to the south of Auckland, and Brown was a Manukau City Councillor from the 1990s to the early 2000s (McCracken, 2010). Brown was elected Mayor of Manukau in 2007, winning comfortably (RNZ Newswire, 2007).

The New Zealand government then instituted a massive change in the structure of local government in the greater Auckland region, amalgamating several council organisations to create New Zealand's first 'super-city', Auckland (Orsman, 2008). Brown stood as mayor for this new entity in 2010. Despite a minor controversy, when it was revealed Brown had used his Manukau council credit card for about $800 in personal expenses, he was elected Mayor of Auckland in a landslide (RNZ Newswire, 2010a; Mayor cuts up credit card, 2010; RNZ Newswire, 2010b). He was comfortably re-elected in 2013: Brown received about 150,000 votes; his nearest rival, right-wing candidate John Palino, received about 100,000 (RNZ Newswire, 2013). By then, Brown was in his mid-50s, married with teenage daughters. But at that point, the Len Brown Affair was revealed.

New media breaks the story

The story was broken by Cameron Slater, an outspoken, right-wing blogger, working with freelance journalist Stephen Cook. Slater, a portly man, had long been nicknamed 'The whale' and uses the expression as part of the name of his blog, 'Whale Oil' (www.whaleoil.co.nz). Slater is a shock blogger. His blog's writing style is brash and outrageous. Indeed, the full name of his blog, *Whale Oil Beef Hooked*, when said in an Irish accent, is a vulgar pun. Although an established blogger, Slater had a limited profile outside the relatively closed world of online political punditry. In breaking the Brown scandal, Slater exploded into the wider public consciousness.

Slater revealed on *Whale Oil* that Brown had recently conducted a two-year affair with a young woman. Slater did not name the woman, preferring to post on his website a sworn affidavit from her, with many identifying details—including her name—redacted (Slater, 2013a). The affidavit featured graphic descriptions of the sexual aspects of the relationship, which included Brown and his mistress having sex on council premises.

In his blog, Slater gave several reasons as to why he had revealed the affair, including that as mayor of New Zealand's largest city, Brown had paraded his family for the cameras, including on election night, and had used council premises for the affair (Slater, 2013b). Slater repeatedly called on Brown to resign, calling him 'Lusty Len', a 'creepy, sneaky, little ratbag', 'the rooting ratbag mayor' and 'a

duplicitous liar' (Slater, 2013c, para. 1; Slater, 2014, para. 3, Slater, 2013b, para. 7).

Old media provides balance and deepens the scandal

The story became national news and Brown faced a publicity maelstrom. Brown quickly went on a public relations offensive and used the mainstream media to do so. On national television, he admitted the affair and apologised for it, declaring: 'I have caused my wife and my children harm and shame and humiliation', but asking the people of Auckland to 'stand by me', as he intended to continue to be their mayor (*Campbell Live*, 2013, paras. 4 and 10).

However, although the mainstream media gave Brown the opportunity to put his case, it also escalated the scandal. While the name of Brown's mistress was obscured in the affidavit Slater published, there was sufficient information in the document to make identifying her relatively easy. Her name, Bevan Chuang, was quickly revealed by the main newspaper in Auckland, *The New Zealand Herald* (Savage, 2013a). Very quickly all media, including *Whale Oil*, were using her name, interviewing her and reporting comments she posted online.

The mainstream media also revealed more about Slater. He acknowledged he had a political motivation to reveal the affair: 'Of course politics was involved. Of course I wanted to knock Len Brown over' (Slater, quoted in Day, 2013, para. 31).

The media also reported that Chuang had been in a relationship with Luigi Wewege, a member of Palino's mayoral campaign team. Wewege denied this, saying he and Chuang were merely friends, but Chuang produced Facebook messages between her and Wewege in which he said he loved her and could not wait to lie in bed with her (Espiner, 2013). Wewege and Slater also knew each other, and had been Facebook friends since 2012 (Hager, 2014, p. 109).

The *Herald* began to reveal unflattering details about Chuang. The newspaper reported that during the time she was having an affair with Brown she had applied for a job at a council-run organisation, for which Brown had given her a reference. She secured the job, but later left it, and was convicted for unlawfully accessing her former employer's computer system (Savage, 2013b; Savage, 2013c).

Such revelations led the council to commission an independent report on Brown (Mason, 2013; EY, 2013). It found Brown had made 1400 calls and texts on his council phone to Chuang over the past previous years. Combing over his financial records to see if he had used council funds to conduct his affair, the report instead found Brown had failed to declare his and his family's use of free hotel rooms and upgrades in the city, worth nearly $40,000. In the wake of this, the *Herald* joined Slater in calling on Brown to resign (Editorial: Brown must go, 2013). With supporters abandoning him in droves, Brown did not run for mayor in the 2016 election.

The mainstream New Zealand journalism industry's awards are the Canon Media Awards. In 2014, Slater won the inaugural Canon award for best blog

because of the Len Brown story (Canon Media Awards, 2016). The win was controversial. At least one *Herald* journalist heckled Slater as he collected his award. *Herald* editor Tim Murphy reportedly apologised to Slater for this (Glucina, 2014a; Glucina, 2014b).

An investigative journalist steps in

Three months after Slater received his Canon award, the controversy was dramatically re-ignited when investigative journalist Nicky Hager published a book based on thousands of Slater's emails that an unidentified third party had hacked from Slater's computer and leaked to Hager (Hager, 2014). The book covered a wide variety of topics—including Slater's close links with the National-led government and his relationship with public relations people and lobbyists—but included a chapter on the scandal. Hager showed how Wewege had long pressured Chuang into going public and that Slater had hoped Brown would be forced to resign and Palino become mayor. Hager also revealed that after the scandal broke Slater had unsuccesfully tried to find evidence Brown used prostitutes (Hager, 2014).

Hager revealed that Slater and Cook had a dismissive attitude towards their source. In an online exchange between the two, Cook referred to her as 'Fucken Chung', misspelling her name, and Slater called her a 'Stupid tart' (Hager, 2014, p. 116). As well as sneering at Chuang, Slater also held the mainstream media in contempt. Hager quoted Slater as saying: 'I am friends with a great many media people … how do you think they get their stories[?]' and 'Do these media c**ts ever get any ideas from their own brains?' (Slater, quoted in Hager, pp. 117, 118).

Hager concluded that Slater's actions should have 'totally discredited him' (p. 117). Activities such as pressuring a source to go public and being driven by political motivations 'would be the end of a journalist's reputation' (p. 117). Hager said Slater's winning of a Canon Media Award was 'a sad joke' (p. 117).

Hager argued that the public's right to know about Slater's activities justified the breach of his privacy. Hager launched the book in a blaze of publicity just before a general election, which saw a National-led government re-elected. Slater was enraged, hurling expletive-laden abuse at Hager and saying Hager 'is a purveyor of stolen documents and he makes money fencing those documents' (Slater, 2016, para. 12). *Whale Oil* claimed Hager had launched the book in a failed attempt to influence the outcome of a general election (Whale Oil Staff, 2015).

In light of Hager's revelations, there were calls on social media for Slater's Canon award be withdrawn (Neville, 2014), but the Newspaper Publishers Association, which runs the Canon Media Awards, was not swayed. The association's head said: 'This particular award was made by independent judge Deborah Hill Cone in recognition of *Whale Oil* having broken a major story relating to the

Mayor of Auckland, Len Brown. This story was followed up by mainstream media including newspapers, television and radio for many weeks' (Neville, para. 6).

Following a complaint from Slater, the police have sought to uncover the identity of the hacker who provided Hager with his information, so far without success (Morrison, 2015; Hager: Police raid, 2015).

Discussion and conclusions

We can draw several firm conclusions by applying the insights from the overseas literature to the narrative account of the Len Brown Affair.

The Len Brown Affair was a media scandal. Following Lull and Hinerman (1997), the Affair had all the hallmarks of a media scandal. There was the publication of private details that offended the dominant morality in society—that is to say, the affair between Brown and Chuang. The scandal was narrativised by the media, both new (*Whale Oil*) and old (the *Herald*, *Campbell Live)* and Nicky Hager. The scandal also produced disruption and change. Brown's popularity plummeted and he had no option but to abandon his plan to seek re-election.

Brown's celebrity helped fuel the scandal. As Stephens (2007) noted, celebrity scandals are akin to dramatic tragedies, with the well-known tripped up by their all-too-human weaknesses. If Brown had been an unknown, his affair would not have been deemed newsworthy.

The public does not always forgive. While many overseas politicians' careers have survived sex scandals (Morris, 2013; Morton, 2012; Fahrenthold, 2016; Langer, 2001), Brown's did not. This was likely due to a combination of factors. Some Auckland voters would have simply found the affair morally unacceptable because Brown had broken his marriage vows. Worse, the affair lasted for two years. This indicated Brown had for a long time lied to many people—family, friends and colleagues—in order to conduct the affair. Further, he conducted the affair on council premises, showing he did not treat his position as mayor with appropriate respect. There was also the fact the affair revealed irregularities in how Brown used council funds, a seemingly persistent problem in that Brown had been forced to repay money after behaving similarly when Mayor of Manukau. Taken together, these factors likely suggested to Auckland's voters that Brown was morally bankrupt and untrustworthy.

The media engaged in its own self-serving scandalous activity. The media themselves can be perpetrators of scandalous activity, in part because this can be what their audiences crave (Davies, 2014; Ehrat, 2011; Knowlton & Reader, 2009).

Consider Slater. *Whale Oil* is written in a graphic, outrageous style and is rabidly anti-left. That is what the blog's audience clearly wants. Slater knew his readers would relish reading about the left-leaning Brown's sexual impropriety, especially the affidavit's salacious details. The details would have been personally

embarassing to Brown. Slater thus gave his audience what it wanted. Chuang's affidavit could not be printed in the mainstream media, or a link provided to it on a mainstream media website. It was simply too explicit, too scandalous.

Likewise, consider the *Herald*. Scooped by *Whale Oil*, the *Herald* did what Slater chose not to do, identify Chuang by name, in order to regain the competitive initiative. The newspaper also revealed her criminal record. If the *Herald* had not done so, it is likely some competing mainstream media outlet would have. In light of this, it was surely hypocritical for a *Herald* journalist to heckle Slater at the Canon awards.

Even the morality of Hager, who did much to reveal Slater's actions, might be questioned. After all, his book is based on emails a third party stole from Slater and gave to Hager. Hager argued that the public interest in revealing this information justified breaching Slater's privacy. That may be the case. Slater, not surprisingly, did not agree.

The shock blogger is akin to the scandalous proto-journalist of early newspaper history. Slater saw the sex scandal as a way of driving Brown from office. For Slater, revealing the scandal was a means to an end—to pursue his political agenda. In one sense, this is nothing new. In the early days of the American press, another period of anarchic single-person media outlets, the anti-Catholic Benjamin Harris did the same thing with his revelations about the French royal family. We could say shock bloggers have brought that part of journalism history full circle.

