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## Media and development in the Pacific: Reporting the why, how and what now

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### Introduction

IN FIJI, coup leader Commodore Voreqe Bainimarama and cabinet colleagues sit down with the country's bankers to put together plans to 'engage' with the private sector and revive the flagging national economy. In American Samoa, a wage rise of US\$0.50 cents an hour introduced to match a new minimum federal wage leads to layoffs for more than 200 workers at the Chicken of the Sea (COS) Samoa Packing tuna cannery and a halt to plans for plant expansion.

In Papua New Guinea's Eastern Highlands, angry rival tribesmen burn houses to the ground in two Dunantina villages, leaving hundreds of men, women and children homeless. News media report that the destruction of Numuri and Megusa villages is in retaliation over the death of a man during an armed hold-up on the Dunantina Road.

In an editorial, the *Samoa Observer* comments on the dilemmas facing migrating Samoans seeking opportunities in a richer country—such as New Zealand—where an ill housewife and mother, Folole Muliaga, died on an oxygen machine barely two hours after electricity was cut off from her Auckland home. This tragedy was the result of an unpaid NZ\$168.40 bill. Noted the *Observer* (2007): To help their children, parents will 'sail the highest seas, climb the highest mountain, to ensure they have a bright future'.

In an evocative front page commentary in the *New Zealand Herald*, columnist Tapu Misa lamented: 'I cried for the Muliaga family, who reminded me so much of my own—the father who hadn't wanted to leave Samoa for New Zealand; the mother who dreamed of better things for her family' (Misa, 2007). Misa railed at the heartless contractor hired by Mercury Energy who called at the Muliagas' house to cut off their power and the shocking intransigence of the 'not our

fault' company in the days that followed.

'No one at Mercury seemed to notice how offensive it was for a state-owned enterprise that made a net profit of more than \$100 million last year to wage a public relations battle against a grieving widower who now has to support himself and four children on an income of just over \$400 a week,' chided Misa. 'What they should have done was to say sorry as if they meant it, and promise to do everything in their power to prevent something like this ever happening again.'

What do these separate episodes, from Papua New Guinea to Samoa, have in common? They are all related to issues of development: economic directions after a devastating fourth coup in Fiji, industrial relations in American Samoa, housing and law and order in Papua New Guinea, migration and socioeconomics in Samoa and New Zealand.

Development should lead to human progress, but this is not always the case. Journalists are a 'crucial link in the feedback loop', ensuring that improvements in the quality of life can be sustained and do not permanently damage nature and the human environment. Authors such as one-time Inter Press Service journalist Kunda Dixit have warned against the cost of globalisation for developing countries of the South, such as in the Pacific. He calls this rapacious process sweeping the world today 'gobble-isation', and says it has coincided with a series of unprecedented crises that 'threaten the survival of not only the human species but also other life-forms of this thin skin of our planet called the biosphere' (Dixit, 1997: 82).

In addition, languages, indigenous cultures, oral testimony are vanishing forever, obliterated by a 'monoculture' spread by the globalisation of the economy and communications. The more tangible signs of crises are alarms over ozone depletion, global warming, rainforest loss and fishless seas—the results of the dizzying acceleration of human technological advancement in the past century. It is called 'development', but where is it taking us? (Dixit, 1997: 83).

Development journalism in a nutshell is about going beyond the 'who, what, when, where' of basic inverted pyramid journalism; it is usually more concerned with the 'how, why' and 'what now?' questions addressed by journalists. Some simply describe it as 'good journalism' (Fleury, 2004). As a media genre, development journalism peaked at the height of the UNESCO debates for a New World Infor-

mation Order (NWIO) in the 1970s. The debates were ‘used by Third World countries to argue for a more positive portrayal’ of developing countries by Western news organisations such as Associated Press (AP), United Press International (UPI) of the United States, France’s Agence France-Presse and Reuters of the United Kingdom.

