

Pacific newsroom profiles: Media literacy and education in Fiji, Papua New Guinea

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Abstract: University education for South Pacific journalists is a relatively recent development. It has existed in Papua New Guinea for a generation; it is barely a decade old at degree level in Fiji and in Polynesia. While the Papua New Guinean media has largely depended on journalism education to provide the foundation for its professionalism, Fiji has focused on a system of ad hoc short course training funded by international donors. This paper examines the way tertiary education has a critical influence on how Pacific journalists in the two major economies and largest media industries in the region practise their profession. It also studies how Pacific journalists perceive their political and social role in a developing society faced with the challenges of globalisation. The findings are drawn from a newsroom survey of 13 news organisations in Fiji and Papua New Guinea in 2001. The survey concluded that journalists in Papua New Guinea are more highly educated, have a higher mean experience and age, and have a more critically sophisticated perception of their media role in Pacific societies than in Fiji. Journalists in Fiji are also more influenced by race, cultural and religious factors. Conversely, PNG journalists are poorly paid even when compared with their Fiji colleagues. There are serious questions about the impact that this may have on the autonomy of journalists and the Fourth Estate role of news media in a South Pacific democracy.

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Introduction

UNIVERSITY education for journalists is a relatively recent development in the South Pacific. Although it has existed in Papua New Guinea for a generation, it is only a decade old at degree level in Fiji, and in the independent nations of Polynesia. At the same time, mean age, experience levels and educational qualifications have been steadily rising among journalists in the major Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) member countries, Australia and New Zealand, as the news media has become more professionalised. While the Papua New Guinean news media has largely depended on journalism education to provide the foundation for its professionalism, Fiji has focused on a system of ad hoc short course training funded by international donors. A generation of journalists has been educated in the tertiary sector in Papua New Guinea with more than 200 graduate journalists. In a decade, the regional University of the South Pacific has produced eighty-one journalism graduates for the South Pacific (Robie & Singh, 2004).

Graduate journalists are in a minority outside Papua New Guinea. The quality and lack of professional formation of journalism practitioners in the region have been a frequent theme of criticism for politicians. Among the harshest critics of the region's media has been Fiji Labour Party leader Mahendra Chaudhry, particularly during his year as Fiji's first Indo-Fijian prime minister before being deposed by the Speight putsch in May 2000. Drawing comparisons with the United States and other countries where journalism integrity was perceived to be eroding, Chaudhry remarked in a surprisingly tough speech at the launching of the Fiji Media Council's Code of Ethics in October 1999 that media credibility was dropping: "The public is becoming critical of media practices and its self-adopted watchdog role" (Chaudhry, 1999). He argued that the media needed a "critical self-appraisal". Some industry commentators have been equally critical. At a Fiji seminar in mid-2004 on industry self-regulation, prominent publicist and media consultant Matt Wilson called for the establishment of a wages council and better investment in training. Saying the majority of working journalists in Fiji had little or no training at all, the former *Fiji Times* journalist added: "I can see standards slipping inexorably – I can see no improvements" (Wansolwara, 2004). The debate about standards and training has been a backdrop to discussion about a shelved draft law for a statutory media council. In June 2004, a Tebbutt Research survey, commissioned on behalf of the self-regulatory Fiji Media Council, surprisingly gave public perceptions of the news media a relatively clean bill of health. The UNDP-funded survey found that television was considered 'most accurate but could be more detailed and timely' (Tebbutt Research, 2004).

While the majority of journalists in Papua New Guinea do have formal training and qualifications, this is not the case in much of the rest of the Pacific, including Fiji where newsroom staff has traditionally been school-leavers with little or no experience and virtually no formal training. Many news organisations rely on donor-funded short courses coordinated through bodies such as the Pacific Islands News Association (PINA), Pacific Islands Broadcasting Association (PIBA), and the Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC) Regional Media Centre in association with AusAID; Commonwealth Press Union, UNESCO and others. PINA and PIBA formally united in November 2004 after more than a year of controversial wrangling over the merger. It is questionable how well such short courses have served the region and whether they have really contributed to the long-term sustainability of journalism professionalism. Some see the aid as "flawed", "embarrassing" or "poorly planned" (Sorariba, 1996; Thaman, 2001). Other critics have the view that some training initiatives are "symptomatic of a failure of leadership among those in the Pacific, as well as those from donor nations, who lead the stampede to the trough of development aid dollars" (Hooper, 1998: p. 13). Media

educators in the region with strong industry backgrounds stress the need for education. However, AusAID, initially with its Pacific Media Initiative (PMI) project, now revived through the Pacific Media and Communication Facility (PMCF), has sought to rationalise and coordinate media training in the region.

This Pacific newsroom research grew out of questions about an apparent difference in attitude and recruitment policies between the region's two largest media industries, Papua New Guinea and Fiji, over journalism education and training. Both nations have a similar sized news media industry in terms of staff numbers and news outlets, but in Papua New Guinea newsroom attachments for journalism students has been established for almost twenty five years. The future of this system was jeopardised with the planned closure during 1999 of the University of Papua New Guinea Journalism Programme, which pioneered journalism education in the South Pacific. However, in early 2000 the UPNG programme was given a reprieve. At Madang, Divine Word University's Department of Communication Arts expanded its courses to absorb an expected overflow of journalism students from UPNG. But, being remote from the centre of national news media in the capital of Port Moresby, DWU had a less developed industry attachment or internship scheme. The challenges of literacy are far greater for the media in Papua New Guinea, where the rate is 66 percent, than in Fiji (93.7 percent).

Methodology

An education and training survey of Fiji and Papua New Guinea was conducted between 20 April and 20 May 2001. This was based on total daily news organisation populations and I made personal visits to newsrooms with self-administered questionnaires. The survey followed an earlier pilot project that canvassed news organisations in both countries in 1998/9 (Robie, 1999) and a comparative analysis of the two surveys has been published. In addition to the survey, I conducted focus and individual interviews with a wide range of 57 journalists, editors, news organisation managers and media advisers or analysts (see Robie, 2003, 2004). These have been the most comprehensive media surveys in the South Pacific since Layton (1993, 1995) almost a decade earlier. But unlike her 1992 research which considered eight countries and territories, my two surveys focused on a comparison between Fiji and PNG. Thirteen news organisations — six in Papua New Guinea and seven in Fiji (one partially) were surveyed with a fourteenth company declining to participate as political and professional pressures played a far more restrictive role than during my earlier survey. The Murdoch-owned *Fiji Times* declined to participate, although the newspaper took part in the 1998/9 survey. On that occasion it had the lowest response rate (42 percent) of any surveyed news organisation.

Participating companies in Fiji this time were the most recent daily newspaper, *The Sun*; the government-owned *Daily Post*; Communications Fiji Ltd private broadcast group (FM96); Fiji Broadcasting Corporation (partial only); the regional news service Pacnews; the Associated Media group (*FijiLive* website and *The Review* news magazine); and Fiji Television Ltd. In Papua New Guinea, the *Post-Courier*; *The National*; Word Publishing (*The Independent* and *Wantok*); National Broadcasting Corporation (partially); private broadcaster PNG FM Pty (NauFM and YumiFM); FM100 Radio Kalang; and EMTV took part (Robie, 2004: p. 202-238).