Sources must chose their journalists carefully. Slater and his associates applied considerable pressure on their source, Bevan Chuang, to go public. Far more so, I suggest, than the mainstream media would have countenanced. Moreover, Slater regarded his source with disdain and, either through incompetence or indifference, published so much about his supposedly secret source that she was quickly identified. The mainstream media would treat a secret source with far greater care and consideration. Indeed, one marked difference between Slater and Hager, is how they treated their anonymous sources. Slater allowed his to be identified almost immediately. Hager has carefully protected his and says he would go to prison rather than reveal his source (Heather & Shadwell, 2014).

The internet makes scandals permanent. In the digital realm, it is effectively impossible to have your transgressions forgotten (Knowlton & Reader, 2009). While hard-copy newspaper articles could soon be forgotten and their archives difficult to store and search, anyone can now type a name into a search engine to discover someone's past. The details of Chuang's two-year affair with Brown will likely be easily accessible on the internet indefinitely, including her affidavit. This is despite the fact she originally thought her identity would remain secret. Brown will likely have the details of his moral shortcomings, including the EY (2013) independent report into his affair, available for all to see in perpetuity.

So what, finally, can we say about media scandals? Are they part of the media's watchdog role to keep the powerful honest? Or are they simply a way journalists can generate, maintain and influence an audience, by appealing to their audiences' prurient interests? The Len Brown Affair reveals that media scandals can be both.

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Journalism capstone units based on agreed principles and standards

Abstract: The concept of capstone units is gaining currency within the Australian Higher Education system, with a growing focus on enhancing graduate employability and assuring graduate outcomes. The aim of this paper is to report on an 18-month study of undergraduate journalism capstone units in Australian universities. Just over half of the universities in Australia that teach journalism (16 out of 30), embed capstone units in their programmes, and the study, which began in September 2015, is part of an Australian Learning and Teaching Fellowship. It is divided into three stages. The first stage involved face-to-face interviews with journalism academics at 16 universities in five States, to discover what type of capstone unit they use, the principles they employ and the skills students need to demonstrate and apply. This data then underwent a validation process. Stage three of the study will develop resources to support journalism educators in the design or redesign of capstone units, especially in the area of agreed principles, standards and best practice.

Keywords: Australia, Australian Learning and Teaching, capstone units, curriculum development, employability, graduate capabilities, journalism education

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Journalism capstone units in Australia

A RECENT development in Australian journalism education has been the use of undergraduate journalism capstone units at 16 universities. Universities increasingly offer capstone subjects as part of their curricula to prepare final-year undergraduates for employment and bridge the gap between academic learning and professional work. However, the current journalism capstone units vary in content, delivery and learning outcomes. Some opt for research projects while others offer professional placements or a selection from a list of core units. Hence, it is difficult to define exactly what constitutes a journalism capstone unit from what is currently on offer.

For example, at Swinburne University in 2015, the final-year journalism capstone unit was divided into two sections: Capstone A - JOU 30002 and Capstone B - JOU 30003. The description of learning outcomes for Capstone A, which involved a journalism project and reflective essay, stated that the students would gain experience, complete a journalism project and reflect on ethical and legal issues connected with the practice of journalism. The description of learning outcomes for Capstone B was similar, and the learning outcomes included the ability to identify audiences, gain experience in building audiences, become part of an internet-based platform and be able to reflect on journalism practice and the ethical, legal and practical problems encountered. There was an absence of phrases like 'apply' 'measure' or 'demonstrate' capabilities. 'Should' is preferred to 'can'.

It was a similar story at Monash University in 2015. The final-year journalism capstone unit was in fact a professional industry unit where entry depended on negotiation with the unit coordinator. Learning outcomes were expressed with phases like 'students should be able to'. The journalism capstone unit at the University of Canberra in 2015 was also a professional industry placement, but it was one of the few universities in the study that stated in the learning outcomes that students 'will be able to demonstrate ability'. This unit offered concrete learning outcomes while the more optimistic modal verb 'should' created an impression that it is more aspirational than actual.

While these journalism capstones vary in their preference for either a research project or a professional industry placement, there is still the basic issue of how to measure graduate capabilities. As stated before, a professional industry placement is problematic as there is the presumption graduates have actually acquired a certain level of capability. They could form part of a journalism capstone unit, but only as one of a number of other measurement activities. An initial list of core skills to be demonstrated in a journalism capstone unit (judging from existing journalism capstones) includes: research, writing, grammar, digital and social media, video, communication and team skills. Yet, there is inconsistency regarding the inclusion, importance and assessment of these skills.

There should be a way to identify minimum standards and test capabilities to be met by a graduate from a bachelor level degree or enrolled in a major in the field of journalism. This was partially attempted in 2011 with an Office of Learning and Teaching (OLT) Grant entitled: Discipline Network: Journalism, Media and Communication. One aim was to develop systemic discipline standards for undergraduate and postgraduate courses in Australia which encompassed Journalism, Public Relations, Media and Communication Studies and thereby provide some form of benchmarking across the universities in Australia. While this was an important aim, the outcome was difficult to achieve because of the immense variety of views from educators across the three disciplines. Additionally, there

were no disciplinary guidelines by which to measure standards. Teaching Learning Outcomes (TLOs) provide a guide but do not define the content, teaching and learning approaches used to achieve outcomes.

The lack of agreement on agreed discipline standards was also evident from a 2014 OLT Innovation and Development Grant report which included findings from interviews with 50 tertiary journalism educators and 50 news editors across Australia. There was broad agreement among the educators that journalism education should aim to achieve three key outcomes—build a broad knowledge base, develop research and analytical skills, and teach core media and communication skills. However, in terms of the last outcome, there was a common view that a Professional Industry Placement (PIP), which is commonly used by journalism educators in Australia to test graduate skills and capabilities, was problematic as they were decreasing in number, and students enrolled in them did not necessarily have the required skills and often ended up performing menial tasks in the newsroom (Tanner, Green, Cullen, & O'Donnell, 2014).

Interviews with the news editors revealed that most of them perceived graduate students enrolled in professional placements as being generally competent with digital media, but often lacking in basic general knowledge and essential newswriting and grammar skills (Tanner, et al., 2014). In fact, professional placements often exposed a graduate's lack of ability rather than improving it. Besides, editors and journalists are often far too busy to instruct, monitor or assess their work practice skills. Industry placements are useful, but they do not provide an adequate measurement of graduate capabilities. Billett (2011) in his investigation into *Curriculum and pedagogic bases for effectively integrating practice-based experiences,* stresses the need to be clear about what needs to be learnt and to consider options other than supervised placements to secure intended educational purposes.

Finally, St Clair (2015) points to a current challenge—the ever-changing world of journalism that requires journalism students to acquire and demonstrate new capabilities such as enterprising and entrepreneurial skills.

> The world of journalism in the digital age is changing faster than university curricula can keep up. News is now produced in forms and on platforms that were non-existent 10 years ago. Journalists may increasingly generate their own work opportunities in entrepreneurial news outlets and start-ups, rather than as employees in legacy newsprint and broadcast media. Substantial workforce contraction has also occurred since 2012 as revenue in print and other traditional media has found new homes in social media and search engines, and over 1000 journalists (or 15 percent of the journalism workforce) were made redundant. Journalism graduates therefore need to be flexible, innovative and enterprising to survive professionally in this evolving setting. (St Clair, 2015)

Table 1: AQF level 7 criteria	
Summary: Graduates at this level will have broad and coherent knowledge and skills for professional work and/or further learning.	
Knowledge: Graduates at this level will have broad and coherent theoretical and technical knowledge with depth in one or more disciplines or areas of practice.	
Skills: Graduates at this level will have well-developed cognitive, technical and communication skills to select and apply methods and technologies to: • analyse and evaluate information to complete a range of activites • analyse, generate and transmit solutions to unpredictable and sometimes complex problems • transmit knowledge, ideas and skills to others	
Application of skills and knowledge: Graduates at this level will apply knowledge to demonstrate autonomy, well-developed judgment and responsibility: in contexts that require self-directed work and learning within broad parameters to provide specialist advice and functions	

The Australian Qualification Framework (AQF)

The concept of a capstone unit is gaining currency within the Australian Higher Education system. A major motivating factor is the government's focus on enhancing graduate employability, assuring graduate outcomes and the need to develop capabilities for assuring Higher Education standards. This has led to a debate about academic standards within the Australian Higher Education sector. This critical nexus requires all university degrees and course majors to rigorously map learning outcomes against agreed national standards. In particular, there is a need to map and demonstrate the relationships between generic attributes and disciplinary capabilities; the relationship between skills and knowledge and their application; the relationships between disciplinary communities, professional bodies and industry; and the relationship between macro course structure and micro subject design.

The Australian Qualifications Network (AQF) has published statements of what skills, knowledge and application graduates in Australian universities should achieve when they complete a level 7 qualification—a Bachelor's degree (Table 1). The Qualification Standards are a set of *requirements*, in the form of a legislative instrument, which are binding on Higher Education providers. Furthermore, the Tertiary Education Quality Standards Agency (TEQSA) will apply the Threshold Standards, including the Qualification Standards, when deciding whether to grant registration or renew a provider's registration, or to accredit courses. It seems sensible, therefore, to ensure capstone journalism

units be framed within the context of the level 7 statement and that a capstone unit adheres to the standards outlined in the AQF at level 7.

Methodology
In Australia 30 universities teach journalism and just over a half of them use at least one journalism capstone unit in their undergraduate programmes. I interviewed journalism educators at the 16 universities that already use journalism capstone units in order to discover what they understood by the term 'capstone', the type of capstone they used and what skills the students had to demonstrate and apply.

A total of 30 face-to-face semi-structured interviews were conducted in the offices of journalism educators in 16 universities in five States. The educators were either heads of journalism or course coordinators. The universities were selected because they offer journalism capstone units (often in diverse formats). The four interview questions were open-ended to allow each participant to describe, as fully or as briefly, the particular reasons for their decisions. Every participant signed an information and consent form before each interview which lasted at least one hour. All the interviews were recorded and later transcribed.

The universities included Monash, Melbourne, RMIT, Swinburne, Canberra, Sydney, South Australia, Wollongong, UTS, Adelaide, Curtin, Murdoch, Notre Dame, Edith Cowan, Deakin and La Trobe. Several follow-up telephone calls were made to obtain both clarifications and further information. The interviews were conducted between September 2015 and June 2016 as stage one of a three-stage study. One key aim of the three-stage study was to identify and agree on common principles and standards, and to assist the other 14 tertiary journalism programmes in Australia that want to introduce journalism capstones into their courses (even though some had units that could be easily identified as capstone units).

The interview questions included four questions:
- What do you understand by the term 'capstone unit'?
- What type of capstone units do you use?
- What were the underlying principles for the capstone units?
- What disciplinary and professional skills do students need to demonstrate?