According to Loo, (1994), ‘development journalism was understood and linked by Western journalists to a biased reporting approach focused on positive developments as opposed to the conventional focus on conflict, such as failed government projects and policies’ (Loo, 1994:2). In fact, the term development journalism is often used to refer to two different types of journalism (Smith, 2007). The ideal of development journalism has a parallel with investigative journalism, but it focuses on the condition of developing nations and ways of improving this. With this approach, journalists are encouraged to travel to remote areas, interact with the citizens of the country and report back. Proposed government projects are put under the spotlight and they are analysed to see whether they really would help communities. People are usually at the centre of these stories. And often the journalist comes up with proposed solutions and actions.

The main essence of investigative reporting is ‘why’. Development journalism attempts to highlight the ‘what, why and how’ of the process of events. The basic philosophy of investigative journalism is to unveil the secrecy, to expose. But development journalism has to be alive to the realities of the situation and has to tail, study and report the process of socio-economic, cultural, political, educational changes in the country (Sinha, 1981: 1).

Another form of development journalism, the one denigrated by Western journalists, involves government participation in the mass media. On the positive side, this means that important information can be distributed throughout the nation. Governments can educate their citizens and seek support for major development projects. However, the down side means that state authorities can also capture the idea of ‘development’ to stifle free speech and restrict social justice.

Both forms of development journalism are used in the South Pacific. Ironically, this is not always understood or accepted by the news media in its efforts to replicate Western media practices. In many respects, the challenges facing the South Pacific media have more in common with countries such as India and the Philippines—two na-

tions that pioneered development journalism in its more positive forms—than in Australia and New Zealand. Development journalism also needs to be considered in the context of comparative news values, as outlined in the next section.

### **News value models**

While the winds of change swept through Third World nations in the post-Second World War rush to decolonisation in the 1960s and 1970s, similar transitional ideological shifts later applied to ‘Fourth World’ nations in the 1980s and 1990s. First World nations were the industrialised Western countries and Second World nations were the totalitarian remnants of the Soviet-era Marxist bloc—such as China, Cuba and Vietnam—and other dictatorships (Schramm, 1964; Siebert et al., 1956; Street, 2001; de Beer & Merrill, 2004). In an attempt to provide a more constructive analysis of comparative news values, Jack Lule (1987) developed a ‘Three Worlds’ news model in the late 1980s showing that a ‘dramatic difference’ in global news values was a ‘function of political, economic and philosophical developments of the past three centuries’. However, by the 1990s the appropriateness of this media model had become somewhat outdated in a globalised world. In post-Cold War politics, news value definition boundaries became blurred and it was no longer easy to slot some countries into three neat categories of West (‘objectivity’), East (‘collective agitator’) and Third World (‘nation-building’). Where, for example, do previously developing countries such as Japan, Singapore and South Korea fit in a globalised media context—‘Western’? While countries such as Albania, Bosnia and Kosovo are technically ‘Western’, their media and social development struggled to meet the criteria. And what about Fourth World communities, those Indigenous and ethnic minorities and their media absorbed within larger, dominant states? They did not really fit the ‘Three Worlds’ framework and are now the most distinct groups resisting globalisation (see Table 2.1).

In the mid-1990s, while teaching journalism at the University of Papua New Guinea, I modified Lule’s model into a ‘Four Worlds’ news values concept, which could be more readily applied to independent Pacific post-colonial states amidst developmental and media transition (Robie, 1995: 11). This revised model was also used at the University of the South Pacific journalism school when relating to multi-

ethnic Pacific communities, and in New Zealand in the context of Indigenous iwi (tribal) radio broadcasting and the emergence of the national Maori Television Service (MTS).

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

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

However, unlike Third World nations, Fourth World communities 'cannot separate from imperial power because of their location within the boundaries of the imperialist nation'. This means that Indigenous peoples must either obtain equal access to the political and economic opportunities of the democratic society, or continue to struggle for political autonomy (Robie, 1995: 11). The media play an important role in that struggle and thus news values applied by Indigenous media are often at variance with those of the West (First World), East (Second World remnants) and developing nations (Third World) in a globalised world. Such media conditions are particularly appropriate for Indigenous First Nation minorities in Australia and New Zealand and the Philippines (such as the Cordillera peoples or Lumad of Mindanao). They also have a resonance in Bougainville during the 10-year civil war against the Papua New Guinea state.

