Pasifika in the News: The Portrayal of Pacific Peoples in the New Zealand Press

ROBERT LOTO,[1] DARRIN HODGETTS,[1]* KERRY CHAMBERLAIN,[2]
LINDA WAIMARIE NIKORA,[1] ROLINDA KARAPU[1] and ALISON BARNETT[1]

[1]*Maori and Psychology Research Unit, Department of Psychology University of Waikato, New Zealand*
[2]*School of Psychology, Massey University, New Zealand*

ABSTRACT

Pacific Islanders have faced discrimination in New Zealand particularly since the 1960s when communities began to be transplanted from their home nations to Aotearoa as cheap immigrant labour. Subsequently, the New Zealand vernacular has contained references to Pacific Islanders as 'overstayers', 'coconuts', 'bungas' and 'fresh off the boat' [FOB]. However, the legacy of a domineering relationship between the Palagi[1] majority group and Pacific minorities[2] that is captured by such derogatory terms is still evident in public forums such as the media. Using a quantitative content and qualitative narrative analysis, this paper documents portrayals of Pacific Islanders in New Zealand print media reports ($n = 65$) published over a 3 month period. Findings reveal that Pacific people are predominantly portrayed as unmotivated, unhealthy and criminal others who are overly dependent on Palagi support. We consider this offered pacific identity formation with that implied for Palagi, which is active, independent, competent and caring. Issues in coverage are discussed in relation to how Pacific Islanders are encouraged to see themselves, and the health and social consequences of dominant practices in press coverage. We offer some suggestions as to how more equitable representations of Pacific people could be fostered in news media. Copyright © 2006 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

Key words: Media; Pacific; racism; discrimination; power; community

INTRODUCTION

News reports diagnosing social relationships, characterizing marginalized groups, and offering prescriptions for addressing social concerns are a feature of everyday life. In

---

* Correspondence to: Dr Darrin Hodgetts, Department of Psychology, University of Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand. E-mail: dhdgetts@waikato.ac.nz
[1]Palagi (pronounced Palangi) is a term used by Pacific Islanders to refer to people of European decent.
[2]We use the terms 'Pacific people' and 'Pacific Islanders' to denote a general social category or minority in Aotearoa used by the media. However, we need to qualify the use of these terms because their use can lead to a glossing over of the diversity in languages and cultures that exists between over 20 different Polynesian, Melanesian and Micronesian communities.

response, social psychologists and sociologists have proposed that if we are serious about fostering social justice then we must address the power of the media to name and define communities and relationships between such groups (Couldry & Curran, 2002; Prilleltensky & Prilleltensky, 2003). Analyses of media representations can extend our understanding of how social power relations beyond the borders of a specific community can support or undermine that community (Hodgetts, Masters, & Robertson, 2004). With such issues in mind, we set out to interrogate portrayals of Pacific people in print media reports and to consider the implications of these representations for Pacific communities and their sense of self and place as a minority group in Aotearoa/New Zealand. We also wanted to explore the implied image of the Palagi majority in these same reports and how this image seemed to be defined positively in opposition to negatively framed Pacific Islanders. This brings us close to traditional social psychological work on the influence of majority perspectives on minority groups. It is important to extend such work to include analyses of news content (Gardikiotis, Martin, & Hewstone, 2004) because the media are now central to inter-group relations, identity formation and representational politics (Lykes, Blache, & Hamber, 2003). Community liberation can be enhanced through the demystification of media power differentials between minority and majority groups (Silverstone & Georgiou, 2005).

The idea that communication provides a basis for social identities dates back to Aristotle and has been developed by philosophers such as Hegel and social scientists such as Mead (Thompson, 1995). Drawing on Hegel, one of Mead's most noted contributions to psychological and communications research was to resurrect the idea that people can only know themselves and others through communication. Today, experiences of oneself as citizen, consumer or community member are often mediated and framed in relation to outcast or deviant groups (Anderson, 1991; Baumann, 1999). Positive majority identities are constructed through perceived difference to negative 'othered' identities (Hall, 1997). The very ' . . . process of self-formation is increasingly nourished by mediated symbolic materials, greatly expanding the range of options available to individuals and loosening—without destroying—the connection between self-formation and shared locale' (Thompson, 1995; p. 207). News reports in particular often maintain distinctions between 'us', the majority audience addressed by reports, and 'them', the minority audience reported on by the news (Adebanwi, 2004; Hall, 1997).

Such thinking has clear implications for community psychologists interested in issues of social fragmentation and exclusion (Lykes et al., 2003). It requires us to consider the function of media portrayals as one prominent basis for inter-group relations and for establishing ways in which minority groups come to see themselves. As Pietikaninen (2003) writes:

> For any group, let alone a minority, news coverage is a means of gaining wider attention for their agenda, of making their voices heard, and of possibly making a difference on issues important to them. News is also a highly controlled forum of ideas and voices. It not only gives room for the flow of ideas and information, but it may also inhibit this flow (p. 583).

Whose views are privileged and whose views are restrained in news reports reveals a lot about wider power relations in a society (Hodgetts, Cullen, & Radley, 2005). In this way, news does more than transmit information; it shapes information and can both limit and enable the scope of minority identities (Pietikaninen, 2003) and participation in society. It is important to investigate these processes because ' . . . it is through these various media that our relations with others, both neighbours and strangers, are facilitated or, indeed,

denied. Relations are created and sustained. Prejudices likewise' (Silverstone & Georgiou, 2005; p. 434).

Processes involving the naming of issues and silencing of voices have very real implications for the position of ethnic minorities in society, and their associated rights and life chances (King & Wood, 2001). Social psychologists, including Campbell and Jovchelovitch (2000) have already linked positive identity formation amongst marginalized communities with increased civic participation and health gains. Likewise, poor mental health amongst ethnic minority groups can be attributed in part to people having insecure identities and being involved in unsatisfactory and domineering relationships with majority groups (*cf.*, Macpherson, Spoonley, & Anae, 2001). Growing evidence from psychological research associates stigmatizing media representations of minority groups with higher rates of mental and physical ailments amongst these communities (Nairn, Pega, McCreanor, Rankine, & Barnes, in press). According to these authors negative identities offered by media outlets constitute serious public health risks and threats to the formation of positive social relations both within and beyond the boarders of minority communities. Therefore, deconstructing and challenging discriminatory representational practices becomes a community health promotion strategy (Wallack, 2003).

There is also a mass of interdisciplinary research which attests to racism in the media (Cottle, 2000; Nairn et al., in press; Van Dijk, 1984, 2000). Studies document persistent patterns in problem-orientated, stigmatizing and exclusionary depictions of various minority groups across locales (Cottle, 2000). Minority groups are underrepresented and when they appear are characterized as one-dimensional and inferior 'others' (Silverstone & Georgiou, 2005). Recently, such portrayals have been associated with ongoing processes of colonisation in many different countries (Adebanwi, 2004; Curnow, Hopa, & McRae, 2002; Pietikaninen, 2003; Spoonley & Hirsh, 1990). These researchers have documented how ethnic minorities are significantly disadvantaged in mainstream media coverage, which often functions to silence minority voices, while drawing on majority voices to frame issues of relevance for minority groups (Hodgetts, Masters, & Robertson, 2004; Rankin & McCreanor, 2004; Thomas & Nikora, 1989).