This survey was more comprehensive than the first study with a 45-point questionnaire with questions arranged in three main categories: A: Background and demographic profiles (19

Table 1: Comparison between Pacific (and one Australian) media survey response rates, 1984-2002

Survey	Phinney 1984 ¹ (PNG)	Masterton 1988 (Pacific)	Layton 1992 (Pacific)	Schultz 1992 ² (Australia)	Robie a.1998/9 (Fiji/PNG)	Robie b.2001 (Fiji/PNG)
Total Percentage	97 62%	79 25%	164 60%	247 (39) 41% (80%)	124 66%	106 70%

¹ Phinney (1984) included PNG radio and print journalists only; Masterton (1988) surveyed news sources and journalists in the USP region; Layton (1992) included eight Pacific countries and territories, American Samoa, Northern Marianas, Fiji, Guam, PNG, Solomon Islands, Tonga and Western Samoa (now Samoa); Robie (a.1998/9) and Robie (b. 2001) both focused on print, online, radio and television journalists in the region's two major media industry countries, Fiji and Papua New Guinea.

² Schultz (1992) included Australian journalists only, but this was part of a 10-nation Media and Democracy project, which included Britain, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Spain, Sweden, and the United States. This has been included for comparison. The main Australian sample (247) comprised journalists involved in daily news and current affairs production while being compared with a group of investigative journalists (39).

questions), B: Attraction to journalism (12 questions), and C: Freedom of the press (12 questions). The questions were based to a degree on the original survey, but were expanded to reflect some of the issues raised. However, this second survey also drew on some aspects of the questionnaire used for the survey of Australian journalists (see Table 1) conducted as part of the international Media and Democracy project supervised in Australia by Professor Julianne Schultz in 1992. This survey was also administered in five other countries, in “one of the most ambitious cross-national studies of journalists ever undertaken”. Just as Schultz (1998) added 35 questions to the Australian survey to ensure that it adequately addressed issues central to her research on democracy, accountability and the media in Australia, my survey included questions specifically adapted from the Schultz survey. Questions were also adapted from the Romano (1998) survey examining normative theories of development journalism in Indonesia, and the Weaver survey of global journalists (1998).

Table 2: Comparison of responses between Fiji, PNG news media organisations, 2001

Media Group ¹	Edit. staff	Fiji	%	Edit. staff	PNG	%
1. Associated Media Group (<i>The Review</i>)	4	4	100%	—	—	—
2. Communications Fiji Ltd	12	3	25%	—	—	—
3. <i>Daily Post</i>	15	11	73%	—	—	—
4. Fiji Broadcasting Corp	15	2	13%	—	—	—
5. Fiji Television Ltd	8	7	88%	—	—	—
6. Pacnews	2	2	100%	—	—	—
7. <i>The Sun</i>	16	14	88%	—	—	—
8. Media Niugini Ltd (EMTV)	—	—	—	8	8	100%
9. PNGFM Ltd	—	—	—	10	10	100%
10. <i>Post-Courier</i>	—	—	—	24	15	63%
11. Radio Kalang FM100	—	—	—	5	4	80%
12. <i>The National</i>	—	—	—	21	14	67%
13. Word Publishing	—	—	—	12	12	100%
Total:	72	43	60%	80	63	79%

¹ The new *Sun* was included in this survey for the first time, as was Pacnews in Fiji; the *Fiji Times* management declined to participate; the news director of FBC declined to allow her staff to participate, although two staff members still completed questionnaires; and participation by PNG's NBC was blocked because of a political crisis affecting the corporation.

Responses

While no Fiji news organisation provided a 100 percent response rate for the first survey in 1998/9; this time two media groups provided responses from all staff members — Associated Media and Pacnews (Table 2).¹ Two other organisations, Fiji Television and *The Sun*, had 88 percent responses. The lowest response in Fiji was from the Fiji Broadcasting Corporation with just two responses, completed in spite of the news director discouraging her staff from participating. In contrast to *The Fiji Times*, which did not participate, both the other two national daily newspapers, *Daily Post* (73 percent) and *The Sun* (88 percent) responded strongly. Three Papua New Guinean news organisations provided 100 per cent response rates — EMTV; PNGFM Pty Ltd, whose sister Communications Fiji group in Suva provided a low response return; and Word Publishing. The lowest response rate in Papua New Guinea was from the two daily newspapers, the *National* (67 percent) and *Post-Courier* (63 percent).

The breakdown of the sample by media organisation type (Table 3) was fairly similar with more than half the respondents in both Papua New Guinea (57 percent) and Fiji (58 percent) working on newspapers. The next largest group was radio in Papua New Guinea, which at 22 percent was almost double the Fiji sample (12 percent). Television journalists were evenly matched with 16 percent in Fiji and 13 percent in PNG. Predictably, Fiji had more magazine employees (five percent) than PNG (two percent), but surprisingly, given Port Moresby's more active two daily newspaper websites, *Post-Courier* and the *National*, also had more online journalists (nine percent) than in the PNG (six percent) sample.

When asked what category best described the journalists' current tasks, print reporters headed the list in both Fiji (44 percent) and PNG (33 percent). The next largest group were those who identified themselves as subeditors or news producers with 21 percent in PNG and 14 percent in Fiji. Television reporters ranked third with more in PNG (17 percent) than in Fiji (12 percent). Fiji (12 percent) had more executive editors or editorial managers than PNG (five percent). Editors or broadcast news directors came next and were evenly matched with nine percent in both Fiji and PNG. More in PNG (six percent) identified themselves as online journalists than radio (three percent), which means several reporters considered themselves "news producers" on air. However, it was the reverse in Fiji where seven percent were radio reporters and just two percent (one) was an online journalist. Five per cent of the PNG sample was photographers, but no photographer completed the Fiji survey. No editorial cartoonist from either country was identified.

Table 3: Fiji, PNG journalists by type of news organisation, 2001

Media type ¹	Fiji n=43	%	PNG n=63	%	Total n=106	%
1. Radio	5	12%	14	22%	19	18%
2. Television	7	16%	8	13%	15	14%
3. Newspaper	25	58%	36	57%	61	58%
4. Magazine	2	5%	1	2%	3	3%
5. Online	4	9%	4	6%	8	8%

¹ Respondents were asked to identify their news organisation type in question: A6. *Do you work for one of the following type of news organisations?* This table reflects a lower than actual proportion of radio journalists because of the absence of NBC responses in PNG and limited response from FBC in Fiji. Percentages may not total precisely due to rounding off.

Selected findings

Gender and civil status

Remarkably, given that there were several major changes between the 1998/9 and 2001 samples for the two countries, the gender balance was almost identical between the two surveys (Table 4). The 2001 survey confirmed the majority of woman journalists in the Papua New Guinea news media with a 52:48 percentage ratio. This also supported a widely held belief among journalists and media executives that women were a majority of the editorial staff. Fiji again posted a slight male advantage 51:49 in the percentage ratio, the same as in the earlier response. The survey also showed that slightly more than half of both Fiji and PNG journalists were single. This was not studied in the 1999/9 survey.