I also organised a one-day workshop (in February 2016) on journalism capstone units with journalism educators at four universities in Perth, Western Australia. These included Edith Cowan, Murdoch, Curtin and Notre Dame universities. The participants were asked the same four questions as above, but the session was conducted as an open forum rather than directing questions at individual institutions. None of these universities used the term 'capstone' in their journalism courses.

Findings from face-to-face interviews

Question 1. What do you understand by the term 'capstone unit'?
Generally, the educators agreed that a prime aim of the capstone unit was to improve the employability of the student. This was often achieved through the use of a portfolio that showed various skills that ranged from written, audio, visual, photographic, online and social media skills. Another widely supported view was that a capstone unit should be a final-year unit and it should enable students to demonstrate the skills they had acquired over a three-year journalism degree course. Common phrases used to describe a capstone unit included: 'bringing together of skills and knowledge acquired over a three-year period', 'a full stop on their course', 'a throwback to the future', 'rounding off their degree' and 'making sure they are job ready'.

These descriptions and understandings resonate with the views of other researchers in the field of capstone research such as McNamara et al (2012) who highlighted the aspect of looking back and also forward.

> An opportunity for final year students to both look back on their undergraduate study in an effort to make sense of what they have accomplished, and to look forward to a professional existence where they can build on that foundation. It is during the capstone experience that students complete the transition from their primarily student identity to embrace the beginning of their professional identity. (McNamara, et al., 2012)

Question 2. What type of capstone units do you use?
As part of the recent focus on quality assurance of undergraduate qualifications in Australia, the use of capstone units has increasingly taken a central role in thinking about evidence of programme quality. As a result, many Australian universities have introduced capstones with the twin aims of providing students with an enhanced undergraduate experience and a locus for quality assessment. Capstones come in many different forms, with a wide range of lengths, weightings and activities.
Lee (2015) identifies six common capstone models used across disciplines:
- Externally oriented projects
- Academic inquiry projects
- Practice-oriented simulations
- Practice-based consultancies
- Task oriented simulation
- Professional placements

Findings from interviews with journalism educators at 16 universities revealed that there were three types of third-year capstone units in use: a newsroom

simulation unit, a project, and an internship (which was commonly used to describe a professional industry placement). The educators used at least one and often two (and sometimes three) types of capstone units. The internship was the most popular, followed by newsroom simulation and then a project.

First, the internship usually consisted of a four-week, full-time internship at a media organisation. This involved consultation with the journalism coordinator about the suitability of the placement. It was a common practice to select high performing students rather than those who were average or struggling with the course. However, several educators argued against using the internship as the only capstone unit as there was often little supervision and mentoring in the newsroom. Frequent discussions with students before, during and after the internship usually provided the most productive outcomes and experience.

The newsroom simulation unit was a popular capstone unit used by the educators as it helped students demonstrate what they had learnt during their three-year undergraduate course. Part of this included a portfolio of published work and achievements.

The third type of journalism capstone involved a project, where the students covered an event or a local social or political issue. Students were exposed to a wide range of journalistic skills from interviewing, writing, editing and keeping production deadlines. Critical reflection was considered a key part of the project.

Generally, the educators were satisfied that the benefits of a capstone unit far outweighed the negatives. For example, several of them said the capstone units enabled students to produce portfolios of their work or showreels. This is now a basic requirement when students apply for jobs at media organisations. Others spoke of how their students, especially in the internship and simulation capstones units (where students adopt newsroom roles and duties), had started to think and act like journalists and how they developed a confident and professional approach to their work. They could also identify gaps in their learning.

On the negative side, there was divided opinion about whether to rely solely on one capstone unit and the university timetable often lacked the flexibility to cater for an intensive vocational course. Only RMIT was able to structure its newsroom simulation unit into a whole day, once a week. Weak students struggled with internships as industry was keen on employing highly motivated, intelligent and determined students.

Question 3. What were the underlying principles for the capstone units?
Principles provide a guide to the nature and unique importance of the capstone experience in the student journey to graduation and beyond.

In short, the educators stressed a list of five different principles for an effective journalism capstone experience:

- Transition to work and professional practice

- Integration and extension of prior learning
- Authentic and contextualised experiences
- Student ownership and independence
- Continued development of critical inquiry and creativity

These principles show close similarities to the list of general principles that Lee (2015) found in her research on capstone curriculum. She argues that general principles that cater for diverse courses suit a wide variety of disciplinary capstone units. However, it must be noted that some educators were not in full agreement with these five principles and said they wanted further debate and discussion in order to arrive at an agreed list.

Question 4. What disciplinary and professional skills do students need to demonstrate?

In brief the skills required by journalism students to successfully pass the capstone unit were divided into two sections—disciplinary (skills) and professional (attitude and behaviour).

Disciplinary skills:
News writing, audio, online, TV, photographic, video, editing, verification and digital technical skills. Students had to be team player with an extensive social media brand and presence, together with research and analytical skills, and an ability to publish across several mobile platforms. They must be able to generate story ideas and communicate accurately, vividly and memorably. Several educators added that the ability to generate and pitch ideas to editors was essential as well as highly competent interview skills.

Professional skills.
Several interviewees spoke about the need for ethical practitioners with a solid knowledge of media law and for journalism students to seek truth, accuracy, balance and fairness in news reporting. Also, there was a call for reflective and mindful practitioners who can see the consequences of their professional work.

It is interesting to note that these two lists—disciplinary and professional skills—closely correspond to what the academics and news editors recommended in the 2014 OLT Innovation and Development report (Tanner, et al., 2014). They stated that journalism students should be able, at the end of their course, to demonstrate research, writing, grammar, digital and social media, video, communication and team skills. The two lists provide what needs to be demonstrated but there was division regarding how many skills the students had to demonstrate and which ones were absolutely essential.

Entrepreneurial was a term frequently repeated by the interviewees as the

world of journalism in the digital age is changing so fast. The result is that journalists find they have to generate work opportunities in entrepreneurial news outlets and start-ups, rather than as employees in mainstream news and broadcast media. Several interviewees argued that their students needed to be far more flexible, innovative and enterprising if they were to survive.

The validation process

Responses to the four questions in face-to-face interviews with more than 30 journalism academics at 16 Australian universities provided invaluable data on journalism capstone units. There are 30 universities that teach journalism so just over half were involved in the data collection and discussions. These 16 universities were chosen either because they teach capstone units or similar subjects without using the term capstone. The next stage was to achieve agreed statements on the aims of capstone units, a list of skills to demonstrate and apply and what models to use. To avoid extending the research process via more data collection and discussions, the author selected journalism academics from five universities in Melbourne who were representative of the diverse range of the journalism academics in Australia, especially in terms of age and the time spent working as journalists or teachers or both. This group met on August 27 at the Victoria State Library to discuss the second stage of the study—the validation process.

The purpose of the meeting was to:
- present the findings from the data collection on journalism capstone units collected by the author as part of his Australian Learning and Teaching Fellowship
- discuss and identify—in the context of the AQF level 7 statement, the skills and knowledge required by students to successfully complete a capstone unit.
- examine various models of capstone units and identify possible model(s) appropriate to journalism courses in Australian universities.

Aims of a capstone unit

There was an extended discussion as to what was and should be the nature of a capstone unit. At issue was whether the capstone unit should be primarily a means of learning new knowledge and skills or, while still being a learning experience, be primarily aimed at allowing students to apply their mastery and synthesis of the knowledge and skills gained over the course of their degree or major in journalism.

There was general agreement that a journalism capstone unit should:
- result in a publishable outcome
- provide an opportunity to demonstrate core journalism skills

- be student-centred and require students to articulate what they wanted to achieve and how they proposed to achieve their aim.

Principles

After a lively and passionate debate, the validation group agreed on a set of six principles, with the understanding that principles provide a guide to the nature and unique importance of the capstone experience in the student journey to graduation and beyond. While these principles were seen as complementing the five principles mentioned by the 30 journalism academics in face-to-face interviews, it was agreed that the new list provides clearer content and direction.

Transition: Assist students to develop a sense of professional identity and support them to manage their career planning and development.

Integration and closure: Enable students to attain a sense of completion and an understanding of what it means to be a graduate and globally responsible citizen.

Diversity: Enhance students' capacity to engage with diversity in professional contexts.

Engagement: Require students to assume active roles and to apply their learning in realistic, authentic and unfamiliar contexts and to take responsibility for their own work.

Assessment: Align assessment practice with the agreed capstone principles. Ask students to reflect on their own capabilities and performance.

Evaluation: Regular evaluations contribute to the demonstration of student attainment of discipline learning outcomes.

Skills: Identify core journalism skills for demonstration and application. This would include writing, story telling, digital broadcast competencies across all platforms, publishable content, producing to deadline and reflective analysis.

Models of capstone units

A total of three models of journalism capstone units are currently used by Australian universities:

- an industry placement
- a newsroom simulation or other in-house authentic learning experience such as publishing in a web-based paper/journal
- a journalism project

Each member of the validation discussion group was familiar with the three models and readily identified the strengths and weaknesses of each. The group considered the industry placement to be valuable, but increasingly difficult to secure, of variable quality and non-inclusive, and only one institution offered a placement to all students in their final year. The newsroom simulation offered an authentic learning experience and an opportunity to demonstrate strengths. At the same time, it was resource intensive.

The journalism project was seen to offer scope for platform neutral and across-platform journalism practice and the opportunity to engage in extended research and analysis. Also, it was seen as a means by which students could demonstrate course learning outcomes, knowledge, skills and abilities. In summary, the group believed each of the models had value and should be retained, perhaps as Capstone 1 and Capstone 2. There was general agreement that a project unit should be supported by rigorous intended learning outcomes which, while not overly restricting student choice of topic, should ensure that unit outcomes were comparable for all students.

Demonstrate and apply a range of skills from the following:
This list of skills from the 30 journalism academics was seen by the validation group as comprehensive, but they believed that students would not have to demonstrate every skill with writing, research and analysis as being core skills (Table 2). It was suggested that any skills list should make it clear that the essential journalism skills must be platform neutral.

Additional suggestions for skills to be added to the list were:
- Audio (to replace the medium specific radio)
- Advanced media literacy skills
- Knowledge of the contemporary and emerging media landscape.

Unresolved was whether a capstone unit, or indeed any other unit in the course should necessarily include skills development related to future employment options, for example, freelance operations, start-up enterprises, contract negotiation, or fee setting. Given concerns about a crowded curriculum and the varying policy requirements of the different universities, this matter is probably best left to individual universities to decide. The list of agreed skills are contained in Table 2. This list will be presented to the Journalism Education and Research Association of Australia (JERAA) for acceptance and then circulated to all universities in Australia that teach journalism.