Despite substantial international research into minority representations, academic considerations of Pacific people are virtually non-existent. In a rare commentary on this topic, Spoonley (1990) proposes that, after initially being ignored by the media in the 1960s, Pacific Islanders were represented as 'overstayers' and positioned as scapegoats for economic decline and rising crime rates from the 1970s. Further insights into the nature of media portrayals of Pacific people can be garnered from web-based forums established by Pacific media professionals and academics such as the Pacific Island Media Association (PIMA: http://www.pima.org.nz/) and Pacific Islanders in Communications (PIC: http://www.piccom.org/). Concerns raised by these community groups mirror the findings of international research on media representations of immigrant groups (King & Wood, 2000) and ethnic minorities (Cottle, 2000). Briefly, Pacific Islanders are rarely given the opportunity to frame their own experiences, actions or relationships or to speak directly through the media to the Palagi majority.[3] Pacific people cannot locate themselves on their own terms because they are already socially positioned through the media, and are often compelled to act in accordance with the expectations of more powerful groups (*cf.*, Husband, 2005). Palagi exercise considerable symbolic power—the power to name

---

[3]There are some notable exceptions, including isolated print columnists such as Tapu Misa and public television programmes such at Tagata Pasifika.

and define a group or issue (Couldry & Curran, 2002). This power is often linked to economic and social privilege, which enables Palagi assumptions to shape the lives of Pacific people. Members of more affluent Palagi communities, including politicians, health professionals and government representatives, are able to access the media and identify and define issues. Conversely, economically and socially disadvantaged Pacific people are rarely afforded a voice in issues that affect their lives, and thus face both material and symbolic inequalities (Hodgetts, Cullen, & Radley, 2005).

Given the growing Pacific population, Pacific people remain under-represented in media accounts and, when they do appear, tend to be depicted in all the wrong places: hospitals, courts, ghettos, welfare offices and prisons. Such framing may reflect anxieties within the Palagi community regarding the perceived 'influx' of Pacific immigrants in recent times. In 1945, Pacific people comprised 0.1% of the population in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Migration increased significantly in the 1960s during a period of high demand for labour. Pacific Islanders now comprise around 6% of the New Zealand population (approximately 250,000), and Auckland has become the largest Polynesian city in the world, with over 50% of the New Zealand Pacific population (PIMA, 2004; Statistics New Zealand, 2003). There are a range of specific cultural groups within the local Pacific community, which include Samoan (50%), Cook Islander (25.5%), Tongan (15.5%), Niuean (9%), Fijian (2%) and Tokelauan (1%). It should be noted that there are also complex overlaps between various Pacific, Maori, European, and Asian groups that contribute to a range of identity formations within New Zealand (*cf.*, Baumann, 1999). Many people in Aotearoa have dual or multiple ethnic allegiances, and these may not necessarily remain fixed throughout a person's life (Macpherson, Spoonley, & Anae, 2001). However, as we will show, media often operate to fix boundaries of identity formation between such groups (Anderson, 1991).

The first step towards changing inequitable depictions and supporting Pacific inclusion is to document and demystify current representational politics, and to offer viable alternatives. In considering these issues, we examine a sample of print media reports for their portrayals of Pacific people and consider the implications of these portrayals for relationships within and between Pacific and Palagi communities.

METHODOLOGICAL ORIENTATION

This study was conducted as part of a Health Research Council of New Zealand grant in which the first author compiled a media sample pertaining to press representations of Pacific people. Specifically, a search of news index New Zealand using key words such as Pacific Island, Samoan and Tongan revealed 65 news reports published, between 1 October and 30 December, 2004. These items came from the two major national dailies and the highest circulation weekend newspaper. Of these reports 44.6% ($n = 29$) came from the *New Zealand Herald*, 43.1% ($n = 28$) came from the *Dominion Post*, and 12.3% ($n = 8$) came from the *Sunday Star Times*.

Items were initially read by the first author from the perspective of a Samoan man interested in the images that these reports offer him and his family. The second reading of this corpus by the first two authors was guided by the existing literature on media images of ethnic minorities, which presents an overly negative focus on crime and disease. However, these readings also revealed several examples of more positive depictions not evident in previous academic reports. We then engaged in a discussion of emerging representational patterns and processes with other members of the research team and sought further

literature to inform our evolving analyses, and to aid us in the interpretation of contradictory representations.

To provide a background to our analyses, we first examined the news reports for their content (*cf.*, Gardikiotis et al., 2004). This focused on the issues covered, attributes associated with Pacific people, both positive and negative, and sources used to provide commentary and expertise on Pasifika matters within the reports. The specific content analysis categories were identified deductively by each author reading relevant literature and compiling a list of themes. Categories were also developed inductively through independent readings of the texts. The coding framework was finalized in an analysis meeting in which we combined our categories and refined the coding frames accordingly. To check consistency in coding, two of the authors independently coded 30 randomly selected items. Intercoder reliabilities were above 85% for all variables.

Quantitative content analysis is limited in dealing with the complexities of media depictions (Ahuvia, 2001), and our major purpose was to explore how key patterns in coverage are constructed. We used a paradigmatic narrative analysis to unravel the complexities of press depictions of Pacific Islanders. This was appropriate because news outlets are storytelling institutions that identify and link issues and groups in society into meaningful relationships for public consumption. News tries out explanations, creates narratives and characterizations, makes intelligible, speculates, and tries to make fit (Hodgetts et al., 2005). In the process, no specific overall message is necessarily disseminated. Audiences are provided with an ongoing narrative exploration within which various concerns are shaped and reframed, and groups positioned socially. News also talks to the expectations and assumptions of some groups more than others. News draws upon, reframes and re-circulates tensions within society in order to construct images that have resonance with the wider audience. These images are not simply created in a vacuum and then injected into society, to inoculate individual readers. Coverage is constructed within the context of contemporary anxieties about social resources, crime and national direction (*cf.*, Silverstone, 1999; Thompson, 1995). By approaching news coverage as a serial narrative made up of regular installments, rather than a series of distinct reports, we are able to develop a richer understanding of the influence of symbolic power on the framing of Pacific people. We adopted a 'text-and-context' approach (Hodgetts, Masters, & Robertson, 2004), which involves moving the focus beyond the description of issues in coverage to broader observations about socio-cultural processes and relationships underlying media representations. Our focus was on the ongoing negotiation of social reality through the claims that are made about Pacific people, the influence of key social actors who contribute to media deliberations, and how this relates to representational politics surrounding the ongoing negotiation of the place of Pacific people in Aotearoa. When conducting the narrative analysis the first and second authors read the entire corpus again, and then met to discuss emerging issues and to recontextualise some of the core ideas from the content analysis into the news narrative. These core ideas were discussed with the research team, and then a draft of the final analysis was circulated to both academic and journalist colleagues of Pacific decent to ensure the appropriateness of our interpretation.

PRESS PORTRAYALS OF PACIFIC ISLANDERS

Findings from our analyses of these reports are presented in two parts. The first presents the content analysis, describing patterns across the news items and providing context for

the depictions of Pacific people. The second presents the narrative analysis exploring core oppositions between representations of Pacific and Palagi people. In this analysis particular attention is paid to issues of passivity and activity, responsibility and irresponsibility, dependence and paternalism, and positive and negative depictions.