Table 4: Comparison of gender and civil status between Fiji, PNG news media organisations, 2001

Gender	Fiji n=43	%	PNG n=63	%	Total n=106	%
Male	22	51%	30	48%	52	49%
Female	21	49%	33	52%	54	51%
Civil status						
Married/de facto	18	42%	29	46%	47	44%
Single	25	58%	34	54%	59	56%

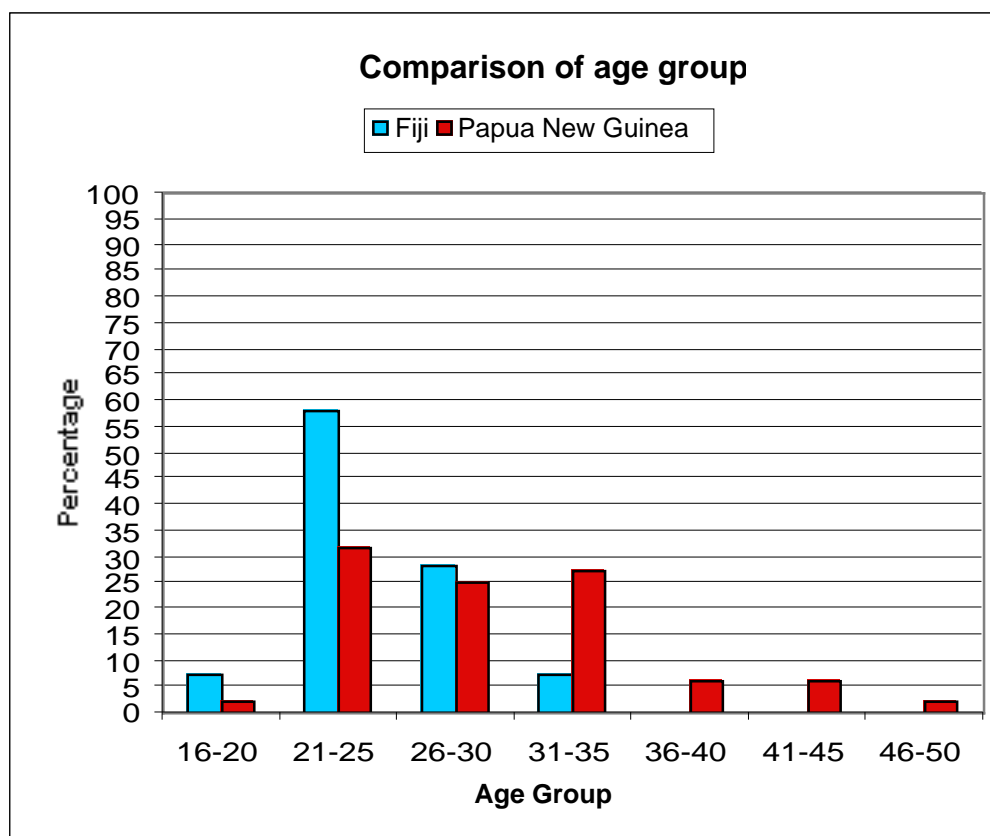
Age

As in 1998/9, the later survey reaffirmed a younger journalist population in Fiji with a mean age of 24.7 compared with 28.9 in Papua New Guinea (Table 5). While the mean age in PNG remained static, the Fiji figure had climbed to almost 25 from 22 in the earlier survey. But this higher figure probably did not fully reflect the actual youth of journalists in Fiji, which had a large bulge with 58 percent in the 21 to 25 age bands (Graph 1). *The Fiji Times*, the largest employer in Fiji, declined to participate in the 2001 survey. In the earlier research, of the 16

Table 5: Age comparison between Fiji, PNG journalists, 2001

Age group	Fiji n=43	%	PNG n=63	%	Total n=106	%
16 - 20	3	7%	1	2%	4	4%
21 - 25	25	58%	20	32%	45	42%
26 - 30	12	28%	16	25%	28	26%
31 - 35	3	7%	17	27%	20	19%
36 - 40	0	0%	4	6%	4	4%
41 - 45	0	0%	4	6%	4	4%
46 - 50	0	0%	1	2%	1	1%
Over 51	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Mean age	24.7		28.9		26.6	

Graph 1: Comparison of age group between Fiji, PNG journalists, 2001



respondents, ten were in the 21-25 age range. Together with seven percent of 20-year-olds or younger in the 2001 survey, the combined under 25 age group of 65 percent was roughly double that proportion in Papua New Guinea. A block of about 28 percent of Fiji journalists in the 26 to 30 age band boosted the national mean.

Cultural identity

Fijian and Indo-Fijian journalists were split in the survey sample in Fiji, (42 percent each) with seven percent Rotuman and the rest being other races. In Papua New Guinea, the cultural identity was assessed on provincial ties and was fairly evenly balanced. The largest group (13 percent) came from Central Province around the national capital of Port Moresby. East New Britain, East Sepik and Madang provinces all had representative groups of nine percent, while at the other end of the scale was Enga (the most populous province) and Oro with two percent each. Both West New Britain and NCD were not represented.

Language

Of the Fiji respondents, mother tongues of the journalists (Table 6) were evenly matched between Fijian (40 percent) and Hindi (37 percent), while 19 percent identified English as their first language (the balance of five percent spoke Rotuman). Surprisingly, nobody identified the Muslim language Urdu as a birth language. Unsurprisingly, in Papua New Guinea just 16 percent identified English as their mother tongue. Tok Pisin had 41 percent speakers and Motu six percent with 37 percent speaking other provincial languages. However, when it came to the newsroom language that journalists worked with (Table 7), the profile was very different. Ninety

six percent of the surveyed journalists in Fiji and 84 percent in Papua New Guinea worked in English with an overall percentage of 89 percent. The balance (16 percent) in PNG worked in Tok Pisin, largely because of the national vernacular weekly newspaper *Wantok*. (In fact, Papua New Guinea has 832 languages.) In Fiji, only four percent (evenly matched between Fijian and Hindi) of the journalists surveyed identified themselves as working in vernacular publications or broadcast stations, although the real life percentage total is probably a little higher.

Table 6: Comparison of first language of journalists in Fiji, PNG, 2001

First language ¹	Fiji n=43	%	PNG n=63	%	Total n=106	%
1. English	8	19%	10	16%	18	17%
2. Tok Pisin	0	0%	26	41%	26	25%
3. Motu	0	0%	4	6%	4	4%
4. Fijian	17	40%	0	0	17	16%
5. Hindi	16	37%	0	0	16	15%
6. Rotuman	2	5%	0	0	2	2%
7. Other	0	0%	23	37%	23	22%

¹ Respondents were the question: A15. *What is your first language?* Urdu (the main language of the Islamic community in Fiji) was included in the options, but nobody chose this. Percentages may not total precisely due to rounding off.

Table 7: Comparison of news language of journalists in Fiji, PNG, 2001

Media language ¹	Fiji n=43	%	PNG n=63	%	Total n=106	%
1. English	41	95%	53	84%	94	89%
2. Tok Pisin	0	0%	10	16%	10	9%
3. Motu	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
4. Fijian	1	2%	0	0%	1	1%
5. Hindi	1	2%	0	0%	1	1%

¹ Respondents were asked the question: A16. *What news media language do you work in?* Percentages may not total precisely due to rounding off.

Experience

The most experienced journalists in the Fiji sample were those in the 9 to 10-year band (five percent), but this was well short of Papua New Guinea, which had one person (1.6 percent) in the 25 to 26 year band (Table 8). Papua New Guinea also had six percent of the survey journalists in the 13 to 14-year band (Fiji had an equivalent of zero percent). But for both countries the bulk of the journalists (Graph 2) had less than two years' experience (Fiji, 44 percent; PNG, 33 percent). Taken overall, 70 percent of the journalists employed in Fiji had less than four years' experience, far more than PNG (49 percent). The mean experience of 5.5 years for Papua New Guinean journalists was marginally higher in 2001 than in 1998-99 (5.2 years) with Fiji also having a rise to 3.5 years from the 2.5 years in the earlier pilot survey.

Table 8: Fiji, PNG journalists' experience in news media, 2001

Number of years ¹	Fiji n=43	%	PNG n=63	%	Total n=106	%
0 - 2	19	44%	21	33%	40	38%
3 - 4	11	26%	10	16%	21	20%
5 - 6	7	16%	11	17%	18	17%
7 - 8	4	9%	8	13%	12	11%
9 - 10	2	5%	4	6%	6	6%
11 - 12	0	0%	1	12%	1	1%
13 - 14	0	0%	4	6%	4	4%
15 -16	0	0%	2	3%	2	2%
17 -18	0	0%	1	2%	1	1%
19 - 20	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
21 - 22	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
23 - 24	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
25 - 26	0	0%	1	2%	1	1%
More than 27	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Mean experience	3.5 years		5.5 years		4.5 years	

¹ Respondents were asked the question: A8. Total number of years working in news media organisations (excluding corporate public relations officer, government information officer etc)? Percentages may not total precisely due to rounding off.