#### **'Self-determination' and the media**

'Objectivity' is espoused as a dominant ideal for First World media. However, the notions of 'collective agitator' and 'nation building' are more important for the Second and Third Worlds respectively. News values reflect timeliness, proximity and personality for the First World in contrast to 'ideological significance', 'party concerns' and 'social responsibility' for the (totalitarian) Second World. Third World news values prioritise 'development', 'national integration' and 'social responsibility' (see Masterton, 1996: 48; Lule, 1987: 23-46). And for the Fourth World, an 'independent [political] voice', 'lan-

guage', 'culture', 'education' and 'solidarity' become the mantra (Robie, 2001: 13). Education is also important for the Second and Third Worlds, but is not so crucial for First World media values.

Both Australia and New Zealand have thriving Indigenous media that apply Fourth World news values in a 'self-determination' frame, although news editors may not define it in quite those terms. In the case of New Zealand, there are currently 21 Māori or iwi (tribal) radio stations. They are all bilingual—Māori and English—but are required to broadcast a minimum of 30 per cent of air time in Te Reo Māori (language) to qualify for state funding assistance. No iwi newspapers have survived and just one Māori newspaper remains, *Te Māori News*, which is bilingual.

However, two established Māori magazines, *Mana* ([www.mana-online.co.nz](http://www.mana-online.co.nz)) and *Tū Mai* ([www.tumaimagazine.com](http://www.tumaimagazine.com)), are flourishing and the Maori Television Service ([www.maoritelevision.com](http://www.maoritelevision.com)) was launched in 2004, overcoming widespread mainstream media and conservative political opposition (see Paul, 2005). MTS reported a successful inaugural year of broadcasting with more than 90 per cent of its schedule being locally made programmes. It also posted a surplus of NZ\$3.2 million (Māori TV chiefs turn in a hefty surplus, 2005).

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

In Australia, three major regular Indigenous publishers exist—*Land Rights News*, supported by the Central and Northern Land Councils; *Koori Mail*, owned by a group of Aboriginal community organisations based in Lismore, northern New South Wales; and the new *National Indigenous Times*, based in Canberra. Unlike its counterpart, the *Koori Mail*, the *National Indigenous Times* (launched in 2002), is prepared to tackle the 'tough' stories about Indigenous affairs while its rival has been criticised for remaining too focused on 'good news' stories. 'NIT' publishes under the banner 'Building a bridge between Australia's black and white communities' while the *Koori Mail* proclaims itself as the 'voice of indigenous Australia'.

*Land Rights News* is the only regular newspaper that has published in Aboriginal languages, but has tended to use only English in recent times (Meadows, personal communication, 2005).

Table 2.1: Four Worlds news values template

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

Source: Adapted from Robie (2001: 13).

About 160 licensed community radio and TV stations in remote areas broadcast more than 1000 hours of Indigenous content weekly as part of the Remote Indigenous Broadcasting Service (RIBS). A further 50 or so community radio stations in regional or urban areas broadcast Indigenous content, produced by local groups. Twenty one radio stations are licensed as Indigenous-owned and run, equivalent to the tribal iwi stations in New Zealand. In addition, there are three Indigenous low-cost narrowcast radio services and an Indigenous commercial radio station (in Broome, Western Australia).

The Indigenous Community Television (ICTV) has been developed as an ‘innovative and effective way’ of delivering community-produced video to remote areas, rather like the Aboriginal People’s Television Network ([www.aptn.ca](http://www.aptn.ca)) of Canada (Meadows, 2005).