Issues, attributes and the margalization of Pacific voices

The most common approach to representing Pacific people in these newspaper reports reflects processes through which media monitor members of marginalized social groups and give prominence to negative constructions and deviance (Poole, 2002). Although there were a few positively framed stories, usually about sports stars and their achievements, these often made reference to a common backdrop of ill health and other social problems facing Pacific communities. Figure 1 shows the frequency of reports classified by the topic area of the report. The patterns evident in Figure 1 support our discussion below regarding the stigmatizing of Pacific communities. The vast majority of these reports were related to aspects of health. If one uses a conservative definition of health to consider these trends, there were 154 references to physical and mental illness and to health specific services. If, as recommended by Thorson (in press), one uses a wider definition to include social determinants of health, then there were a further 21 references to crime and poverty and 10 references to education. This gives a total of 184 specific instances associating Pacific Islanders with health concerns.

To explore the extent to which negative characterizations were emphasized across news items we next examined these reports for common racist assumptions, such as Pacific Islanders being mentally defective, lazy, violent, substance abusing and economically dependent. Figure 2 presents the frequencies for the different categories of negative attributes found. The figure reveals the high prevalence of negative attributes presented, with 99 specific references characterizing Pacific Islanders as having such negative attributes. The largest category comprised 52 specific references to Pacific Islanders as unproductive foreigners or inferior others, whose place in Aotearoa is under review.
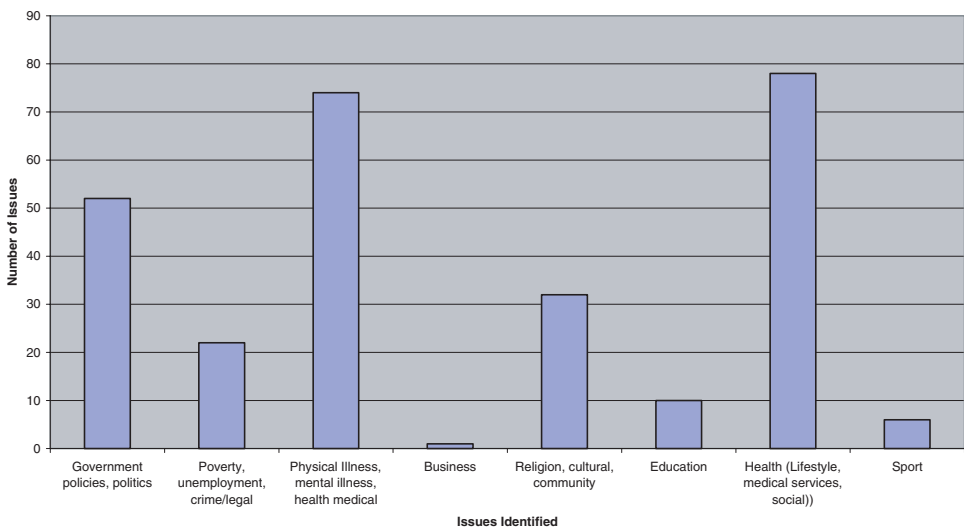

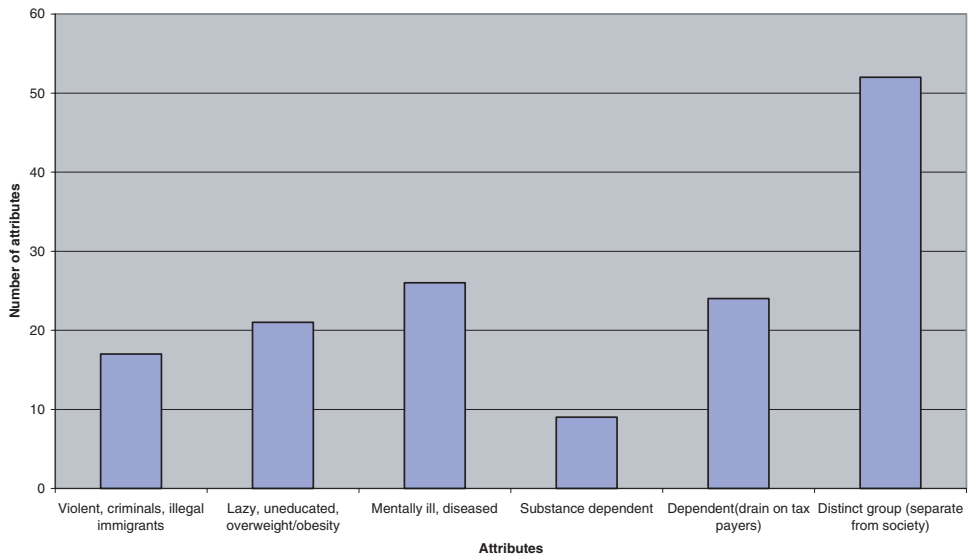Figure 1.   Issues covered in news items

Figure 2.   Negative attributes associated with Pacific people in news items

We also coded these news reports for positive attributes, such as Pacific Islanders being hardworking, generous, physically active and honest. Figure 3 presents the frequencies of these positive categories, and reveals the comparatively low frequencies for such attributes. There were only 38 specific references to Pacific Islanders as hardworking and community orientated individuals who have leadership qualities and are generous and honest people. Positive attributes were only evident in 20 (31%) of all news reports, whereas negative attributes were evident in 60 (92%) of the reports. The focus in these positive representations was on a few good individuals who are largely exceptions to the rule.
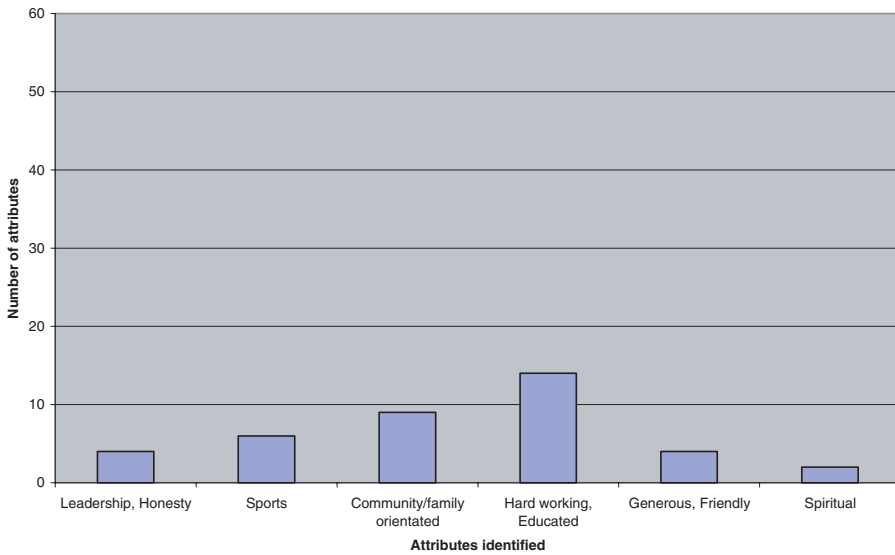

Figure 3.   Positive attributes associated Pacific people in news items

These frequencies reflect the tendency for print news to portray minority groups as inherently problematic and inferior others (Cottle, 2000). This tendency is showcased in the 57 news items (87.7%) identifying Pacific people as a distinct group that is separate from society. Evidence for such stigma was also revealed through a simple count of who is addressed, either directly as a named audience, or indirectly through the use of third person terms or out-group designators such as 'they', 'those' or 'their' in these items. Reports address the Palagi majority directly in 92.3% (60 items) with only 7.7% (5 items) addressing Pacific people.