Education and training

It was in the area of educational qualifications and training (Table 9) that significant statistical differences between the two countries were reflected. As in 1998/9, Papua New Guinean journalists were found to be more highly qualified than their Fiji counterparts. The proportion of PNG journalists with degrees and diplomas climbed from 73 percent to 81 percent, almost threefold higher than in Fiji. Yet there had also been some changes in Fiji. While in 1998/9 just 14 percent of Fiji journalists had a degree or diploma, by 2001 the number had increased by more than a third (to 26 percent). This reflected the growing number of graduate journalists entering the workplace from the University of the South Pacific. Conversely the proportion of journalists without basic training or qualifications climbed slightly in both countries to almost half of all journalists in Fiji (49 percent) and 14 percent in Papua New Guinea. However, almost one in four of the Fiji survey respondents indicated they had completed professional and industry short courses such as those offered by PINA, PIBA and AusAID's Pacific Media Initiative (PMI), while just five percent of Papua New Guinean respondents had benefited from such training.

Graph 2: Comparison of journalists' years of experience, Fiji, PNG, 2001

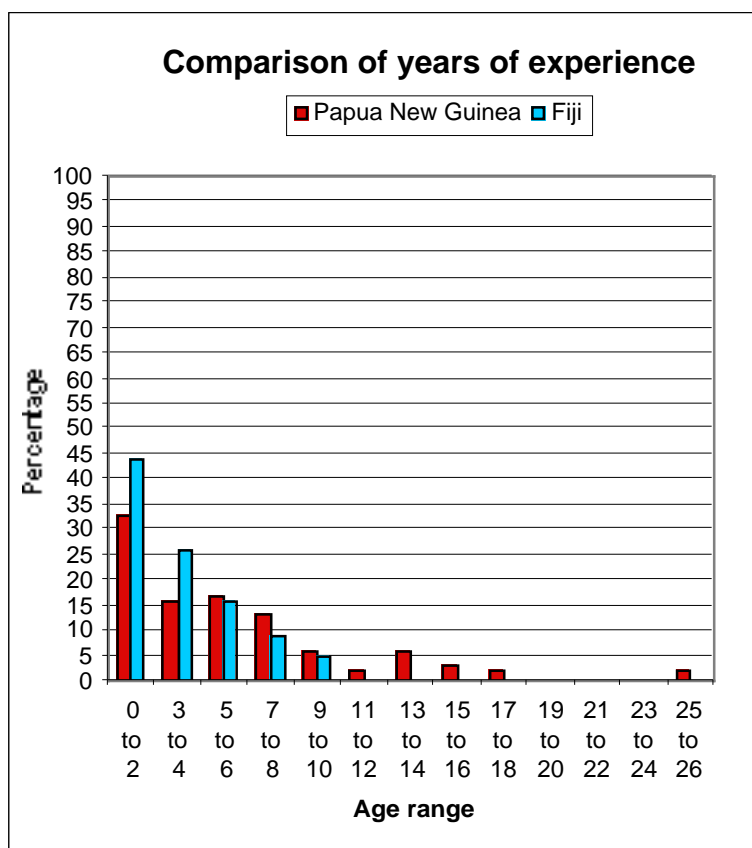


Table 9: Educational and training qualifications of Fiji, PNG journalists, 2001

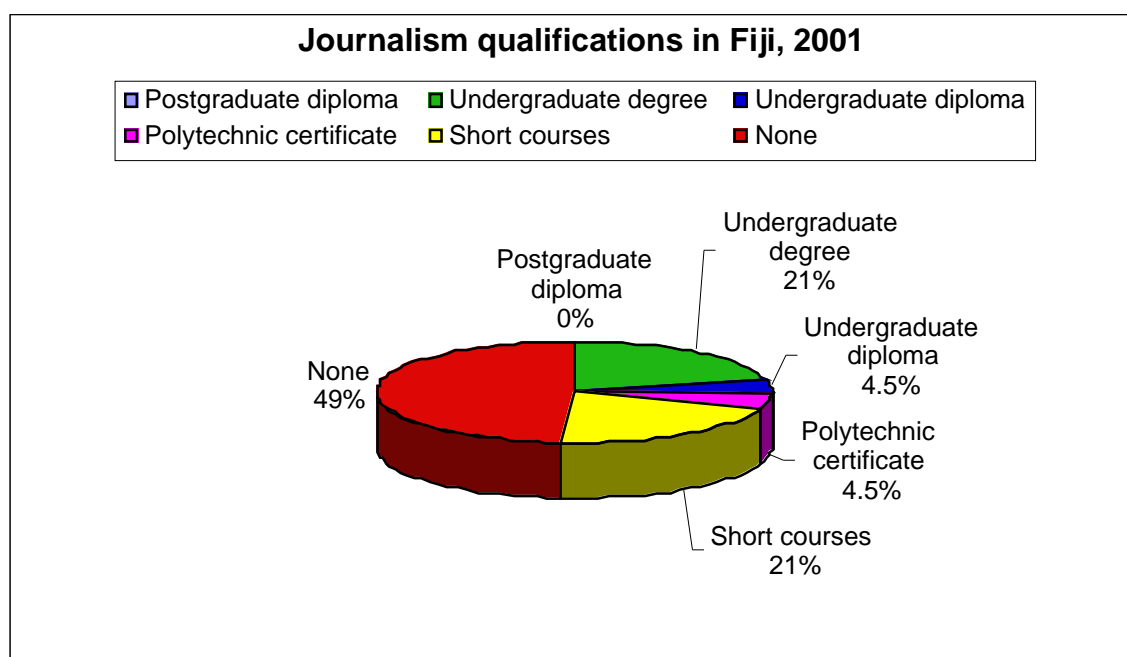
Tertiary qualifications	Fiji n=43	%	PNG n=63	%	Total n=106	%
1. Postgraduate degree or diploma	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
2. Undergraduate degree	9	21%	19	30%	28	26%
3. Undergraduate diploma	2	5%	32	51%	34	32%
Total (1, 2 and 3):	11	26%	51	81%	62	58%
4. Polytechnic or media industry certificates ¹	2	5%	0	0%	2	2%
5. Professional/industry short courses ²	9	21%	3	5%	12	11%
6. No qualification or training	21	49%	9	14%	30	28%
7. No response	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%

Question: A11: What kind of journalism qualification do you have?

¹ e.g. FIMA/FIJ certificate, 32-week polytechnic certificates etc.

² Such as organised by PIBA, PINA or their affiliates.