Conclusion
Initial findings from face-to-face interviews with more than 30 journalism educators at 16 universities in Australia on the use of journalism capstone units, showed that while they are in use in more than half of Australian universities that teach journalism, there was a lack of agreed principles, standards and best practice to guide journalism educators in the design (or redesign) and implementation of final-year journalism capstone units, especially in regard to the demonstration and measurement of required graduate capabilities. Previous attempts to measure journalism graduate capabilities were linked mainly to professional industry placements with an emphasis on acquiring rather than demonstrating capabilities. In fact, there has never been a specific national strategy for the

Table 2: Summary of skills
1. Disciplinary skills
• Story telling skills
• Writing/grammar skills
• Ability to produce a deadline
• Create content of a professional publishable standard
• Generate story ideas
• Ability to pitch ideas
• Edit
• Verification skills
• Extensive social media presence/branding
2. Skills across all platforms
• Audio
• Video
• Photography
• Broadcast in various formats
• Ability to publish across platforms
3. Professional skills
• Ethical practitioner
• Seek truth, accuracy—balance and fairness
• Mindful practitioner—reflects on consequences
• Knowledge and understanding of media law
• Media literacy skills
• Self development skills
• Resourcefulness and resilience
4. Personal skills
• Good oral and communication skills
• Interpersonal skills
• Team player
5. Entrepreneural skills
• Build and sustain audiences across platforms
6. Research and analytical skills
• How to learn, think and problem solve

promotion of measuring the capabilities of graduate journalism students in the Australian university system.

To avoid extending the research process with more data collection and discussions, I selected journalism academics who represented the diverse range of the journalism academics in Australia, and asked them to validate the data collected from the 16 universities and agree on a set of principles, skills and methods for journalism capstone units in Australian universities. These will be presented to JERAA for acceptance and then circulated to all universities in Australia that teach

journalism. Stage three of the study will develop resources to support journalism educators in the design or redesign of capstone units. Ultimately, the findings from this 18-month study and the agreement on principles, methods and standards will provide strong evidence that journalism programmes in Australia are in line with the government's AQF level 7 standards for Bachelor degrees. Graduates will be enabled to demonstrate evidence to both educators and employers that they have acquired agreed skills and competencies for employment in a whole range of digital media and communications industries.

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Covering cops
Critical reporting of Indonesian police corruption

Abstract: The following article analyses contemporary newspaper representations of police corruption in Indonesia's premier English-language newspaper, *The Jakarta Post*. The article draws on primary data obtained from 114 articles published online between January and December 2013. The subsequent quantitative analysis found that *The Jakarta Post* reported on various forms of police corruption in both specific and general contexts with a majority of reports focusing on the investigation of corruption allegations where at least three people were involved. Information about suspects was also provided. Qualitative analysis indicated that the following themes were frequently discussed: the extent of police corruption; causes of police corruption; fighting police corruption; the belief that police cannot be trusted to investigate internal police corruption; and that police corruption interferes with external investigations. Despite many obstacles involved in reporting police corruption, the authors argue that overall *The Jakarta Post* takes a critical view in its reporting of police corruption.

Keywords: corruption, Indonesia, media, newspapers, police, *The Jakarta Post*

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F OR MANY decades Indonesia's media were heavily censored by an authoritarian government. However, since 1998 Indonesia has been undergoing democratic reform. A large part of this reform has focused on the liberalisation of the news media. Indonesia's media are now comparatively free to report on issues of concern to the citizenry. Of particular concern to the citizenry is the level of corruption in Indonesia.

Indonesia consistently scores poorly on international ratings of governance due to high levels of corruption (Transparency International, 2012). Transparency International's global corruption barometer indicates that 36 percent of Indonesian respondents reported paying bribes for services—only one percent of participants in neighbouring Australia claimed the same (Hardoon & Heinrich, 2013). Moreover, the global corruption barometer indicates that on a scale of 1 (not

being corrupt) to 5 (extremely corrupt) the Indonesian police rate 4.5 (Hardoon & Heinrich, 2013). Police corruption is thus a significant problem in Indonesia.

The way in which media report on police corruption influences how society thinks about corruption and the police. Unfavourable media coverage of police can negatively influence public trust in them (Chermak, McGarrell, & Gruenewald, 2006). At one extreme, police shootings of Black Americans shows how controversial incidents gravely damage public trust in police (Fridell, 2016). Yet while much is known about the reporting of police and police corruption in Western media, there is limited research examining reportage of police corruption in non-Western media. This article begins to fill this void by examining how *The Jakarta Post* reports on police corruption in Indonesia.

Method

This article examines coverage of police corruption in the English-language daily newspaper *The Jakarta Post* between January and December 2013. This time frame provides an understanding of how police corruption is constructed for public viewing and allows in-depth, qualitative analysis to be used in conjunction with a quantitative measure. *The Jakarta Post*, established in 1983, has local and expatriate readers, with Indonesian readers constituting 47 percent of the news audience (Jakarta Post Digital, 2014). Expatriate readers most often originate from Singapore, the United States, Malaysia and Australia (Jakarta Post Digital, 2014). Many of the Indonesian consumer audience possess at least a Bachelor's degree, are usually male and more than 50 percent have a household income greater than the national average annual income of Rp30 million (US$3000) (Jakarta Post Digital, 2014). *The Jakarta Post* is available in hardcopy and online versions with the online version not limited by space and thus able to provide extended coverage of events. The online version includes the following sections: editor's choice, headlines, business, national, archipelago, Jakarta, world, sports, photos, and videos.

The Jakarta Post was selected because it is Indonesia's largest English language paper and the authors wanted to know how police corruption is reported in an outlet with extensive foreign readership. *The Jakarta Post* is the second most popular newspaper in Indonesia (based on online visits to the website) and has a national circulation of about 85,000 (*The Jakarta Post*, 2014). Given the reach of the newspaper and its consuming demographic of wealthy, educated and politically influential readers, *The Jakarta Post* has the potential to influence social, economic, and political decisions.

Data sources

The sample analysed consisted of 114 articles published in the online version of *The Jakarta Post* between January and December 2013. The articles were

sampled using the website search-bar. The search term used was 'police corruption *month* *year*'. For example, the search might be entered as 'police corruption August 2013'. This term was applied to all 12 months within 2013. The first 100 search results for each month were downloaded for analysis. We selected the first 100 articles for each month to provide a manageable, but rich, data source. Of the original 1200 articles, 114 articles fitted the criteria of being originally published in 2013 and being specifically about a case of police corruption or corruption in general that could be linked to the police. Not all articles included in the final sample used the phrase 'corruption' explicitly, but described police engaging in what were readily identifiable as corrupt acts such as police accepting bribes for waiving a traffic fine or selling confiscated goods for personal profit.

Data analysis

Once collected, each article was read through to identify recurring themes and patterns. Based on these patterns, a coding sheet and booklet were drafted for the purposes of analysis. Each article was then read through again and coded according to the definitions developed in the coding sheet and booklet. The Word 'comment' function was used to add notes and comments that identified and linked together various themes from previous articles. A quantitative content analysis was used to examine the specific details of the articles while qualitative analysis was used to develop and examine recurring themes within the text.

Media in Indonesia

During the authoritarian reign of President Suharto (1966-1998), Indonesian media were heavily censored and only content that promoted the interests of the regime could be published. If a media outlet printed anti-government material its publishing licence would be removed (Harsono, 2002). Indonesia's embrace of democracy, coming after the forced resignation of President Suharto, resulted in greater levels of media freedom. With the passing in 1999 of the Liberal Press Law (LPL), Indonesia's media became one of the freest in Asia (Holm, 2008). Previously banned media sources, such as *Tempo*, *Detik* and *Editor*, were reissued publishing licences (Harsono, 2002). Media outlets found they could report on protests and previously taboo issues (Kakiailatu, 2007; Sen & Hill, 2000; Tapsell, 2012). This openness led to an increase in the number of newspapers, national television stations and journalists in Indonesia (Harsono, 2011; Lee & Maslog, 2005; Lee, Maslog, & Kim, 2006; Maslog, Lee, & Kim, 2007; Pintak & Setiyono, 2011; Sen & Hill, 2010).

Media freedom has not always resulted in critical engagement with contentious issues in Indonesia. For instance, Harjono (1998) argues that the legacy of

Indonesia's past and previous penalties for critical reporting influence contemporary journalism. Decades of fear continue to shape the way journalists report sensitive issues, meaning that some journalists write about contentious matters while hardly mentioning human rights, corruption or dictatorship (Leadbeater, 2008). Moreover, Indonesia's transition to democratic reform did not remove all censorship and indeed, there

> can be no simple connection between the erosion of government censorship, the opening up of the media and the establishment of a pluralist democracy as understood in the West. (Sen & Hill, 2010, p. 2)

Despite reform, then, many journalists find it difficult to play the role of 'watchdog,' where the media 'watch' the government and other state institutions to prevent wrongdoing (Pintak & Setiyono, 2011; Tapsell, 2012). Some Indonesian journalists struggle with conflicting challenges of being critical of institutional powers while maintaining their job (Harsono, 2002; Pintak & Setiyono, 2011).

One way that sensitive issues are covered in Indonesian media is in trivialised and sensationalised tones (Hartono, 2015). Indeed when media are run on a for-profit basis many topics are presented as scandals which become a form of entertainment (Buttle, Davies, & Meliala, 2015). Media trivialisation of political and other topics discourages meaningful citizen engagement. Further, a desire by Indonesian audiences to consume celebrity gossip and sensational stories also makes it hard to publish critical pieces (Coutas, 2006; Hobart & Fox, 2008). Other approaches to coverage, such as deliberative journalism where diverse and unpopular views about the community good are presented to encourage expressions of criticality and plurality, might be one way forward for Indonesia's media (Robie, 2013).

The Indonesian police and corruption
The Indonesian National Police (Kepolisian Negara Republic Indonesia) is known by its acronym Polri. It has undergone a number of democratic reforms aimed at securing public trust. In 1999, the police were separated from the military and greater autonomy from political influence was nominally ensured through Police Law No. 2/2002. The police were made an executive institution under Article 30 of the Indonesian constitution. Polri has also attempted to move away from its previous paramilitary style of law enforcement towards a community-policing model and in late 2005 the chief of police adopted a national community policing programme (Prasetyo, et al., 2005). How fully Polri has taken on more democratic policing values is debatable, however (Muradi, 2014).

There are low levels of public trust in the Indonesian police (Muradi, 2014). One survey conducted in 2011 by Polri itself indicated that 33.4 percent of public respondents were not satisfied with the police (Kepala Kepolsian Negara Republik Indonesia, 2012). Corruption is a key barrier to increasing trust and support in the Indonesia police (Davies, Meliala, & Buttle, 2016). Indeed, knowledge of police corruption has profoundly reduced public trust in Polri, and trust is essential in a well-functioning police service (Davis, Triwahyuono, & Alexander, 2009; Meliala, 2002; Olken & Barron, 2009; Smith, 2009; Stasch, 2001; Villaveces-Izquierdo, 2010; Waters & Brown, 2000).