We investigated issues around the power to identify and define 'Pacific issues', and to prescribe the nature of relations between groups in more depth, by considering who was afforded the right to speak about or define 'the issues' in these news reports. This involved identifying categories of key people who were given a voice in these reports. Figure 4 presents the frequencies of the different sources cited in the reports. The overwhelming majority of sources were 'experts' of various kinds; researchers and educators (48), government experts (37), health professionals (33) and police or lawyers (5). Reports cited a total of 123 expert sources, accounting for 85% of all sources cited. Only one 'expert' was identified as a Pacific Islander, and only 19% of all sources (13) were Pacific people, usually sportspeople, artists and community leaders. This pattern of expertise raises the importance of symbolic power and concerns about the ability of certain groups to access the media and influence the framing of issues (Couldry & Curran, 2002).

In the following sections we consider issues raised by these patterns in more depth. Before doing so it is important to briefly note the international relevance of these findings and foreshadow our consideration of their implications for the construction of relations between Pacific and Palagi people. The patterns revealed here for New Zealand print news provide further support for findings from press-based content analytic studies in other countries revealing a tendency to frame majority groups positively and minority groups negatively, such as in the British press (Gardikiotis et al., 2004). What we see in the New Zealand context is the influence of this process on the very topics through which Pacific characters are invoked in news stories, and the way in which Palagi sources are
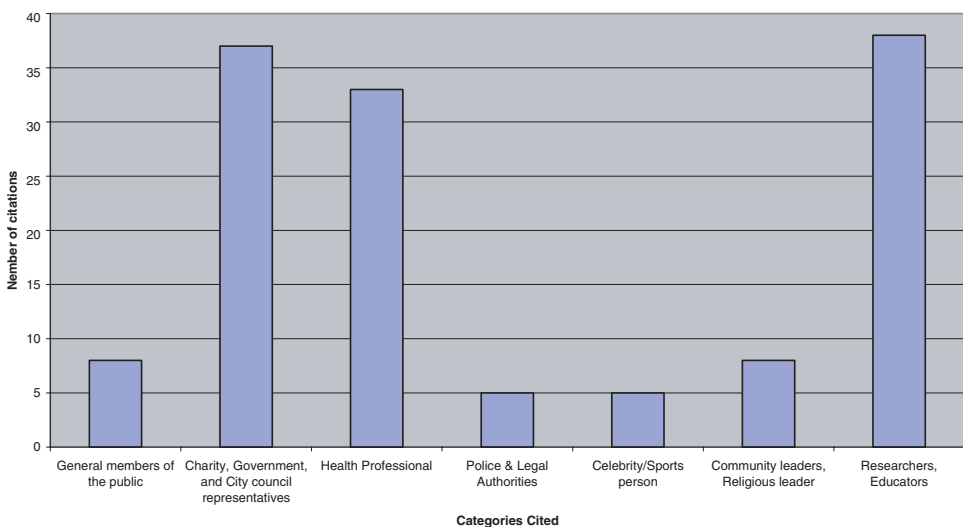

Figure 4.   Sources cited in news items

presented as having appropriate knowledge of a topic to comment. Recourse to Palagi 'expertise' in dealing with health and social issues works to displace Pacific voices and contributes to the characterization of Pacific Islanders as overly dependent beneficiaries of state provision and Palagi philanthropy. In highlighting this issue we are not criticizing media for drawing on professional sources to identify and address important concerns. Expert input on issues of health and community development is crucial, and many commentators from the majority ethnic group have valuable contributions to make. However, we are critical of the media for framing issues in a manner that repeatedly positions Pacific people as unhealthy, requiring surveillance and management, and needing to have programmes provided by external agencies and professionals. It appears that journalists consider majority group sources to be more reliable and knowledgeable than Pacific people themselves. This reliance on external experts may contribute to the assumption that Pacific issues are issues for the majority to regulate and deal with on behalf of Pacific Islanders, who are considered to lack the education and leadership to manage their own affairs. Although it is important that the whole society owns these issues, such positioning can limit participation by Pacific people in the public sphere, especially in relation to identifying their own concerns and formulating solutions (*cf.*, Pietikianen, 2003). The small proportion of Pacific sources cited in these media reports is worrying because it enhances the framing of minority people as passive recipients of services, rather than as active citizens who should participate in the development, targeting and administration of interventions for their own people. During interviews with print, radio and television journalists conducted as part of our wider research into ethnicity, health and the media, print journalists employed by these print media outlets stated that they do not see Pacific people as part of their target audience. They write for the Palagi majority and shape their stories according to the perceived expectations and assumptions of that audience. These journalists also report having no contact with Pacific communities and offer this as a reason for why they rarely include Pacific sources in their stories.

In sum, this content analysis has established that Pacific islanders are not central to media deliberations on issues affecting their lives and associated decision-making. We go on to document some of the paradigmatic processes central to the storying of these patterns in coverage. This enables us to illustrate how the lack of participation offered through news items can undermine Pacific leadership, making it harder for Pacific people to shape the agenda, and how they contribute to Pacific identity formations. Even when Pacific voices are evident, their roles are restrained and depoliticized.

Framing a Pacific minority in opposition to a Palagi majority

This analysis brings core oppositions underlying the content analytic patterns to life within their storied context. Here, we show how these oppositions are used in news items to characterize Pacific people as deviant from Palagi normality. This involves a series of framings; of Pacific people as passive and Palagi as active, of Pacific people as irresponsible and Palagi as responsible, of Pacific people as dependent and Palagi as independent, of Pacific people as followers and Palagi as leaders, and ultimately of Palagi as normative and Pacific people as deviant. We conclude this section with an exploration of how these negatively skewed oppositions function to limit the potential of few positive depictions of Pacific people that were evident in these news reports.

Oppositional framings: othering and marginalisation.   Pacific Islanders are presented as a group to be talked about and administered, rather than communicated with or

encouraged to participate in wider deliberations. This reflects processes identified by Anderson (1991), by which the press functions to imagine a nation for colonial populations through the exclusion or 'othering' of ethnic minorities. In the process distinctions between 'us' (the Palagi, the 'normal' majority) and 'them' (the Pacific, 'abnormal' minority) are used to invoke perceived differences and boundaries between these groups (Cottle, 2000). Through these patterns of representation the Palagi majority are constructed in a one-sided dialogue through which they are defined as benevolent custodians of social resources who are working to address the failings of Pacific people (*cf.*, Baumann, 1999).