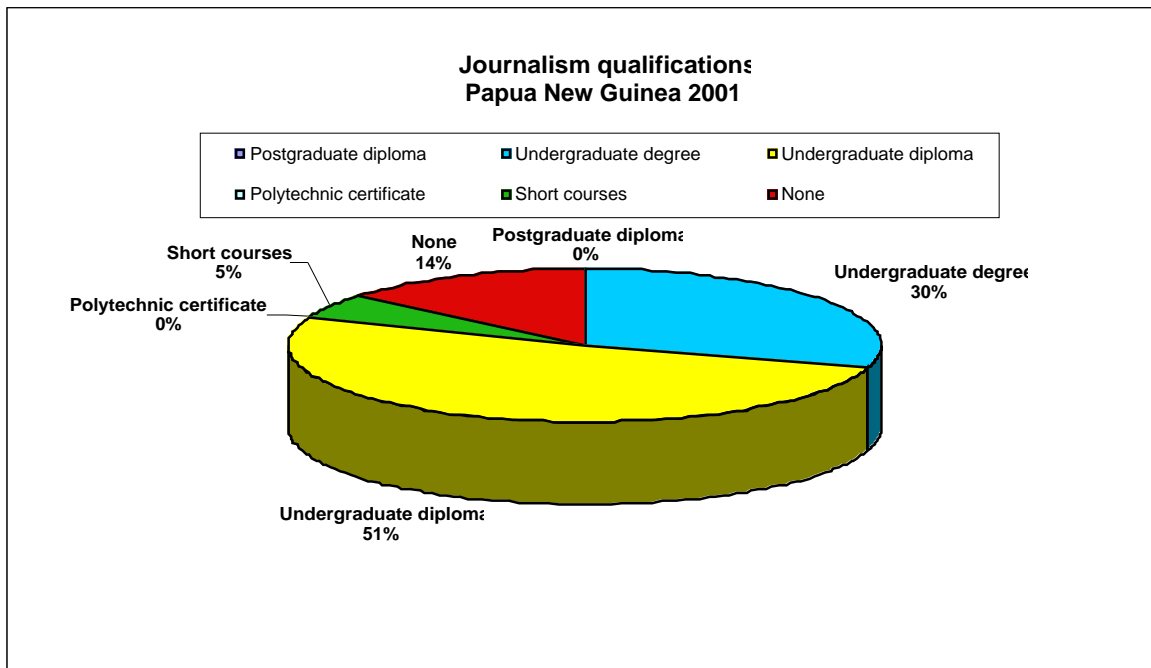
Percentages may not total precisely due to rounding off.

Graph 3: Journalism qualifications in Fiji, 2001

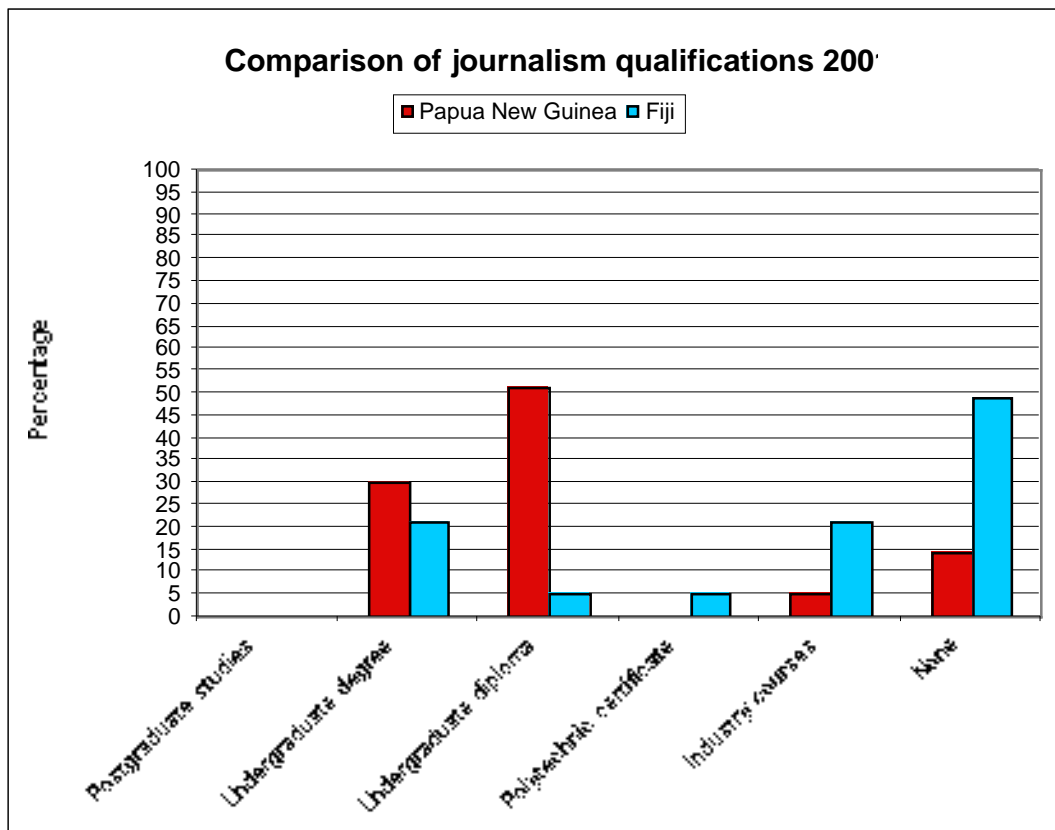
Just five percent of journalists in Fiji indicated that they had completed media industry or polytechnic courses (Graphs 3, 4, 5), such as the 32-week certificate programme run by the now defunct Fiji Journalism Institute, while no surveyed PNG journalists had done something similar. They relied on the university journalism schools.

In Fiji, 26 percent of journalists “majored” in journalism while 53 percent gave no response. Seventy percent of Papua New Guinea journalists gained a journalism major with just 17 percent not responding. Of those who listed other disciplines as a major in Fiji, they were evenly spread (two per cent each) between history/politics, literature/language, economics, tourism and business/management. The spread of degrees and diplomas was dominated by the University of Papua New Guinea with 49 percent of journalists as graduates, or 26 percent overall, almost double the number of graduates from USP . However, 35 percent of journalists surveyed in Fiji had a USP degree or diploma. Twenty nine percent of journalists in PNG had graduated from Divine Word University. Twelve percent of Fiji journalists had a tertiary qualification from outside Fiji, while just three percent in PNG had an outside degree or diploma.

Graph 4: Journalism qualifications in PNG, 2001



Graph 5: Comparison of journalism qualifications in Fiji, PNG, 2001



Almost two thirds of Papua New Guinean journalists (62 percent) favoured starting their career with gaining a journalism degree or diploma with a media organisation attachment (Table 10). This was almost double the number in Fiji (33 percent) while most Fiji journalists (53 percent) preferred a combination of a cadetship and university education. Some school leaver journalists in Fiji supported training on the job (nine percent), but no journalist in Papua New Guinea supported this approach to recruitment and training.

Table 10: Fiji, PNG journalists' opinions on how they view education and training, 2001

Preferred choice ¹	Fiji n=43	%	PNG n=63	%
1. Recruited as school leavers	4	9%	0	0
2. University journalism education (no media attachment)	1	2%	2	3%
3. University journalism education (with media attachment)	14	33%	39	62%
4. Combination of cadetship and university education	23	53%	20	32%
5. No response	1	2%	3	3%

¹ Respondents were asked the question: A18. In your opinion, how should journalists be prepared for their career? 1. Recruited as a school leavers and trained on the job, 2. Educated at university on a journalism school programme with no media organisation attachment, 3. Educated at university on a journalism school programme with no media organisation attachment, 4. Combination of cadetship and university training? Percentages may not total precisely due to rounding off.

In Fiji, industry support — as perceived by the respondents — was strongly in favour (30 percent) of school leavers training in the newsrooms (Table 11). But in Papua New Guinea almost half of the media employers (46 percent) looked to the university journalism schools with a media attachment as the best way to recruit journalists, while the next biggest group (37 percent) supported a combination of cadetship and university education. Only 14 percent saw Fiji media organisations as supporting journalism school with media attachments. These mixed attitudes were reflected in the fact that one major Fiji news media organisation had never employed a journalism graduate from USP while preferring to hire school leavers. A surprisingly significant group from both Papua New Guinea (11 per cent) and Fiji (seven per cent) were uncertain of the views of media organisations on education and training.