Polri's institutional framework is arranged in a manner that facilitates corruption (Jansen, 2008; Muradi, 2014). Moreover, tolerance of police corruption by Indonesian society constrains attempts at reform (Buttle, et al., 2015). It is thus difficult to remove corruption from policing organisations when corruption is normalised and citizens expect and permit police to be corrupt. Police corruption can be challenged, though, by the media and hence it is important to understand how corruption is reported in the Indonesian press.

Results: Forms of corruption

The newspaper articles included within our sample discussed various forms of police corruption. While inconsistencies occurred between the use of terms (for instance, there was a conflation of bribery and extortion in some articles), we identified numerous acts widely understood as constituting corruption: embezzlement, bribery, interference with investigations, and nepotism (Buttle, et al., 2015). The different forms of corruption mentioned indicate that journalists with *The Jakarta Post* possessed an understanding of what behaviours constituted corrupt practices.

Specificity of the articles

As Table 1 indicates, the sample was evenly split between 'general cases', by which we mean instances of corruption where no particulars are given, and 'specific cases', by which we mean actual cases of corruption where explicit details are given and perpetrators named. The inclusion of general cases demonstrated a willingness by *The Jakarta Post* to treat police corruption as more than a series of unique incidents showing that journalists could establish links between cases, focus on broader causes and consequences of corruption and place specific cases within a wider context. Journalists framed corruption as a matter of problematic police culture rather than just as isolated incidents. Among specific cases of corruption that were identified in the newspaper articles, the majority focused on corruption cases involving large amounts of money or significant abuses of authority.

Of the 57 specific articles, 17 referred to a large case involving Former Chief

Table 1: Specificity of the articles		
	Frequency	Percent
Specific case	57	50
Police corruption in general	57	50
Total	114	100

of the National Traffic Police Corps Inspector General Djoko Susilo; this was the largest corruption case ever brought against the police. The second most frequently cited specific case reported was that of Inspector Labora Sitorus, which was reported in eight separate articles. Other cases that appeared multiple times involved three officers: National Police Chief General Sutarman; retired Commissioner General Susno Duadji and former Tegal Police Chief Agustin Hardiyanto, were all of them accused of being involved in corrupt practices.

Table 2: Stage of cases within articles discussing specific cases		
Stage of case	Frequency	Percent
Suspicion	7	12.3
Evidence found	1	1.8
Investigation in progress	33	57.9
In court	7	12.3
Post-trial	9	15.8
Total	57	100.0

Stage of the case
Of the specific case articles, most of the cases discussed (57.9 percent) were at the 'investigation in progress' stage. As Table 2 illustrates, other articles were divided among the stages of: suspicion; evidence found; in court; and post-trial.

Names of those involved given
Table 3 illustrates that the majority (94.7 percent) of specific case articles provided identifying information for at least one person involved in the case. This inclusion suggests that name suppression is not a common feature of Indonesian corruption trials, possibly reflecting a desire to 'name and shame' individuals allegedly engaged in corrupt practices. Alternatively it may be in keeping with principles of open justice where the courts keep the administration of justice transparent. The lack of name suppression could also suggest that those being tried for corruption are unlikely to be negatively affected if their name is released.

Table 3: Provision of identifying information in specific articles		
Name of those involved	Frequency	Percent
Given	54	94.7
Not given	3	5.3
Total	57	100.0

Number of people involved

As indicated in Table 4, most (56.1 percent) specific case articles described instances of corruption involving at least three people, with fewer cases involving only one (26.3 percent) or two (17.5 percent) people. Reports in *The Jakarta Post* thus construct an image of corrupt practices involving multiple people. If multiple people are involved in police corruption it suggests that corruption is deeply entrenched (Sherman, 1974). Articles tended to focus on the main perpetrator while the fate of other suspects was generally not given.

Table 4: Number of people involved within specific cases		
Number of people involved	Frequency	Percent
One	15	26.3
Two	10	17.5
More than two	32	56.1
Total	57	100.0

Length of articles

The majority (59.6 percent) of articles were more than 31 lines, suggesting *The Jakarta Post* dedicates a considerable amount of space to discussing the topic of police corruption given that articles on other topics had average line counts below this number.

Table 5: Length of articles		
	Frequency	Percent
1-15 lines	16	14.0
16-30 lines	30	26.3
31 plus lines	68	59.6
Total	114	100.0

General tone of text

As Table 6 indicates, the majority (66.7 percent) of articles employed a predominately neutral reporting style when discussing police corruption. By neutral reporting style we mean that corruption was neither framed as increasing

Table 6: Predominant tone of text within articles		
General style of text	Frequency	Percent
Predominantly optimistic	3	2.6
Predominantly neutral	76	66.7
Predominantly pessimistic	35	30.7
Total	114	100.0

nor decreasing. It is possible that a neutral reporting style is an attempt by journalists to avoid antagonising policing personnel (Harsono, 2002).

A number of articles framed police corruption in explicitly pessimistic terms (30.7 percent). For instance, articles noted that corruption was spreading. Such framing was especially evident in articles published as editorials, public comments or opinion pieces. Such articles are arguably not intended to be impartial and in fact these pieces provide an opportunity for journalists, editors, experts and members of the public to present their perceptions of police corruption. Only three articles (2.6 percent) in the sample suggested that corruption was decreasing within the police force.

Table 7: Types of articles included in the sample		
Type of article	Frequency	Percent
News	94	82.5
Opinion	6	5.3
Editorial	5	4.4
Public Letters	9	7.9
Total	114	100.0

Type of article
Most articles (82.5 percent) were news articles (see Table 7). The remaining 17.5 percent consisted of editorials, opinion pieces, and letters from the public.

Analysis
A number of recurring themes were present in the articles, including the extent of police corruption; causes of police corruption; fighting police corruption; the idea that police cannot be trusted to investigate internal police corruption; and the idea that police corruption interferes with external investigations.

Extent of police corruption
Many articles presented corruption as rampant across Indonesia, emphasising the entrenchment of corruption within the police force (cf. Jansen, 2008; Muradi, 2014):

In 2009, the Transparency International Indonesia (TII) survey listed the National Police as the most bribery-riddled institution in the country. (Perdani, 2013b)

'No service is given by the police without money and corruption has become systemic in the police since they took over the public security role from the military,' he said… (Idrus & Sijabat, 2013)

It would be a monumental task to list all the corrupt practices within the police force. From protecting slave labour to amassing billions of rupiah of state money, the National Police seem to be the only state institution untouched by reform… (Perdani, 2013a)

Both low and high-ranking officers were reported as participating in corrupt practices, contributing to the image that corruption is pervasive throughout the police force:

The Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) has filed a new charge against the former chief of the National Police Traffic Corps Djoko Susilo and accused him of money laundering. (Parlina & Pramudatama, 2013)

At other times, police personnel were noted as appearing to be involved in corruption:

Bali Police Chief Insp. Gen. Arif Wahyunadi said he has dismissed a police officer who appeared to extort money from a foreign tourist in an incident captured in a video uploaded to YouTube recently… He said the police officer, identified as Adj. Second Insp. Komang Sarjana, was now being questioned by the Bali Police internal affairs department. (*The Jakarta Post*, 2013a)

Other reports in *The Jakarta Post* lead readers to infer that the extensive and embedded nature of police corruption resulted in significant state losses:

Semarang's Corruption Court's panel of judges sentenced former Tegal police chief Adj. Sr. Comr. Agustin Hardiyanto to three years in prison and fined him Rp 100 million (US$10,350) after finding him guilty of embezzling operational funds…Agustin embezzled Rp 1.09 billion out of Rp 6.6 billion of operational funds during his tenure as Tegal police chief in 2008. (Rohmah, 2013)

Taufik was dismissed for his failure in tracking the illicit businesses of his subordinate, Adj. First Insp. Labora Sitorus. Labora controlled at least 60 bank accounts through which over Rp 1 trillion (US$102 million) has passed in five year. (Perdani, 2013a)

While most of the coverage of police corruption in *The Jakarta Post* concerned officers allegedly or actually involved in corrupt acts, the paper did also cover events where police officers worked to stamp out police corruption:

> Novel first came into the spotlight following the raid he led on his fellow officers at the National Traffic Police Corps (Korlantas) last year…The graft buster made headlines again last week, when he led investigators on raids that netted four suspects in a bribery scandal centred on meat imports involving the Muslim-based Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)... In July, Novel confiscated documents that led to the arrest of Korlantas chief Insp. Gen. Djoko Susilo, the first time an active duty police general has faced criminal charges in a graft case. (Perdani, 2013c)

> …a policeman in the small town of Gresik, East Java, has won praise for refusing to compromise with any traffic offenders, including his own wife… He has received numerous awards from a regional news channel, local communities and his own force. (Perdani, 2013b)

The Jakarta Post thus reports on the extensive nature of police corruption and highlights both negative and positive police actions, in contrast to Western media where Reiner (2000) found that news stories about police tended overall to be positive and depicted officers in heroic roles.

Causes of police corruption

The next recurring theme in our sample was the causes of police corruption, which included: childhood socialisation where children are raised in ways that facilitate corrupt practices; an education system that values making money by any means; media exposure to corrupt practices; personal characteristics such as greed; institutional factors like inappropriate organisational culture; the power and authority of police officers and the fact that police officers pay money to join the police, to get transfers and to be promoted. In the following article we see how *The Jakarta Post* provides an overview of the causes of police corruption.

> Stories of a pervasive culture of kickbacks emanate from the earliest stages of recruitment and permeate the entire process until an officer receives his or her posting…The force is literally a haven for practicing corruption… The police's permissive culture and the lack of external independent oversight have been blamed for the pervasive corrupt practices…The absence of such external supervision along with the police's overwhelming authority is the root of all evil plaguing the force... Due to a strong esprit de corps, the police regularly protect their own, particularly the top brass, even regarding gross violations...Aside from problems in oversight, the police's permissive culture in education and training have also undermined reform. (Perdani, 2013a)

The mention of a strong *esprit de corps* refers to what Skolnick (2005) describes as a tightly woven subculture where the threat of being exposed to public scrutiny engenders a sense of loyalty between police officers. This loyalty means that officers will keep silent about colleagues' corrupt practices (Chin & Wells, 1997; Wolfe & Piquero, 2011). Keeping silent is considered to characterise a trustworthy police colleague (Skolnick, 2005). This imperative of silence means that even officers who want to act ethically end up being complicit in the crimes of other officers. This code of silence thus facilitates corrupt policing practices.

Articles in our sample framed corruption as deeply entrenched within Polri. Readers are thus discouraged from developing the perception that corrupt policing practices are limited to a few individuals. Where corruption is deeply entrenched, and where institutional police culture and structure facilitate corruption as they do in Polri, efforts to stamp-out corruption are likely to be ineffective (Buttle, et al., 2015).