This can be seen in typical items such as '*Vaccination needs to be compulsory*' (Editorial: *New Zealand Herald*, 1 October, 2004). This item begins by profiling 'A vaccination programme to fight meningococcal disease started in July with the highest hopes'. It then goes on to associate the disease with 'Pacific Island families' who 'have been hit hardest by the scourge', but whose response to the programme has been 'highly disappointing'. Pacific people have been apathetic. Once the situation is defined in these terms, prescriptions for action are considered because 'Clearly a change in approach is needed if acceptable numbers of those most at risk are to take advantage of the programme'. As the title for this item suggests, action from outside Pacific communities is needed to manage the situation and reduce the risk. The need for a different strategy is reinforced with an account of how situational or poverty-related excuses for non-compliance amongst minority communities, invoking a wider socio-political context for disease, are presented as being 'flimsy' because 'South Auckland has considerable advantages for public health officials in terms of population concentration and heavy media saturation'. Any notion of taking cultural or situational considerations into account is described as being '. . . overly cautious, so much so that they fail . . .'. The item concludes that 'The experience in South Auckland suggests it is time for inoculation to be made compulsory'.

The use of war metaphors in such items promotes the positioning of public health programmes and their Palagi advocates as benevolent forces for good in the fight against disease. The framing of such benevolence serves to warrant compulsion where, in this case, Pacific parents should be forced to comply with the dictates of health programmes for their own good and that of their families. This framing also functions to position Pacific people as passive characters awaiting active professional guidance and intervention. These are not active citizens like the rest of 'us' who have a right to participate in decision-making processes about the availability of resources and services in their communities. The focus on public health and the use of selected attributes to characterize Pacific Islanders promotes a story context and a set of relationships in which Pacific Islanders are inactive, unhealthy people who need to be managed by Palagi.

Often, important aspects of such news items are not explicitly stated (van Dijk, 2000). For instance, implicit references to Palagi values, such as individual responsibility for health, are of central importance in understanding the wider political implications of the depictions of Pacific people. Attending to these unstated features of items enables us to give coherence to the overall story being promoted through the media and how this relates to the specific characterizations of Pacific Islanders. Individual responsibility is used as a device to mark Pacific people as deviant others who must be compelled to comply with expected, implicit norms of self-reliance and self-care.

A small number of items emphasized the need for local and personal action to improve Pacific people' health, but these relied on implicit notions of passive Pacific communities. For instance, two items focused on individual Pacific Islanders acting agentively to

promote personal health by adopting a healthy lifestyle, and thus minimizing their perso-
nal risk of disease. For example, '*Thinner, fitter runner has the last laugh*' (*New Zealand
Herald*, 30 October, 2004) focused on the case of Sam Lotu-Iiga. Reportedly, this man was
laughed at when he first ' . . . told his friends he was entering the Auckland Marathon . . . '.
The reader is informed that Mr. Lotu was 'severely obese', but subsequently lost
' . . . 25 kg and is proving them wrong . . . He still has a weakness for KFC [Kentucky Fried
Chicken], but restricts himself to one KFC meal a week, after his Saturday run'. This
man's success is made newsworthy promoting the idea that a man who epitomizes the
stereotypical 'fat lazy Islander' and who 'lives on KFC' [fast food] can overcome obesity
if he is motivated enough. Thus, health issues faced by Pacific people are reduced to a lack
of personal motivation and responsibility, rather than to social positioning or wider socio-
cultural relations. This rhetorical framing has wider political implications in terms of
resource allocation and service provision.

The tendency to refer to Pacific people as sedentary or inactive repeatedly serves to war-
rant the proposition that 'they' are overly dependent and constitute a serious drain on the
taxpayer that warrants external intervention (*cf.*, Spoonley, 1990). For example, '*Health
board give up on $1.6 m debts*' (*The Dominion Post*, 13 December, 2004) presents a gen-
eral story about how 'An Auckland health board has given up trying to recover $1.6 mil-
lion in bad debts owed by foreigner's ineligible for healthcare'. Readers are informed of
around $2.5 million of bad debts in a previous year that were met by central government
who ' . . . has progressively clamped down on providing free healthcare to foreigners'.
When it comes to identifying the 'foreign' groups at fault the report reads 'Many of the
patients were Pacific Islanders . . . '. The significance of this story is evident in the context
of stories about the misappropriation of aid money to Pacific nations and the cost of pro-
viding health programmes to Pacific people who live unhealthy lifestyles. Such items con-
tinue a tradition of positioning Pacific people as inferior, deviant outsiders who do not
belong in Aotearoa. In a wider colonial sense, such framing allows Palagi to forge a sense
of belonging in Aotearoa by out casting Pacific people. This, of course, fails to mention
that Palagi are themselves an immigrant group who some Maori would argue are coloni-
sers and overstayers. Here we see how the 'othered' group is rendered central for a domi-
nant group claiming pride of place. The symbolic relationship between Pacific and Palagi
people, forged partially through such news narration, is crucial for Palagi to maintain
social control (*cf.*, Anderson, 1991).

Items responding to the provision of aid to Pacific nations and communities provide
further evidence for the association of Pacific ethnicity with dependency and the promo-
tion of Palagi autonomy and control. In arguably the most derogatory example from our
corpus, '*Helen Hughes: More aid is no solution for Islands*' (*New Zealand Herald,*
29 December, 2004), this commentator discusses how Pacific nations cannot be trusted
to administer aid money from New Zealand and Australia in a transparent and equitable
manner. Further, aid is presented as:

> . . . part of the problem rather than the solution . . . Aid makes it possible for Pacific governments
> to avoid economic and social reforms. The elites prosper but villagers are little better off than
> they were at independence.

This item goes on to associate growing health and social problems with incompetent
Pacific leadership. ' . . . Vanuatu arguably competes with Tonga as having the most coun-
terproductive economic and social policies in the region. Its Government is laughing all
the way to the bank as it pockets American dollars'. It is proposed that market reforms are

the answer to shedding dependency on aid. The report also infers that Pacific nations are in this situation because colonialism is no longer operating:

> Australia and New Zealand are not colonial powers and cannot make Pacific island choices or manage their economies. Colonialism is dead. But Australian and New Zealand Governments have a responsibility to their taxpayers to ensure that aid will no longer subsidize island governments that choose stagnation.

Such reports exemplify how Pacific Islanders are often depicted as recipients of assistance who are in need of both guidance from European settler communities in the Pacific region and to have their affairs managed for them. In such extracts colonial populations are characterized as benevolent and protective forces who are taking responsibility for colonized populations (*cf.*, Anderson, 1991). This proposed relationship highlights how the promotion of a specific cultural identity for one group can be utilized to constitute and promote an (oppositional) identity for another group. Pacific people need to be framed as passive and irresponsible in order to justify the framing of Palagi as active and responsible. The racist inference here is that colonial interference or 'management' provides more efficient 'administration of the natives'. The assertion that colonialism is dead can function to deny the legacy of colonial and historical injustices. Pacific governments and Pacific experts are not included in this mediated deliberation, nor afforded the right of reply to these harsh criticisms.

The emphasis on non-Pacific experts reflects the general lack of faith expressed in press coverage towards Pacific leaders. This is epitomized by items reporting crime. These follow trends reported in the international literature where crime reporting is found to tag offenders from minority groups by their ethnicity while comparable offenders from majority groups are seldom so tagged (Pietkainen, 2003; Spoonley, 1990). A typical example is '*Samoan chief gets 14 years for sex crimes*' (*The Dominion Post*, 6 November, 2004). This item begins 'A VOLUNTARY court worker and Samoan chief has been jailed for 14 years for sex offences'. The article continues by outlining the charges and nature of the crime and how the defendant continued to deny the charges despite the evidence. Labelling offenders according to ethnicity serves to associate ethnicity with crime and social deviance (Cottle, 2000). By inference the ethnic group is positioned as socially deviant and within the sphere of crime. Pacific men are often positioned as a threat to their communities and to society at large. Items foregrounding portrayals of Pacific leaders as corrupt or abusive custodians of local power function to further warrant Palagi monitoring and management of Pacific communities. Throughout such items there is an implied proposition that 'these people clearly cannot look after themselves'.