Table 11: Fiji, PNG journalists' opinions on how their news organisations view education and training, 2001

Preferred choice ¹	Fiji n=43	%	PNG n=63	%
1. Recruited as school leavers	13	30%	4	6%
2. University journalism education (no media attachment)	1	2%	0	0%
3. University journalism education (with media attachment)	6	14%	29	46%
4. Combination of cadetship and university education	20	47%	23	37%
5. No response	3	7%	7	11%

¹ Respondents were asked the question: A19. In your opinion, how does your news organisation believe journalists should be prepared for their career? 1. Recruited as a school leaver and trained on the job, 2. Educated at university on a journalism school programme with no media organisation attachment, 3. Educated at university on a journalism school programme with no media organisation attachment, 4. Combination of cadetship and university training? Percentages may not total precisely due to rounding off.

Table 12: Factors that contribute to making journalism an appealing career for Fiji, PNG journalists, 2001

Factors ¹	Fiji n=43	%	PNG n=63	%	Total n=106	%
1. Possibility to write	10	23%	15	24%	25	24%
2. Engage yourself for ideals and values	8	19%	10	16%	18	17%
3. Little routine	2	5%	1	2%	3	3%
4. Exposing abuses of power, corruption	16	37%	28	44%	44	42%
5. Varied and exciting work	19	44%	16	25%	35	33%
6. Communicating knowledge to the community	23	53%	46	73%	69	65%
7. Getting to know a variety of people	6	14%	7	11%	13	12%
8. Professional freedom of being able to decide tasks, topics	4	6%	10	16%	14	13%
9. Being one of the first people to know what is happening	11	26%	6	10%	17	16%
10. Seeing your name and work in print, or broadcast	0	0%	1	2%	1	1%
11. Working with interesting colleagues	0	0%	2	3%	2	2%
12. Influencing political decisions	11	26%	15	24%	26	25%
13. Working under deadline pressure	4	9%	8	13%	12	11
14. Good future prospects	3	7%	2	3%	5	5
15. Good earning prospects	1	2%	0	0%	1	1%
16. Prestige of journalism	8	19%	6	10%	14	13%

¹ Respondents were asked the question: *B20. Which of these factors do you find the most attractive about journalism? Multiple choices (three). Percentages calculated in each category.*

Attraction to journalism

One of the new questions in the 2001 survey was adapted from a category on “attraction to journalism” used in 1994 research with Latin American journalists in Chile, Ecuador and Mexico by Jurgen Wilke. In Wilke’s research, he found journalists in Mexico were “more likely to be attracted to journalism than those in Chile by possible political influence, although the direct influence on political decisions plays a lesser role in both countries”. He also found that journalists in Mexico were more “engaged” for values and ideals than in Chile. In the Pacific sample (Table 12), journalists (65 percent) were most likely to want to take up a media career for “communicating knowledge to the people”. This view was more significant in Papua New Guinea where almost three out of four journalists chose this among three nominated factors.

In Fiji, just over half the participating journalists chose this option. The next most likely reason to become a journalist was “exposing abuses of power and corruption” with 44 percent of PNG journalists choosing this factor, slightly ahead of Fiji (37 percent). Overall, 42 percent of the journalists wanted to tackle corruption. The third most popular choice (33 percent) was “varied and exciting work” with almost twice as many journalists (44 percent) in Fiji opting for this compared with just 25 percent in Papua New Guinea. With the fourth choice, “influencing political decisions”, journalists in Fiji (26 percent) and PNG (24 percent) were fairly evenly

matched. At the other end of the scale, journalists in Fiji (two percent) ranked “good earning prospects” and PNG journalists (one percent) ranked seeing their bylines in print very low.

Values and professionalism

On the experience of the first survey, respondents in 2001 were given a wider range of choices (Table 13) in the question dealing with how they perceived the role of the news media (12 options instead of six) as a more insightful comparison with the Romano and Schultz surveys. Also, there were multiple choices (three) asked for. In contrast with the earlier survey, about three out of every four respondents in both Fiji (74 percent) and Papua New Guinea (73 percent) regarded the media as the “watchdog of democracy”. This level of support was more than double for any other category, and much higher than in Romano’s Indonesia survey (50.8 percent). Although this question in the pilot survey had been based on the equivalent Romano question, for this survey it was expanded to draw on a question from Wilke. Fiji and Papua New Guinea were also evenly matched with about one-third support for both “nation builder” and “defender of the truth”. However, Papua New Guinean journalists showed a greater acceptance of a more active role for media in development reflected in their support for media as an “agent of empowerment” for citizens (30 percent, almost double that of Fiji and higher than Indonesia’s 21.5 percent), “educator” (52 percent), the people’s “voice’/mouthpiece” (30 percent), and “communicator of new ideas” (six percent). Journalists in Fiji were more likely to see the media as a “neutral, uninvolved reporter of the facts” (30 percent against PNG’s 25 percent). In both countries there was modest support for entertainment (12 percent for Fiji, eight percent for PNG), which was still significantly higher than in Indonesia (1.5 percent).

Table 13: How Fiji, PNG journalists view their professional media role, 2001

Perceived role ¹	Fiji n=43	%	PNG n=63	%	Total n=106	%
1. Watchdog of democracy	32	74%	46	73%	78	74%
2. Agent of empowerment	8	19%	19	30%	27	25%
3. Nation builder	15	35%	21	33%	36	34%
4. Defender of the truth	17	40%	22	35%	39	37%
5. Neutral, uninvolved reporter of facts	13	30%	16	25%	29	27%
6. An entertainer	5	12%	5	8%	10	9%
7. A critic of abuses	9	21%	4	6%	13	12%
8. An educator	18	42%	33	52%	51	48%
9. Communicator of new ideas	2	5%	4	6%	6	6%
10. The people's 'voice'/ mouthpiece	14	33%	19	30%	33	31%
11. Politicians using other means	0	0%	0	0	0	0%
12. No response	0	0%	1	2%	1	1%

¹ Respondents were asked the question: B22. How as a journalist do you see the media's role? Multiple choices (three) asked for. Percentages calculated in each category.

Asked whether the phrases “Fourth Estate” and/or “watchdog” applied to the media in Fiji and Papua New Guinea, 70 percent agreed in both countries. Papua New Guinean journalists were the most “uncertain” (11 percent) while almost a quarter of journalists in Fiji failed to answer the question. When asked about the phrase “development journalism”, a significantly larger group

(49 percent) in Papua New Guinea than in Fiji (37 percent) agreed. In qualitative responses, several Fiji journalists thought development journalism was related to the training and resourcing of journalists:

Developing skills of journalists (FM96).

Empowering journalists to fulfill their tasks competently through provision of training, resources and motivation, including remuneration that is fair (R).

When journalists are trained to be better at their jobs and particular skills are honed with the help of the media organisation (FTV).

Papua New Guinean journalists appeared to have a clearer grasp of the concept of development journalism:

Nation building — reporting on developments that take place. Informing people of important aspects of development in PNG (FM100).

To bring about development — social, political, economic improvements through reporting of issues (WP).

Using journalism as a tool in nation building. Reporting on new developments and its effects on the people and the society (NFM).

Bringing about positive changes for the good of ordinary citizens (N).

Development journalism is aggressive — creative (N).