Fighting police corruption

Articles within our sample framed the fight against corruption as a difficult undertaking:

> As for Indonesia, it remains in the bottom 30 percent of the most corrupt countries in the world…The fight against corruption is an uphill battle in which the only way to win is with the commitment and collaboration of all members of society…Corruption eradication has never been an easy task. (Prabowo, 2013)

Articles also noted that members of the public believe corruption is so widespread that reporting corruption to the police is a pointless endeavour:

> According to this study, 47 percent of respondents said they would not report corruption to the authorities…others (32 percent) argued that there was no use in doing that since the law enforcers were also corrupt... Raymond is among those who doubt that reporting a corruption case would make a difference. 'Even if I file a report, I'm not sure it will be followed up,' he said. (Jong, 2013)

Some articles in *The Jakarta Post* used cynicism as a way of reporting police corruption. Cynicism may be a way of effectively portraying the systemic nature of police corruption. Other articles described efforts to eradicate police corruption in a defeatist manner. Such a manner may possibly discourage some members of the public from assisting future attempts to fight corruption, but it may also rally others to support anti-corruption campaigns:

> *The Jakarta Post's* Yuliasri Perdani looks into the approaching shake-up in the leadership of the force and looks forward to the promised installation of integrity…High performance and an impeccable track record are not the focal points in the appointment of a police chief, not in Indonesia… Given the existing regulations on the police, there is no chance of an outside candidate with unimpeachable integrity leading the force of around 550,000 personnel and initiating the crucial reform…The choice, such as it is, comes down to the lesser of two evils. (*The Jakarta Post,* 2013b)

Articles in *The Jakarta Post* provide ideas on how corruption eradication can occur, but as these ideas require significant cultural and institutional change articles also noted that eradication programmes were unlikely to occur or to be successfully implemented.

Police cannot be trusted to investigate internal police corruption

Many articles noted a distinct lack of public trust in internal police investigations. Journalists stated that Indonesian police genuinely did not want to eradicate corruption within their own organisation or within other institutions. Evidence of police unwillingness to eradicate corruption was given through examples of internal investigations of police corruption that were either not pursued or where charges were dropped:

> Anti-graft and police watchdogs suspect that the sudden arrest by the National Police of Papua policeman Adj. First Insp. Labora Sitorus was part of a plot to protect higher ranking officers who could be dragged into the mire of a major graft case…' It's inconceivable that LS [Labora Sitorus] acted alone for five years. There have been reports of illegal logging and fuel smuggling that might involve members of the police in Papua, but it has all been ignored…It's impossible for members of the police to be involved in this kind of thing unless they have the support of their superiors.…Unless the KPK [Anti-Corruption Commission] is involved, the public will see a repeat of cases like the acquittal of Papua's Police Comr. Marthen Renouw. (Aritonang & Perdani, 2013)

Such examples explain in part why members of the public view reporting corruption to police as a pointless activity—even if police were made aware of corruption allegations it was considered unlikely that a legitimate police investigation would be conducted. That *The Jakarta Post* reports police failings suggests that the newspaper critiques police corruption. In contrast, local newspapers tend be disinterested in covering police corruption (Davies, Stone, & Buttle, 2015). Articles also noted that to ensure the accuracy and fairness of investigations, activities conducted by the police needed to be made transparent. Transparency allows for the external scrutiny of police investigations and makes the organisation accountable for its

actions and decisions. The fact that *The Jakarta Post* highlights the lack of police transparency reveals critical reporting.

Police corruption interferes with external investigations

Police corruption extends beyond internal investigations, with articles in the sample outlining how corruption affects police work in general. Articles suggested that Indonesian police openly interfered with investigations; attempted to charge and arrest leading external corruption investigators; pursued cases against individuals under witness protection and deliberately delay and even ended investigations of police corruption.

While police provided justification for behaviour such as interrogating people under witness protection, *The Jakarta Post* reported that such justifications were unsubstantiated. Identifying justifications as unsubstantiated demonstrates that *The Jakarta Post* challenges police corruption. Articles in *The Jakarta Post* also questioned the veracity of information provided by Polri.

> The police have charged senior KPK [Anti-Corruption Commission] officials before. Back in 2009, the police detained then KPK chairman Antasari Azhar for his involvement in the 2009 murder of Nasruddin Zulkarnaen, the director of pharmaceutical company PT Putra Rajawali Banjaran. The case is said to have been rife with irregularities… Later that year, the police arrested then KPK deputy chiefs, Bibit Samad Rianto and Chandra M. Hamzah, for alleged power abuse and extortion linked to graft suspect Anggoro Widjojo. Activists claimed that the case was orchestrated. (Jong & Perdani, 2013)

As seen in the quote above that when the anti-corruption unit, the KPK, exposed police corruption, police respond by levelling corruption allegations at the KPK to stall further investigation. Such coverages suggests that *The Jakarta Post* critically reports on police corruption in Indonesia.

Conclusion

Indonesia underwent dramatic reform in 1998. President Suharto's forced resignation ushered in an era of democratic change that saw, among other things, Indonesia's police become independent of the military and the media become some of the most free in Asia. Given that Indonesia's police is arguably the most corrupt organisation in the country, it is relevant to explore how journalists in a democratic Indonesia report on this organisation. To this end this research analysed articles in the English language newspaper *The Jakarta Post*. While the focus was on a single newspaper, readership numbers suggest that *The Jakarta Post* influences a significant international and national audience. We recognise, though, that any attempt to generalise from the findings of this study to other

media outlets in Indonesia, or to extrapolate findings to another time period, must be undertaken with caution. Indeed the limitations of this study suggest an avenue for future research such as a longitudinal study, including analysis of a larger number of media outlets, to map changes in reporting practices in a more representative way.

A number of recurring themes are evident in *The Jakarta Post*'s coverage of police corruption: the extent of police corruption; causes of police corruption; fighting police corruption; the belief that police cannot be trusted to investigate internal police corruption and that police corruption interferes with external investigations. The results of the analysis also indicated that *The Jakarta Post* discussed police corruption in both the context of specific cases and as a broader topic. With regards to specific case articles, the majority focused on extensive instances of corruption that were at the stage of investigation and involved at least three people. In terms of reporting length and style, *The Jakarta Post* allocates considerable space to the discussion of police corruption and articles frame police corruption as undesirable and adversely affecting Indonesian society. To reinforce the detrimental effects of police corruption, *The Jakarta Post* incorporates comments on police corruption from various people and institutions. The style in which *The Jakarta Post* reports on police corruption is not sensationalist and seeks to raise awareness of the pervasiveness of corruption. *The Jakarta Post* is critical of institutions within Indonesia that facilitate police corruption.

Articles in *The Jakarta Post* provide a number of explanations for the origin and perpetuation of police corruption, explanations that reflect the cultural constraints theory of police corruption (Buttle, et al., 2015). These explanations include both positioning police culture as a corrupting influence on officers and police structure and showing how cultural norms in wider Indonesian society work to constrain attempts to eradicate police corruption. *The Jakarta Post* articles do not support the notion that police corruption extends from the wrongdoing of a single officer, but rather reinforce the idea that police corruption is a systemic institutional issue. *The Jakarta Post* thus provides a critical view of police corruption and further investigative journalism can hopefully inspire heightened demand for effective reform to end police corruption.

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REVIEWS

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Journalists' voices explore dangerous times

Reporting from the Danger Zone: Frontline journalists, their jobs and an increasingly perilous future, by Maria Armoudian. New York and Abingdon: Routledge, 2017, 155pp. ISBN 978-1-138-84005-8.

IN HIS memoirs of his life as a foreign correspondent, British journalist Richard Beeston recalled:

We went to wars and revolutions in our drip-dry suits and button-down shirts—armed with a note book and an Olivetti portable typewriter. For us there were no steel helmets, flak jackets and armour plated cars...in those more innocent days we somehow managed an amateur and neutral status and were unlikely to become the target of hostage-takers or the victims of religious fanatics. The twenty-first century is a more dangerous time. (Beeston, 2006)

Maria Armoudian's important new book explores just how dangerous a time this is for journalists since those far-off days. Of course journalists died then, killed by stray bullets or drink—or both, but rarely were they deliberately targeted. The capture of Sean Flynn by the Viet Cong and later
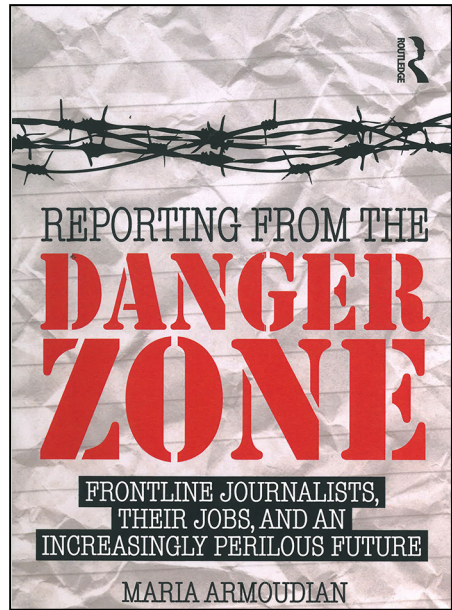
murder by the Khmer Rouge stand out because it was so rare.

Now, as Armoudian notes, the clear lines that separated combatants and territories have faded and journalists may no longer be regarded as civilians. Equally importantly, where once wars were fought between governments by trained military personnel, now all too often they involve psychotic groups like ISIS.

Beeston's colleague, the Canadian journalist Eric Downton (1987), begins his memoir by describing an encounter with a Buddhist monk in the ruins of Hiroshima who left him haunted by what he calls a terrible riddle: 'Why cannot men stop killing each other?'

Similar questions continue to trouble many of Armoudian's interviewees:

…just as journalism can affect the politics of life and death, the politics of

life and death affects journalism. The physical and psychological wounds are sometimes debilitating, mentally and physically, and can impair the once-determined journalist when hopes and expectations fade to disillusionment and disappointment.

Armoudian's book explores the work of journalists in covering war, crime and trying to operate under corrupt and violent regimes. More importantly, she also looks at how journalists cope with the stresses of their work and the sometimes hideous things they have seen.

The things that journalists will brush off as all part of the adventure in their memoirs are quite often terrifying. The strength of Armoudian's book are the interviews she conducted with journalists. She lets their stories carry her message and reinforce what she wants to say.

To hear their stories about what it is like to be detained by heavily armed, nervous guerillas or locked up by the secret police in a dictatorship is to understand how much risk journalists take.

When we think of journalists risking their lives we normally think of war correspondents, but as Armoudian points out, covering crime, especially international industrial level crime such as drug smuggling, has become extremely hazardous. Criminals and terrorist groups use the same technology as journalists and are adept at tracking people who expose them or write negatively about them.

Mexican journalists writing about the cartels know they can be targeted.