In the South Pacific, fewer examples of genuinely Fourth World media exist. Most major daily newspapers are foreign-owned and tend to blend with First World and Third World news values. News Corporation, for example, owns the major daily newspapers in both Fiji and Papua New Guinea—*The Fiji Times* and *PNG Post-Courier*—and the Malaysian logging group Rimbunan Hijau owns *The National*, the second daily in Papua New Guinea. *Wantok Niuspepa* is an example of Fourth World media in Papua New Guinea. It is a national weekly published by the ecumenical church enterprise Word Publishing in Tok Pisin. *Wantok*, a unique newspaper in the South Pacific, was founded in 1970 through the extraordinary and visionary efforts of the late Father Frank Mihalic (see Robie, 2004: 151-158). It became an icon of national development and the contribution that good journalism can make to national education at the grassroots level. In Fiji, the leading surviving Fijian language weekly newspaper is *Nai Lalakai*, founded in 1962 by *The Fiji Times* group. Although much of what it publishes is actually different from its parent daily, it is still fairly conservative, unlike the ‘self-determination’ Fourth World style of *Wantok* (Geraghty, 2005: 50).

Among other Fourth World publications are the feisty *Taimi ‘o Tonga*, published by Kalafi Moala, who has campaigned for almost two decades for democracy in the kingdom of Tonga, and the radical newsletter *Kele’a*, published by pro-democracy Tongan Member of Parliament ‘Akilisi Pohiva. In his 2002 book *Island Kingdom Strikes Back*, Moala documented the struggle for democracy, including his jailing in 1996 for contempt of Parliament—and his imprisonment



was ruled unconstitutional and illegal by the Supreme Court. Both publications have displayed the traditions of the radical and revolutionary press published within countries in transition from authoritarian to development and free press models. According to Moala, his development vision for the Pacific includes the ‘common people’ having greater control over the media rather than it being ‘hijacked by island government policies allied with elitist and corporate financial interests’ (Moala, 2005: 27).



*Freedom of the gagged press. Newspaper activist Alani Taione (right), winner of the 2004 Pacific Islands Media Association Pacific Media Freedom Award, smuggled in 'hot' copies of the Taimi 'o Tonga to the island kingdom in support of freedom of speech.*

Moala's vision struck a chord with many of his readers; for example, one New Zealand-resident, 38-year-old Alani Taione, defied the kingdom's censorship regime and flew to Nuku'alofa in February 2004 to personally distribute 20 copies of the Auckland-based newspaper (Reporters Sans Frontières, 2004). He was arrested for the spectacular one-man free press protest and charged with importing and circulating a banned publication. The government had banned the paper a year earlier, accusing it of having a 'political agenda' and 'unacceptable journalism standards'. *Taimi 'o Tonga* frequently criticised the government and often published reports about alleged corruption by members of the royal family and nobility. The ban was eventually overturned by the Supreme Court as unconstitutional.

### **Journalism in transition**

*Revolutionary Journalism*

As a form of journalism, radical or revolutionary journalism was first acknowledged during the revolution waged by the American colonies against British rule in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The so-called 1772 ‘committees of correspondence’—defined as mass communication struggle committees—reported the development of chaos and revolt in the colonies (Hester & Wai Lan, 1987: 58). The committees (actually revolutionary journalists) focused public hostility against British colonial power. Samuel Adams, an American patriot, was one of the earliest revolutionary journalists. Adams and the Sons of Liberty published a ‘Journal of Occurrences’ recording abuses by British troops against the colonists (Protest et al., 1991: 31). He advocated five distinguishing characteristics of revolutionary journalism using the colonial newspaper as the main tool (see Hester & Wai Lan, 1987: 56-57):

- Justify the course advocated
- Promote the advantages of victory
- Arouse the people
- Neutralise logical and reasonable arguments by the opposition
- Explain the issues in black and white so that everybody can understand.

This model was adopted by revolutionary journalists in the struggle for independence in African countries—they were among the methods used by Kenyatta in Kenya, the Nkrumah in Ghana, the Kaunda in Zambia and the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa. More recently, these methods were used by journalists in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union when they revolted against authoritarian control of the mass media in the late 1980s. ‘Objectivity’ and ‘fairness’ were rarely in evidence in such desperate struggles (p. 59).