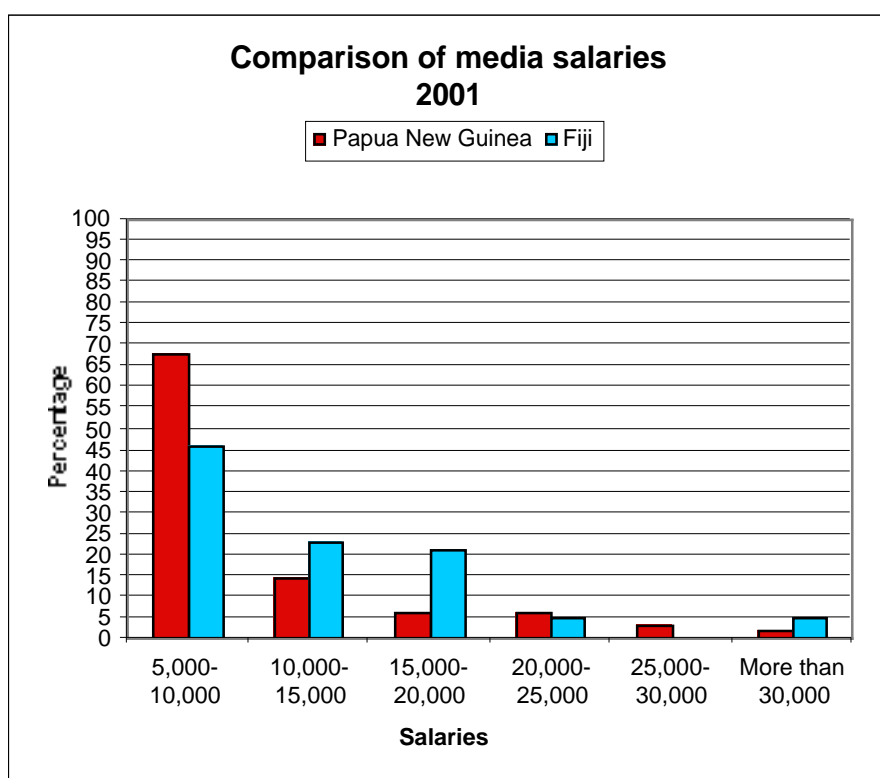
Wages and job satisfaction

One of the ironies indicated from the survey (Table 14; Graph 6) is that although Papua New Guinean journalists were generally better educated and with a higher mean experience, they were far more poorly paid than in Fiji. More than two-thirds of PNG journalists (68 percent) were in the lowest paid band of between K5,000 and K10,000.² Almost half of the Fiji journalists (47 percent) were in the lowest range. Significantly more Fiji journalists were also in the two next highest scales of \$10,000 to \$15,000 (23 percent) and \$15,000 to \$20,000 (21 percent). In both categories, PNG fared at 14 percent and six percent respectively. Fiji also had a slightly higher percentage (five percent) in the top band of more than \$30,000. Overall in both countries, almost four out of five journalists were being paid less than \$15,000, which is a starting salary for some professions such as secondary teaching and the law.³ Mean salaries in Fiji (\$13,000) were about \$2,000 a year higher than in Papua New Guinea (K11,000) with an overall mean in both countries of \$12,000.

Table 14: Fiji, PNG journalists' salary range, 2001

Dollar equivalent ¹	Fiji n=43	%	PNG n=63	%	Total n=106	%
\$5 000 - \$10 000	20	47%	43	68%	63	59%
\$10 000 - \$15 000	10	23%	9	14%	19	18%
\$15 000 - \$20 000	9	21%	4	6%	13	12%
\$20 000 - \$25 000	2	5%	4	6%	6	6%
\$25 000 - \$30 000	0	0%	2	3%	2	2%
More than \$30 000	2	5%	1	2%	3	3%
Mean salary	\$13,000		\$11,000		\$12,000	

¹ Respondents were asked the question: B31. What salary range are you paid per year? They gave answers based on Fiji dollar, or PNG kina bands. Percentages may not total exactly due to rounding off.

Graph 6: Comparison of Fiji, PNG media salaries, 2001

Salaries, wages and working conditions stirred many strong and bitter comments from respondents. One Fiji respondent argued reporters who had gone through journalism school should be paid more than those who did not with a starting salary in the newsroom.

Otherwise what is the point of spending three years in a journalism school when one can just go straight to a news organisation and still receive the same salary as a graduate? The graduate is more equipped [sic] and passionate about the job than a person straight out of high school. You don't need to be trained again in the newsroom (FTV).

Recalling his earlier hardships as a cadet, one Fiji news executive wrote:

Reporters work long hours for little pay. In fact, [starting] pay at *The Fiji Times* is still the same for cadet reporters as twelve years ago when I joined — \$5,500. No wonder staff turnover is so high in the industry. The enthusiasm evaporates very quickly because of the low pay and long hours (R).

In Papua New Guinea, one journalist respondent wrote:

One of the problems facing the profession is the salary/wage. I am of the view that journalists in Papua New Guinea are underpaid. It is frustrating to get paid lower than what is expected after you put in a lot of effort into your career. I personally have already decided to take up a job elsewhere. I want the media companies to improve the salaries of its reporters.

Another respondent, who had no formal journalism training:

Journos who come out with a diploma or degree from UPNG and DWU are really in for big bugs [sic] instead of working their way up from a cadetship. Others who are trained while on-the-job are often criticised by diploma and degree holders (WP).

Some general comments in Papua New Guinea where salaries were lowest included:

Journalists in the Pacific are badly paid. Salary and welfare conditions should be looked into.. Newspaper companies are focused on making money. They have no set guidelines for training journalists or financing projects like investigative reporting (PC).
Journalists in PNG are underpaid. Lifestyle and economic hardship force journalists to move away from the integrity of their profession (WP).

Freedom of the press

Journalists in both countries overwhelmingly (81 percent) supported the ideal of the media being a watchdog (Table 15) rather than 'just another business' (Schultz, 1994). The proportion was higher in Fiji where two-thirds of journalists supported the view than in Papua New Guinea (44 percent). More journalists in Papua New Guinea were not so sure, opting for "maybe" a watchdog. However, when the question centred on the "actual situation" in both countries, both Fiji and PNG journalists became more hesitant. While overall, 61 percent supported the notion of a watchdog, a third of this would only go so far as to say "maybe" and only 21 percent "strongly agreed". Significantly though, the balance swung in PNG's favour with more than twice as many journalists (27 percent) strongly agreeing that the PNG media was a watchdog than in Fiji (12 percent).

Table 15: The media as a watchdog or just another business in Fiji, PNG — as perceived by journalists, 2001

Watchdog — perceived ¹	Fiji n=43	%	PNG n=63	%	Total n=106	%
1. Strongly agree watchdog	28	65%	28	44%	56	53%
2. Agree watchdog	9	21%	21	33%	30	28%
3. Maybe watchdog	0	0%	6	10%	6	6%
4. Neither	0	0%	3	5%	3	3%
5. Maybe another business	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
6. Just another business	2	5%	1	2%	3	3%
7. Strongly agree just another business	1	2%	0	0%	1	1%
8. No response	3	7%	4	6%	7	7%

¹ Respondents were asked the question: C33 Do you favour the media as a watchdog, or should it be thought of as just another business? Percentages may not total precisely due to rounding off.

Investigative journalism

More than four out of five surveyed journalists in Fiji and Papua New Guinea (86 percent) regard investigative journalism as a “very important” measure of the media’s commitment to its watchdog role (Table 16). This view was a little stronger in Papua New Guinea (89 percent) than in Fiji (81 percent). A further eight percent of journalists overall considered investigative

Table 16: How important investigative journalism is seen as a commitment to its watchdog role in Fiji, PNG, 2001

Investigative journalism ¹	Fiji n=43	%	PNG n=63	%	Total n=106	%
1. Very important	35	81%	56	89%	91	86%
2. Important	5	12%	3	5%	8	8%
3. Maybe important	0	0%	0	0%	0	0
4. Uncertain	0	0%	0	0%	0	0
5. Maybe unimportant	0	0%	2	3%	2	2%
6. Unimportant	0	0%	0	0%	0	0
7. Very unimportant	0	0%	0	0%	0	0
8. No response	3	7%	2	3%	5	5%

¹ Respondents were asked the question: C36. How important is investigative journalism as a measure of the media’s commitment to its watchdog role? Percentages may not total precisely due to rounding off.

journalism important. But when it came to how much news organisations encouraged journalists to actually do investigative journalism, little more than half of the journalists (58 percent) agreed that this was actually happening. More Fiji journalists (70 percent) thought they were being encouraged than in Papua New Guinea (49 percent). However, 19 percent overall said no and a fifth of the journalists were uncertain. When asked how encouragement was actually given, some 37 percent could not think of a reason. Twice as many from Papua New Guinea (46 percent) than in Fiji (23 percent) did not respond.