Unlike war correspondents their danger zone is outside their front door.

For some journalists, danger comes in the form of civil war and Armoudian relates harrowing stories from Kemal Kurspahic, editor of the Sarajevo newspaper *Oslobodjenje*, who talks about what it was like to try to survive the siege of the city and keep his multi-ethnic team together in a war in which the euphemism 'ethnic cleansing' entered the general vocabulary.

In the same chapter, she interviews Pakistani journalists who talk about how the dangers and fear that are part of their work spread to their families and their friends until they either flee or find some inner reserve to carry on.

Fortunately, there is now a network of organisations supporting journalists and the first tentative steps have been taken to give them the protection they need. The United Nations has passed various resolutions, but it will need the full support of governments to ensure that journalists can safely pursue their vital task of providing the public with the information they need.

Danger Zone is an extremely important new book that deserves a wide readership among journalists, educators and members of the public who want to understand the conditions under which so much news is reported.

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DR MICHAEL HOROWITZ is university dean at Tonga's ʻAtenisi Institute.
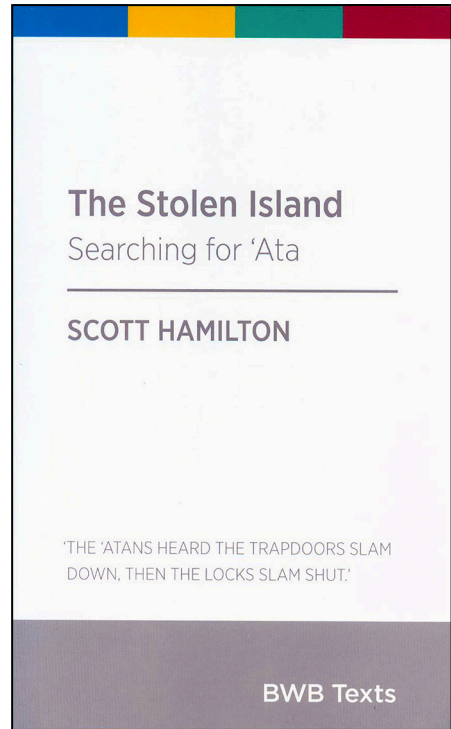
Decimation of a Tongan island by slaver's trickery

The Stolen Island: Searching for ʻAta, by Scott Hamilton. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016. 112pp. ISBN 978-0-947518-11-0.

L OCATED even further south than temperate Nouméa, Tonga's tiny island of ʻAta might have become the jewel of the kingdom's burgeoning tourist industry. Imagine a Tongan resort that would not only be mild in winter, but pleasant in summer.

Alas, it was not to be. As Scott Hamilton poignantly describes in his concise account, *Stolen Island*, an Australian whaler, the *Grecian*, anchored offshore in June 1863, tricked nearly half the island's over 300 inhabitants to come aboard to trade, then locked the exits and delivered them to a slave ship, the *General Prim*, bound for Peru. Shortly after their arrival in port, the Peruvian government enforced its abolition of slavery and ordered all captured islanders, including Tahitians and Tongans, repatriated.

Yet the prisoners were again betrayed: this time by being labelled a medical threat by the captain of the returning vessel and dumped on remote Cocos Island, where all but 38 perished. Finally in November, a Peruvian warship brought survivors to the seaside village of Paita, where the descendants of some ʻAtans may possibly live today.

Before continuing this review, a word about author Hamilton, already known to many readers of *PJR*. Scott earned a doctorate in sociology from the University of Auckland in 2009 on the strength of a cogent critique of E.P. Thompson, an independent British socialist of the last half of the 20th century; remarkably, the study was published by the University of Manchester within three years of Hamilton's defence.

Following publication, Hamilton joined Tonga's ʻAtenisi Institute for a year as associate dean. Currently he's collaborating with Auckland University

of Technology filmmaker Paul Janman on a history of the Great South Road, after receiving a literary grant from Auckland's mayor to as well chronicle the artery in print.

Back to 'Ata. After learning of the abduction, Tonga's king shipped its remaining residents to the island of 'Eua, within sight of the island of Tongatapu, on which the capital Nuku'alofa is located.

The second half of *Stolen Island* speculates both about the descendants of those transferred to Peru and those relocated in 'Eua: Can those in Paita be traced? Have they prospered? How do 'Atans in 'Eua differ from indigenous 'Euans? (To confirm the flexuous journey of his people, Masalu Halahala, chief of the 'Atan village on 'Eua, greeted Kiwi literati at Stolen Island's recent launch.)

Hamilton's kinetic capsule sweeps like a tornado siphoning Lapita settlement, Dutch exploration, South American slavery, Down Under servitude, infectious disease, Kiwi justice, Tongan gossip, and the adventure travel of an intrepid Spaniard. Yet at the end of the day it is 'Ata that remains—a rocky isle, now uninhabited, with its 18th century ruins glimmering in the subtropical sun, as your Airbus hurtles you to bustling Auckland.

*DR DAVID ROBIE is editor of
Pacific Journalism Review.*
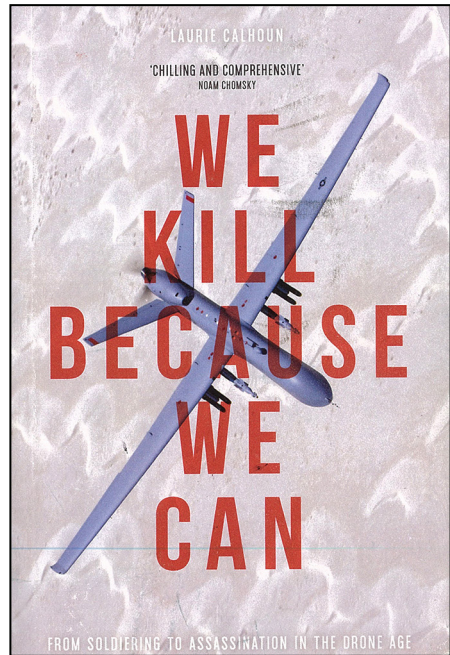
Drone killings on a par with mafia hitmen

**We Kill Because We Can: From
Soldiering to Assassination in the
Drone Age**, by Laurie Calhoun. London:
Zed Books. 2016. 400pp. ISBN 978-1-78360-
547-7 pbk.

O NE of the ironies of the legacy
of eight years of Barak Obama's
presidency is that under the leadership
of the man who was elected to bring a
more peaceful world into play follow-
ing George W. Bush's warmongering,
the 'global war on terror' (GWOT) has
grown enormously.

Remote control warfare by drones
with virtually no transparency is deeply
disturbing. After years of demands for
statistics about the drone killing pro-
gramme, Obama was finally forced to
admit in April 2013 that an American,
Dr Warren Weistein, and an Italian,
Giovanni Lo Porto, had been 'tragically
killed' in a counter-terrorism operation
by drone strike three months earlier in
Pakistan (Ackerman, 2016).

This rare admission of guilt over
the drone programme confirmed sus-
picions about a climbing death toll
among civilians.

While the US target is claimed to
be al-Qaeda and Daesh (the self-styled
Islamic State, ISIS or ISIL) suspects,
research by the London-based Bureau
of Investigative Journalism has de-
monstrated that during Obama's tenure
more than 7000 people have been killed
with impunity by drone controllers far
from any battlefield.

About a seventh of these deaths are
estimated to be civilians, including up
to 110 children.

This death toll contrasts greatly
with a mere 54 drone strikes authorised
by President Bush in his entire term
of office.

And undoubtedly the billionaire
businessman and reality television
tycoon President, Donald Trump, will
entrench the use of drones even further.

This timely book, provocatively
entitled *We Kill Because We Can*
(adapted from a quote by a drone opera-
tive), has exposed the ethical and moral
bankruptcy and shortsighted objectives
of the Predator drone programme.

Author Laurie Calhoun, a philosopher and cultural critic, has penned a robustly argued and disturbing work that presents an analogy between the US government's 'targeted killings' and the mafia's hitmen murders, lumping the Bush and Obama drone killings together as 'simply assassinations'.

Calhoun likens suspects chosen for the growing weekly 'killing lists' to a stay on death row, with no provision for an appeal or re-examination of the evidence that led to the 'conviction'.

> Yet it is well known that suspects charged with capital crimes within civil society are often acquitted, as the evidence proves unconvincing to a jury of their peers. Jurors in US criminal trials are sternly instructed by the court that a verdict of guilty must be established *beyond a reasonable doubt*. (p. 120)

Calhoun argues that the 'slick technological apparatus' enabling drone strikes serves as a red herring that diverts attention from the crucial question – is it actually true that people about to die by remote control via a Hellfire missile are guilty of some capital crime and 'deserve to die'?

As the author stresses, drone strikes are irrevocable. Yet even in countries where the US is not officially at war and there are no ground troops 'to protect', the state emphasis is on killing the target.

The killings are treated as 'acts of war', but they are 'indistinguishable from unlawful assassination', says Calhoun, and they overlap with warfare actions only in the 'effective impunity of the killers' (p. 120).

Calhoun also offers a scathing critique of the military-industrial complex and its phenomenal growth since former US Vice-President Dick Cheney began privatising and outsourcing to contractors during the occupation of Iraq.

The military machine virtually guarantees the continued use of drones and the self-justifying killings as part of a burgeoning 'terror factory' (p. 245). The number of new Predator operators trained in the US quadrupled between 2008 and 2013 and this figure eclipses the number of conventional pilots being trained.

> The hardware alone of the drone programme is a huge contract generator. As of 2013, the drone contracts for major weapons manufacturers were at these figures: Boeing $1.8 billion; Northrop Grumman $10.9 billion; General Atomics $6.6 billion; and Raytheon $648 million. (p. 243)

Calhoun is highly critical of the role of news media in failing to expose the Orwellian mythology and 'just war' terminology shrouding GWOT, and of also failing to provide greater transparency about the drone industry; the inherent conflicts of interest; the dangers of exporting the killing technology to other countries (at least 19 so far) and the role played by targeted killing in unleashing revenge acts by jihadists.

She ultimately argues that the indifference demonstrated by the US

towards the 'thousands of nameless victims, [or] the corruption caused directly by war' risks inviting another terrorist atrocity equally as audacious as 9/11 (p. 334).

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DR JAMES HOLLINGS is a senior lecturer in journalism at Massey University.

Valiant on digital media, lacking on indigeneity

Media and Journalism: New Approaches to Theory and Practice [3rd ed.], edited by Jason Bainbridge, Nicola Goc and Liz Tynan. Melbourne: Oxford University Press., 2015. 504 pp. ISBN 9-780-1955-8801-9.