These examples reflect how international findings in print news repeat themselves in local contexts. Here, an immigrant minority is again positioned as a drain on the resources of the dominant group, and criticisms of dependency are extended to their countries of origin (van Dijk, 1984). In effect this universalizes the 'problem' of Pacific dependency across locales. It would appear that New Zealand news items have not developed to the point, evident in some locales such as the United Kingdom, where positive aspects of immigration by minority groups are included in mediated deliberations of such issues (e.g. King & Wood, 2001). Much of the focus in New Zealand coverage promotes an image of Pacific leaders as at best 'incompetent' and at worst 'corrupt' and 'exploitative'. In a new twist on this old storyline, some reports suggested that participation from Pacific people is not only financially costly to society but it also results in reduced educational standards for everyone. '*Illiterate scholars*' (*The Dominion Post*, 6 December, 2004)

explores the general assertion that university literacy standards are dropping, and that students entering university today have lower literacy skills. Research is cited to legitimate these concerns and then attention turns to possible explanations. It is in this context that Pacific people are mentioned:

> . . . The Social Development Ministry puts level three literacy—defined as 'a suitable minimum for coping with the demands of everyday life and work in a complex, advanced society'—in New Zealand at around 50 per cent in the three types of literacy measured. Maori and Pacific Islanders, in particular, score poorly.

At a time when Pacific students are entering tertiary education in greater numbers the association of concerns about falling standards with Pacific participation encourages the readership to question the public provision of support for such participation.

Positive exceptions to the rule: The politics of inclusion and exclusion.   When advancing the argument that discriminatory practices shape print news portrayals of Pacific Islanders, it is important to also consider the ways in which constructions of Pacific people in news stories are not always overtly negative. Some news items reveal the potential for the news media to present alternative images of Pacific people and to contest traditional stereotypes. These are worthy of note because they are often held up by media professionals as proof of balance and absence of bias in reporting. A small number of reports in our sample presented more positive representations, using individual successes in the arts and sport. Such items contrast with those discussed above because they present more active and independent characterizations of Pacific people. We consider the politics of restricting positive portrayals to 'exceptional individuals' and the spheres of sport and art, and how this ultimately works negatively to position Pacific Islanders as 'exotic others' who perform creatively on the rugby field, in the arts, or during cultural festivals.

Social spaces such as professional sport have produced opportunities to redefine what it is to be a Pacific Islander (Macpherson et al., 2001). An overt example of success in this domain is the All Black captain, Tana Umaga, who is Samoan (*'Umaga awarded top honour'*, *New Zealand Herald*, 11 December 2004). Umaga is often presented as an example of '*The browning of kiwi sport*' (*The Dominion Post*, 9 November, 2004), raising possibilities of social integration, and supporting the myths relating to 'the level playing field'. This item on kiwi sport reviews a television documentary investigation of the contribution of Maori and Pacific men to rugby. Early in the piece it is asserted that sport provides a forum for breaking through racial barriers. A quote from former All Black Chris Laidlaw states:

> I don't think there's a single factor that has been as important as the browning of New Zealand sport in terms of generating better relationships, broader relationships, deeper relationships and a better understanding of where the other guy comes from . . .

Undoubtedly having different ethnic groups working together for a common goal in a team environment can be a good thing. However, such reports may present over-romanticized accounts of the level of understanding and integration between team members or the opportunities that sport provides for Pacific men. After all, participation is conducted on Palagi terms and involves playing an English game, which does not require any understanding of cultural difference. Further, not all sports have been so receptive to Pacific participation. Major sports in New Zealand such as cricket, soccer, athletics and rowing remain largely Palagi domains. The report itself highlights certain limits to the assertion

that sport is a level playing field for the advancement of different groups in Aotearoa, where although:

> . . . Pacific Islanders have excelled on the field there is still room to achieve in sports administration. Says sports radio host Martin Devlin, 'It's a hard subject to get around when you consider the hierarchies: the coaches, the management, the administration; they're all white faces and they are continuing to be white faces. You're allowed to play but you're not allowed to run the game, I mean how does that work?'

The item goes on to mention the negative impact of professionalism for Pacific national teams, whose players have been appropriated to play for better money for teams in larger nation states such as New Zealand and Australia. Although this item demonstrates the positive potential of press coverage to explore race relations differently, it also perpetuates a stereotypical view of the 'brown man' as the 'good sports man'. Not all Pacific men aspire to playing rugby, and we can question why no items represented the 'brown man' as the 'good manager' or 'business administrator'.

The cultural domain and the creative arts appear to provide other spheres where more balanced and complex portrayals can be represented; areas which actually include Pacific voices. Two items invoked issues surrounding representational politics and Pacific identities. In '*A matter of respect*' (*Dominion Post*, 16 Dec 2004) 'Fashion writer Carolyn Enting delves into the underground world of hip-hop style that is influencing mainstream fashion trends'. This item outlines links between local Pacific creativity in fashion and global hip-hop trends.

> US artist Missy Elliott's new RESPECT ME range carries a message of positively and empowerment.
> Wellington hip-hop artist Bill Urale (aka King Kapisi) draws on his Samoan roots for his urban streetwear range Overstayer, that 'aims to empower the wearer', while the clothing label of South Auckland's Dawn Raid aims to 'inspire and introduce an indigenous South Pacific lifestyle to the world stage of fashion'.

However, a significant transition in focus occurs early in this newspaper article, and functions to contain any consideration of the politics of such alternative products. The focus is shifted from empowerment as an unspecified aim of clothing production to an account of Pacific brands as inspirational sources for New Zealand fashion. The reader is not presented with any information on why these youth need 'empowerment' or why these labels attempt to reclaim racist terms such as 'overstayer'. The reader is informed that this is 'all about funk' and combing clothing style with rap music and graffiti art forms. The reporter outlines how clothing trends in Pacific communities are being taken seriously by designers from other ethnic groups where a ' . . . university graduate Sandra Chin made an impact at the fashion school's recent end-of-year show with a collection of fabulous pin-tucked hoodies modelled and MCed by Wellington hip-hop trio GND'. This designer is reported as stating that: 'What we have done is girlify it and add class and sophistication'. This item exemplifies the 'taken for granted' nature of processes of cultural appropriation whereby the creative products of Pacific designers are taken and depoliticized as sources of inspiration for members of more economically dominant groups.