Even in the South Pacific, such a cutting edge among journalists is not unknown in Oceania politics. Sir Michael Somare, ‘founding father’ of Papua New Guinea and current Prime Minister, was once a militant broadcast journalist who turned to politics and led his country to independence in 1975. In New Caledonia, Pastor Djoubelly Wea

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

### *Radical Journalism*

A variation of revolutionary journalism is radical journalism, which is a later stage in some struggles to achieve ‘just societies’. This is journalism that seeks to bring about change; overcome exploitation, corruption and human rights violations; or to improve the living conditions of ordinary people. Such journalism does more than passively report news events or interpret them—it attempts to expose destructive or oppressive situations and to help ‘clean them up’. Sometimes this form of journalism is called investigative (or ‘reformist’) journalism. Variations include advocacy journalism. The exponents of this style of journalism were once called the ‘muckrakers’ from Bunyon’s *Pilgrim’s Progress*, as President Theodore Roosevelt referred to the investigating media (Protest et al, 1991: 6).

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

### *Development Journalism*

Development journalism is often a stage of transition from revolutionary journalism to a media engaged in post-colonial national development or as part of marginalised Indigenous media within a main-

stream society. It involves the ‘fleshing out’ of the structure of national independence begun in the revolutionary journalism phase. This includes the seeking of answers to the question: What shall we do to become the nation we want to be? Critics of development journalism—mostly from Western countries—criticise a distortion of it—the co-opting of this media term by politicians seeking self-interested goals (Hester & Wai Lan, 1987: 60).

A majority of journalists in developing countries, including the South Pacific, work in a communications field essentially dependent on a national government for its existence. Every state press system has an agenda of involvement in society; the selection of news itself is non-objective. Characteristics of government-style development journalism include:

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

Important to the success of the media in performing this ‘nation building’ role is the freedom to be informed and a freedom of expression constitutional framework. Strong protection for free expression, or a free media, needs a range of legislative provisions to be enacted that recognise the obligations of the media and governments to ensure effective freedom of expression (Korauaba, 2007: 29-35). It also needs a rigorous scrutiny of legislation. While all Pacific Island constitutions—other than that of Niue—refer to freedom of expression or speech, only some constitutions specifically refer to the media (Federated States of Micronesia, the state of Pohnpei, Fiji, Kiribati, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Republic of the Marshall Islands, Tonga and Tu-

valu). However, Pacific Island courts are most likely to interpret constitutional protection for free expression as including protection for media freedom (Cass, 2000: 63; AusAID, 2005: 41).

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

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

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

But Western journalists ought to 'explore ways of combining their privilege of free comment with respect for minorities and the integrity of public discourse', argues Dr Eric Loo, a Malaysian journalist who became a media educator in Australia. 'One way is to consider the alternative development journalism approach to reporting, in which the social and cultural cohesion of the people takes priority over news commercialism' (Loo, 1994: 5). He outlines the theoretical contrast in Table 2.2.

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

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

Table 2.2: Differences between ‘Conventional’ and ‘Development’ Journalism

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

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

The US is worried about the Pacific, because it’s their border. And in the War on Terror, such as it is, you can see why they’re worried—the Pacific is weak in terms of security. And they may be only little countries, but they’ve each got a vote, as Japan with the whaling

knows. I feel sorry for the whales too but it's all very well criticising Tuvalu and Kiribati for supporting Japan, but Japan gave them the money that they really, *really* [original emphasis] needed (Barnett, 2007: 12).

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

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

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

## Conclusion

Development journalism has a critical role to play in the future of the South Pacific region and a new generation of educated journalists has responsibility to their people. Pacific Islanders are no longer people confined to microstates scattered across the vast Pacific Ocean. They are peoples who have migrated around the globe in diaspora (Connew, 2007). Nations such as the Cook Islands, Niue, Samoa, Tonga and Tuvalu have a greater part of their population living as migrants in Australia, New Zealand and the United States or elsewhere. Pacific journalists now have a greater task than ever in encouraging

‘democratisation’ of the region and informed insights into development issues facing island states.

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

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

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