THIS IS an updated version of a well-established media text by three prominent Australian media academics. Like the first edition, it is aimed at beginner media studies students,

DON'T SPOIL MY BEAUTIFUL FACE

MEDIA, MAYHEM & HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE PACIFIC

DAVID ROBIE

"This is an extraordinary 'secret history' of a vast region of the world of which David Robie has been a rare expert witness. What makes this epic work so timely is that it allows us to understand the Asia-Pacific at a time of renewed cold war ambitions and dangers." – John Pilger

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providing them with a basic introduction to media, communication, journalism studies and public relations concepts, all in a friendly, informal tone.

It is divided into five parts, each containing three or four chapters, case studies, and 'tools' or student learning material. Part one is an overview of media and journalism, and their role and history, with a case on World War One and the Anzac legend. Part two looks at media institutions, including radio, film and television and public relations, with a 'tool' on how to conduct a media conference. Part Three focuses on media analysis, with a case study on journalism and gender, and a 'tool' on textual analysis. Part Four, 'Making News', is on journalism practice, with chapters on news writing, subediting, news value, broadcast writing, and an exercise on writing features. Part Five, Frameworks and Social Contexts, looks at ethics, media law, convergence, and postmodernity, with a case study on free speech and an exercise on digital and social media and journalism practice.

Much of this will be familiar to owners of the second edition. What is new here is the rise and dominance of digital and social media, which the authors have made a valiant attempt to cover. Also, the chapter on Ethics is much revised to take account of the Finkelstein Inquiry. Many of the case studies have also been updated, such as that on the rise of online misogyny.

For many first-year students, or those completely new to the media studies field, this will be a helpful
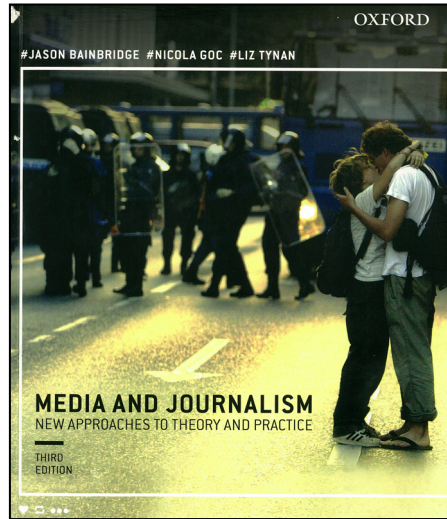
doorway to a sometimes overwhelming field. For those with specialist knowledge, some of the analysis may seem a little too superficial, however.

For example, I found the chapter on writing and subediting under par. While it contains many well-worn truisms and rules of thumb of the subs' bench, it doesn't situate these within a conceptual understanding of editing, such as might be provided by a reference list which included two of the classic root texts for editors: The Chicago Manual of Style, or the *New Oxford Style Manual*.

Thus, for instance, we have an unhelpful explanation of when to use apostrophes with plurals, which could have been avoided by reference to Chicago's superb and, in my opinion, unsurpassed rule.

Likewise, the chapter on rounds reporting, while well-grounded in Australian journalism practice, doesn't give much hint of the wealth of scholarship on the topic, such as Baranek and

Chan's classic study of beat reporters, *Negotiating Control*.

Again, the chapter on the Fourth Estate does not appear to take account of the large and growing body of academic research on journalists, their perceptions of their roles, values, ethics, and practices, which is now starting to map the commonalities and differences that define journalists across the globe. Of course, one cannot include everything in a book like this, but surely, at least the lists of further reading could be enhanced.

I was also a little puzzled by some of the exercises, which seemed to lack model answers; the ones on subbing news stories, for example.

Another big problem is the lack of interest in Indigenous journalism, let alone the wider Pacific region; a section on indigenisation manages to avoid the word 'aborigine', which also does not appear in the index. The occasional mentions of New Zealand, for example in the chapter on media law, are not enough to make it useful.

It is basic, it is too rough in places, and it is going to infuriate some media academics. But I still found myself flicking through sections with interest, drawn in by the engaging and undoubtedly passionate voice of the writers. If the next edition included expanded, more thoroughly researched references and further reading lists, and material on Indigenous media and the wider region, this could become the classic core text on Oceania media studies.

*LYNNE TRENWITH is an Auckland-based communications academic and consultant.*

Can democracy and citizenship be reclaimed?

Citizenship, by Etienne Balibar. Cambridge: Polity Press. 2015. 180pp. ISBN-13:978-0-7456-821-9 pbk

IN LIGHT of recent world events, Pacific Island democracy issues and various articles exploring the concept that democracy is under threat, leading philosopher Étienne Balibar's book *Citizenship* is a timely publication. The book is a collection of seven lectures, many printed as individual essays, first published as a collection in Italy in 2012.

The book is not an introductory text to the concept and politics of citizenship and democracy, but rather a composite analysis—an argumentation, concluding with seven 'theses' or 'theoretical propositions' in the final chapter. Balibar explores the dialectic around the constitution of citizenship and democracy from ancient Greece onwards and interrogates the different theories and practices of representation, making the distinction between simply an 'authorisation' of representation to that of the power and action of the represented.

He asks why there is a need to argue that democracy and citizenship are
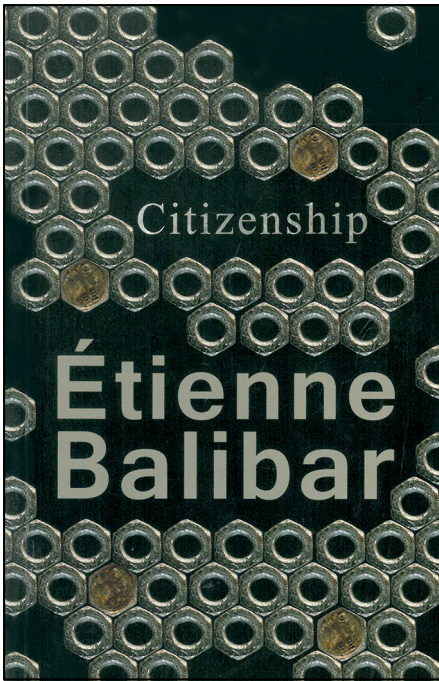
closely related when their relationship seems to lead to insoluble problems. He examines the constant redefining of citizenship and the discriminatory mechanisms that exist to create inclusion and exclusion of political communities. The Western values of individual freedom are explored along with an examination of terminology usage and subsequent framing of the dissident/the rebel/the delinquent.

Balibar explores how a range of tolerable opinions have been and are being excluded from the public sphere and explores the limits of progress that can be made under a 'Welfare State' (or the 'social-national state', as he prefers to term it), by looking at citizenship and the resulting social exclusion and civil conflict.

Recent international events are considered along with the flux of what it is to have national sovereignty and exercise national sovereignty. Post 9/11 events and migration are cited as examples demonstrating an authoritarian turn in functional liberal democracies with a proliferation of laws and procedures defending society against a list of perceived threats.

The pursuit of neo-liberalism with its emphasis on individualism, rational self-interest and privatisation of the public sector functions has triggered a crisis in what it is to be a citizen and what it is to be part of a democracy. Can the 'constitution of citizenship' be fully achieved, he asks? Or is a democracy 'incapable of resisting its own 'de-democratisation' under neo-liberal ideology where governance and mass communication have been substituted for representative democracy.

Balibar concludes by challenging the reader to struggle for the 'democratisation of democracy' and argues that we must return to the idea that a force or political movement can only democratise society if it itself is fundamentally more democratic than the system it opposes in objectives and internal operation. This then becomes a true experience of democratic citizenship.

NOTED:

DR PHILIP CASS is reviews editor of Pacific Journalism Review.

Becoming a journalist in Nordic countries

Becoming a Journalist, by Jan Fredrik Hovden, Gunnar Nygren and Henrika Zilliascus-Tikkanen (eds.). Goteburg: Nordicom, University of Goteborg.2016. 334pp. ISBN 978-1-91-87957-34-5

P UBLISHED through the Nordicom centre in Göteborg (Gothenburg), this study of journalism education in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland and Iceland provides a comprehensive analysis of how future journalists are trained in Scandinavian universities.

While one might think this book would appeal to only a very specialised audience in this part of the world, it is worth reading to find out how countries with often similarly-sized populations, but very different societies, have developed in comparison.

Some interesting trends emerge from the study of young journalists. Across the Nordic countries there appears to be a decline of ideals of neutrality and objectivity, but more of a leaning towards investigative journalism and, interestingly, an increase in the number of students who think it would be acceptable for journalist to use their work for political purposes as against working journalists who see this as a violation of their neutrality.

Reflecting changes elsewhere in the world, students appear to be moving away from print as a career, but not in ways we might expect. In Denmark, a survey showed that while students were less interested in working for a national newspaper, this does not mean more of them wanted to work for web-based platforms; instead, they wanted to work for national television or magazines.

The book reflects debates about journalism education that will be familiar to any journalism educator; does one follow the hands-on, practical model followed at Aarhus University, or does one prefer the newer, more theoretical models favoured by the newer universities? In this respect, at least, the Nordic countries may have more in common with journalism educators in the Pacific than we might first think.

Call for articles and commentaries:
Climate change in Asia-Pacific

Leading up to COP21 Paris, there was overwhelming scientific consensus that climate change is happening, and human-induced. With global warming, species extinctions and habitat degradation all accelerating, chances for ecosystems to respond and survive are diminishing. But the election of Donald Trump as incoming United States president and a Transition Team focused on "vetting" Energy Department professionals has dealt a potential blow to global responses.

What has been achieved since COP21 and COP22 Marrakesh? Given that climate change is arguably the greatest threat facing the planet and where the impact will be particularly strong in the Asia-Pacific region, especially for the microstates of the Pacific, what is the role of the media and media education in the region?

Pacific Journalism Review is inviting submissions addressing climate change and environmental issues for the May 2017 edition, addressing issues such as (but not restricted to):

- Mainstreaming climate change in news media
- The impact of climate change on human rights journalism
- The status of "climate change refugees" and media
- Pacific media adaptation to climate change issues
- Media on global, regional and national climate policy planning
- Best practice climate adaptation media strategies in 1. Coastal zone management, 2. Food security and production, 3. Water resources management
- Media analysis of Sustainable Development Goals and Agenda 30
- Reportage of climate risk and development strategies
- UN climate agencies (such as SPREP), programmes and implementation
- Climate change journalism education strategies and tools

The journal also has an unthemed section and other papers related to journalism studies, and journalism education, theory and practice will also be considered.

It also has a journalism-as-research section - *Frontline.*

Submissions: All submissions must in future be uploaded to the **Tuwhera Online Journal System** (OJS) platform for *Pacific Journalism Review* after registering an account at: https://ojs.aut.ac.nz/pacific-journalism-review/index

Managing editor: Professor David Robie david.robie@aut.ac.nz

Submissions deadline: February 20, 2017
www.pjreview.info

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:* 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:
February 20, 2017. 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 images: © Alan Robson

Two months of protest over alleged state corruption on the University of Papua New Guinea campus and at other universities climaxed with police opening fire on students on 8 June 2016.

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