Positive elements of such items include the presentation of Pacific people as productive members of society who can succeed in the fashion industry. This item reflects how voices from minority groups can break through into news coverage and so present potential challenges to existing conventions and symbolic power (Couldry & Curran, 2002). The item

invokes the production of resistive signs on T-shirts and caps designed to promote alternative and more respectful images of Pacific people. These artifacts involve poaching (Thompson, 1995) derogatory terms, such as 'overstayer', 'bunga' and 'coconut' from the Palagi vernacular. The resistive politics around the claiming of derogatory terms and accusations around place are nullified and depoliticized in the report by stripping these artifacts of their socio-historical contexts. Hence, for the dominant group these expressions of resistance are transformed into 'ethnic art' or 'creative Pacifika fashion' to be assimilated into a more generalized national New Zealand identity. In this way, assertions of agency and proud difference are transformed into mere fashion products. This process of assimilation is visible in the item in the use of a quote from a non-Pacific design student who added 'class and sophistication' to Pacific urban trends. This infers that the work of Pacific designers lacked such elements.

One item that showed particular promise in terms of extending the issue of identity politics into press coverage was '*A question of identity*' (*New Zealand Herald*, 6 October, 2004). This report introduced notions of the fluidity of ethnic-based identities and constituted a rare attempt by the media to consider such issues. In order to explore the work of local Pacific artists, the report began by referring to an early 'exotica boom' exemplified by the work of Vladimir Tretchikoff, who painted mysterious oriental women against the backdrop of Bali Hai sunsets. The reader is then informed that a local artist Nanette Lela'ulu has used this template to image '. . . Polynesian princesses in rural Auckland landscapes'. Nanette is then quoted as follows:

> I've always been fascinated by Tretchikoff. The paintings are so commercial, they are everywhere and lots of young Pacific Island people have them in their homes.
> I have always been interested in taking things which have been done before and putting a Pacific Island flavour into them. The difference in this lot is I have given them a New Zealand base, which I have not done before.

At this point the journalist states 'Ask Lela'ulu if she is a 'Pacific Island painter' and she will deny it, but questions of identity permeate her work'. The reader is informed that the artist has dual heritage with a Palagi mother and a Samoan father, whose family she spent a lot of time with. 'You are never Samoan because you are white and you are never white because you are too Samoan . . . ' she says. The article goes on to propose that the artist's early work focused on tensions between these two ethnic identities. Subsequently, the report turns to the work of Andy Leleisi'uao and his exploration of the struggles of Samoan immigrant families. This effectively broadens consideration of issues of identity beyond one artist's reflections. The item concludes with comments from an Auckland curator who is familiar with the work of both artists.

> Auckland City Art Gallery senior curator Ron Brownson says Lela'ulu and Leleisi'uao are important members of the emerging Pacific renaissance.
> 'Nanette has shown year after year, with her work just getting stronger,' says Brownson.
> Andy has had more than 20 solo shows, and is known for expressing issues very much at the core of the first generation of immigrant artists.
> 'He is looking at what happened in the 1950s and 1960s when Pacific people came here to work, bringing their island's ethics and morality, and the tensions that brings with New Zealand and with their children'.

This item contrasts with the bulk of coverage because it includes Pacific perspectives. However, the extent to which these artists are allowed to define the intent and significance of their work or identities is contained by recourse to the expert testimony of a Palagi curator, who provides an account of the significance of their work. The item does not take up

the opportunity to explore the complex overlaps between various Pacific, European, Asian, and locational or socio-economically based identities that may contribute to this work. In limiting the voice given to these artists the report constitutes a denial of Pacific contributions to hybrid notions of New Zealand-ness.

It is important to acknowledge those items that appear to promote more complex and positively orientated portrayals, such as one that questioned the rhetorical positioning of Pacific Islanders as 'overstayers' who do not belong in Aotearoa. However, such items are much less prevalent than the discriminatory portrayals, and were confined to the sports and light entertainment pages. Elsewhere, it has been suggested that media coverage is changing and that new complexities around the imaging of minority groups are increasingly entering coverage (Cottle, 2000). Our findings suggest that the inclusion of a more positive focus that involves 'success stories' tends to reflect processes of cultural assimilation, where Pacific people can be reported as successful if they conform to Palangi norms, or if their creativity can be assimilated into the dominant culture. These more positive images, contextualized by sport and art, appear to reflect what has been called 'enlightened racism' in television characterizations of minority groups (Cottle, 2000), where the focus is on successful individuals but coverage omits mention of structural inequalities and exclusionary practices that prevent more success. In the context of the tendency for print news to focus largely on problems, positive cases can function merely to reinforce the perception that Pacific people have only themselves to blame for not measuring up or taking advantage of their opportunities.

In summary, previous research highlights how the positive achievements of minority groups are downplayed or ignored in mainstream media, and how their 'problems' direct the attention of coverage (e.g. Nairn et al., in press). However, this is only partially supported by the analysis presented here, as we find that positive representations of Pacific success also occur in New Zealand print news. In spite of this, the examples discussed above reflect how these positive representations promote exceptions to the rule, presenting individuals who are newsworthy because they have succeeded within the Palagi world of sport, fashion and the arts (*cf.*, Macpherson, et al., 2001). Although alluding to a politics of difference, these items do not explore the marginalization of immigrant groups or consider its impact on people's lives. These items remain part of dominant representational practices that often work to censor and marginalize minority groups (*cf.*, Lykes et al., 2003). What we need are more complex portrayals of Pacific people engaged, as they are, in a wider range of occupational and social spheres, and representations that allow better understandings of Pacific perspectives.

MOVING FROM CRITICISM TO ACTION

Internationally, researchers have criticized news portrayals for depicting minority groups as ill, infirmed, overly dependent, and out of place (Adebanwi, 2004; Hodgetts, Masters, & Robertson, 2004; Pietikaninen, 2003; van Dijk, 2000). These studies have documented how news reports are predominantly framed through the prejudices of majority groups, representing minorities within the context of social problems such as illness, crime and poverty. While we acknowledge the need for the media to raise health and social concerns for public consideration, we are concerned about the representation of minority groups in this way. Prominent trends in coverage, including those identified in this paper, facilitate fundamentally constrained and domineering relationships between social

groups. The reliance on one-dimensional characterizations of Pacific people effectively reduces the claims of Pacific Islanders for public attention to their problems (*cf.*, Hodgetts, Cullen, & Radley, 2005). A particularly worrying finding from our analyses of print news coverage is the lack of space for Pacific people to speak for themselves beyond quite restrictive roles, and the displacement of Pacific Islanders from their own stories. The failure of print outlets to engage with Pacific people on their own terms raises questions as to whose needs are being met by media coverage. Our findings suggest that coverage currently serves the need for positive self-identity of the Palagi majority. This invokes concerns about who gets to speak, for whom, and to whom. At present it would appear that Palagi professionals and journalists are speaking on behalf of Pacific people to a Palagi public. This constitutes a serious barrier to the liberatory goals of community psychology (Lykes et al., 2003) because Pacific people' participation in society requires the involvement of Pacific communities in sharing the common cultural forums provided by mass media with Palagi communities. This enables cross-community dialogue and all groups to be heard (Silverstone & Georgiou, 2005).

Civic journalism has emerged from a growing frustration amongst minority groups who feel their voices have not been heard and their issues have not been presented fairly in media coverage (Lambeth, Meyer, & Thorson, 1998; Wallack, 2003). This area of journalism emphasizes the value for marginalized groups in gaining a voice in the media. Civic journalism involves media professionals working with communities to promote participation in public decision-making and problem solving. This involves a shift from a 'journalism of information' to a 'journalism of conversation' (Carey, 1987), and the abandonment of traditional notions of the 'detached observer' who reports on issues in favour of the journalist as collaborator who works with groups to make the news and increase trust (Lambeth et al., 1998).

In raising concerns regarding the under-representation of Pacific people and the prevalence of negative media portrayals about them, one might conclude that it is time to follow trends in Europe (e.g. Husband, 2005) and develop more specialist Pacific media outlets. This could easily occur, and go beyond the existing Pacific language newspapers and community radio stations, so that Pacific people can better represent themselves on their own terms in sites that have relevance to Palagi. Although we support this idea in principle, more is required if Palagi people are to be presented with alternative representations of Pacific people. After all, Pacific Islanders do not simply consume their own media and often shift between local community media and generic national outlets. If changes in representational practices are to occur at a societal level it will be necessary for Pacific people to participate more in media production within mainstream outlets.

In the case of Pacific people, the community activism that is central to such civic journalism projects does not have to be manufactured by journalists from outside local community settings. For instance, in their 2004 strategic plan the Pacific Island Media Association (PIMA) points out that Pacific people are under-represented in all aspects of civic participation and governance. PIMA aims to respond to negative media de pictions of Pacific Islanders by enhancing the participation of Pacific people in news production and by monitoring media coverage and lobbying for fair representations that foster strong and positive Pacific identities. Such initiatives include the promotion of scholarships for Pacific people to attend journalism schools and the hosting of conferences to organize media monitoring and advocacy work (see www.geekmedia.org/piccom/scholarship/).

As community psychologists we need to remind ourselves that such efforts at enhancing civic participation through the media are not solely the responsibility of Pacific communities. Discrimination is a problem owned by entire societies, and it requires citizens to work together to support change and challenge discriminatory practices. Currently, we are networking with, and offering our support to, groups such as PIMA who are working to foster a morally and politically literate public whose deliberations are informed by more than the common sense views of a dominant group. This involves a domain of practice in which we work with and assist those challenging symbolic power (*cf.*, Couldry & Curran, 2002) by promoting marginalized perspectives in media coverage about social and health concerns. This paper contributes to this agenda by documenting the limitations of current coverage in print news portrayals of Pacific people and by providing a basis for dialogue with Pacific media activists and professionals.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

REFERENCES

Adebanwi, W. (2004). The press and the politics of marginal voices: Narratives of the experiences of the Ongoni of Nigeria. *Media, Culture & Society, 26*, 763–783.

Ahuvia, A. (2001). Traditional, interpretative, and reception based content analysis: Improving the ability of content analysis to address issues of pragmatic and theoretical concern. *Social Indicators Research, 52*, 139–172.

Anderson, B. (1991). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism.* London: Verso.

Baumann, G. (1999). *The multicultural riddle.* London: Verso.

Campbell, C., & Jovchelovitch, S. (2000). Health, community and development: Towards a social psychology of participation. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology, 10*, 255–270.

Carey, J. (1987). The press and public discourse. *The Center Magazine*, March-April, 4–16.

Cottle, S. (2000). Introduction: Media research and ethnic minorities: Mapping the field. In S. Cottle (Ed.), *Ethnic minorities and the media* (pp. 1–30). Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Couldry, N., & Curran, J. (Eds.). (2002). *Contesting media power: Alternative media in a networked world.* Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield.

Curnow, J., Hopa, N., & McRae, J. (2002). *Rere tu, taku manu! Discovering history, language and politics in the Maori-language newspapers.* Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Gardikiotis, A., Martin, R., & Hewstone, M. (2004). The representation of majorities and minorities in the British press: A content analytic approach. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 34*, 637–646.

Hall, S. (1997). The work of representation. In S. Hall (Ed.), *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices* (pp. 13–75). London: Open University.

Hodgetts, D., Cullen, C., & Radley, A. (2005). Television characterizations of homeless people in the United Kingdom. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy, 5*, 10–20.

Hodgetts, D., Masters, B., & Robertson, N. (2004). Media coverage of 'Decades of Disparity' in ethnic mortality trends in Aotearoa. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology, 14*, 1–18.

Husband, C. (2005). Minority ethnic media as communities of practice: Professionalism and identity politics in interaction. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 31*(3), 461–479.

King, R., & Wood, N. (Eds.). (2001). *Media and migration: Contradictions of mobility and difference*. London: Routledge.

Lambeth, E., Meyer, P., & Thorson, E. (Eds.). (1998). *Assessing public journalism*. Columbia: University of Missouri.

Lykes, M., Blanche, M., & Hamber, B. (2003). Narrating survival and change in Guatemala and South Africa: The politics of representation and a liberator community psychology. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 31*, 79–90.

Macpherson, C., Spoonley, P., & Anae, M. (2001). *Tangata o te moana nui: The evolving identities of Pacific peoples in Aotearoa/New Zealand*. Palmerston North: Dunmore.

Poole, E. (2002). *Reporting Islam. Media representations of British Muslims*. London: I.B. Tauris.

Nairn, R., Pega, F., McCreanor, T., Rankine, J., & Barnes, A. (In press). Media, racism and public health psychology. *Journal of Health Psychology, 10*.

Pietikaninen, S. (2003). Indigenous identity in print: Representations of the Sami in news discourse. *Discourse & Society, 14*, 581–609.

Prilleltensky, I., & Prilleltensky, O. (2003). Towards a critical health psychology practice. *Journal of Health Psychology, 8*, 197–210.

Rankin, J., & McCreanor, T. (2004). Colonial coverage: Media reporting of a bicultural health research partnership. *Journalism, 5*, 5–29.

Silverstone, R. (1999). *Why study the media?* London: Sage.

Silverstone, R., & Georgiou, M. (2005). Editorial introduction: Media and minorities in Multicultural Europe. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 31*, 433–441.

Spoonley, P. (1990). Racism, race relations and the media. In P. Spoonley, & W. Hirsh (Eds.), Racism, race relations and the media. *Between the lines: Racism and the New Zealand media* (pp. 26–37). London: Octopus.

Spoonley, P., & Hirsh, W. (1990). Introduction. In P. Spoonley, & W. Hirsh (Eds.), *Between the lines: Racism and the New Zealand Media* (pp. 1–10). London: Octopus.

Statistics New Zealand. (2003). National Pacific Population Projections—Information Releases. www.2.stats.govt.nz/domino/external/web/prod_serv.nsf/b9e2b9a56vf2820bcc2...

Thomas, D., & Nikora, L. (1989). What's in a word? A matter of opinion. *New Zealand Journalism Review, 2*, 38–40.

Thompson, J. B. (1995). *The media and modernity: A social theory of the media*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Thorson, E. (In press). Print news and health psychology: Some observations. *Journal of Health Psychology, 10*.

Wallack, L. (2003). The role of mass media in creating social capital: A new direction for public health. In R. Hofrichter (Ed.), *Health and social justice: Politics, ideology, and inequality in the distribution of disease* (pp. 594–625). San Franscisco: Jossey-Bass.

van Dijk, T. (1984). *Prejudice and discourse*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Van Dijk, T. (2000). New(s) racism: A discourse analytical approach. In S. Cottle (Ed.), *Ethnic minorities and the media* (pp. 33–49). Philadelphia: Open University Press.