The most common example of encouragement was freeing up staff (18 percent) from other duties to carry out investigative journalism. Significantly more Fiji journalists (23 percent) thought this than in PNG (14 percent). The second factor was the ethos of the organisation (15 percent overall) and this was evenly supported in both countries. Fourteen percent overall considered they were being given support from experienced editors. Only eight percent thought they were provided with economic and staff support.

The major problems for investigative journalism were seen as insufficient resources (29 percent) such as lack of staff, money and time. These problems were regarded more seriously in Papua New Guinea (35 percent) than in Fiji (21 percent). Concern about commercial pressures (11 percent overall) was also important. This factor was seen as twice as serious (16 percent) in Fiji as in Papua New Guinea (eight percent). Not being the ethos of the news organisation was regarded as the least concern (two- percent). However, there was a remarkably high non response from 45 percent of the surveyed journalists.

Almost two-thirds of the journalists (61 percent) considered culture to be a very important or important obstacle to the investigative role of the media. More Papua New Guinean journalists (33 percent) thought culture was a very important obstacle than in Fiji (26 percent). However, more than double the number of Fiji journalists (46 percent) than in PNG (21 percent) regarded it as important. Also, more journalists in Fiji (12 percent) considered it unimportant than in Papua New Guinea (nine percent).

Among qualitative comments, several Fiji journalists said “Pacific culture has too many norms and taboos” (DP) or Fijian journalists were “bound by traditions, especially when they are interviewing authority figures” (FTV). Among other comments:

There are things male reporters can do and be accepted, but not female reporters (DP).

Fear of offending and being accused of not knowing (R).

The “vanua” and “kai” situation in Fiji limits the reporter’s ability to be more critical and unbiased (DP).

Relationships make reporters hesitant to interview high-ranking chiefs of their province (FTV).

The chiefly system has to be respected. Society doesn’t accept media questioning of the leader/chief: Example: when camera shots are taken of former President Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara. The cameraman cannot stand and film. He must be kneeling down to take the shots. If the cameraman is standing in front of him, it means disrespect (FTV).

Cultural ostracism is something journalists are wary of. criticism of the Fiji President, Ratu Josefa Iloilo, is seen as an insult by western division Fijians as he is their paramount chief (R).

But for more than one Fiji journalist, the issue was one of “working around” the cultural barrier:

It really depends on how a journalist tackles this issue. If one allows culture or the excuse of culture to rule them, then they are bound to face obstacles. Working around it is a different story. At the end of the day one has to get the facts of the story — culture or no culture (FTV).

In Papua New Guinea, even though culture was said to be less of a problem than in Fiji qualitative comments showed that the “wantok” and “bikpela” systems⁴ and tribalism could still influence a reporter. Some views:

Wantok/nepotism is the one obstacle (NFM).

[Our] place of origin (village, province, ethnic group) plays an important factor in gaining trust (NFM).

Unable to report the wrongdoings of relatives or wantoks for fear of losing his birthright (WP).

It depends on the issue, but the wantok system stops one from investigating another (N).

Cultural practices of a journalist’s origin influence his or her perceptions (WP).

There’s a “code of silence”. You ask questions to a certain point — beyond that is taboo (PC).

Responses over religion as an obstacle for investigative journalism were more evenly spread. The largest group, almost a third overall was uncertain. A further third thought it was important or maybe important while 23 percent thought it was unimportant. Religion seemed to be less of a problem in Papua New Guinea where 27 percent thought it unimportant while a further 35 percent were uncertain. However, in Fiji 21 percent thought it was important and the same again were unsure. Among qualitative comments:

In Fiji, religion plays an important role in society. Given [that] the church leaders are getting themselves into politics, their influence has spread. In Fijian traditional set-ups whatever the church pastor says is taken to be true, thus the [clergy’s] power and influence is strong (P).

Some conservative Christian reporters, when reporting on religious events or political agitation by religious groups [self-censor]. For example, the reporter referring to a pastor as a “man of God” rather than simply using the person’s name (FM96).

The poor style with the Methodist Church is never reported, let alone the sexual prowess of some clergy (DP).

Conclusion

Marked differences were found in the profiles of Fiji and Papua New Guinea journalists, especially in education and professional formation, salaries and in the professional attitudes. In general, Papua New Guinean journalists were better educated, older, more experienced, but more poorly paid. While there were similarities in the core values of journalism between the two countries, Papua New Guinea journalists appeared to have more sophisticated values in their relationship and role within the community, which is likely to be attributed to tertiary education. While “typical” profiles drawn on survey data averages are a common technique, some researchers, notably Murray Goot, seriously question this approach. In an *Australian Journalism Review* article, Goot challenged what he described as “The identikit fallacy” (2001: pp. 121-122). However, with the smaller baseline groups of surveyed Fiji and PNG journalists, I believe this technique can still be useful. Interpreting this data would suggest the following profiles:

Fiji profile: The “typical” Fiji journalist is more likely to be male (very marginally), single, under the age of twenty five, with less than four years experience, a native Fijian speaker but working for English-language media and a school leaver with no formal training or higher education. He probably believes that a combination of a media cadetship and university education is the best way to be trained as a journalist, although unlikely to have had the opportunity to do so. He probably entered journalism keen to communicate knowledge to the community, attracted to varied and exciting work or expecting to expose abuses of power and corruption (order of preference). The Fiji journalist is more likely to be satisfied with his journalism career, expects to maybe still in journalism in five years, or perhaps go into public relations. He believes his professional role primarily to be a watchdog on democracy, but also to be an educator and “defender of the truth” (order of preference). He believes that free expression is about freedom for the media rather than the public. He believes the Fiji media perform a watchdog on democracy role, but is uncertain about what development journalism means. While he probably strongly supports the notion of investigative journalism as a measure of commitment to being a watchdog on democracy, he is likely to regard culture and religion as major obstacles. Also, he thinks the public has a satisfactory perception of journalists and is probably paid about F\$13,000 a year.

Papua New Guinea profile: A “typical” Papua New Guinea journalist is more likely to be female (very marginally), single, under the age of twenty nine, with about five years experience, a Tok Pisin speaker but working on English-language media and to have a university diploma or degree in journalism from either the University of Papua New Guinea or Divine Word University. She believes that journalists should receive a university education with a media organisation attachment. She probably entered journalism to communicate knowledge to the community, expose abuses of power and corruption, and varied and exciting work (order of preference). The Papua New Guinea journalist may be unsatisfied or uncertain with her media career, but expects to stay in journalism in five years’ time. She may go into public relations, but is less likely to do so than in Fiji. She probably believes her professional role is to be the watchdog of democracy, an educator and defender of the truth (order of preference). While she believes that free expression is important for the media, she is more likely to also recognise the importance for the public. Although she probably more strongly believes in the watchdog role of media than in Fiji, she also has an understanding of the role of development journalism and considers that it has relevance to Papua New Guinea. She is strongly committed to the notion of investigative journalism as a measure of media commitment to being a watchdog on democracy, but is less likely to see culture and religion as obstacles than in Fiji. Also, she thinks the public has a very good or good perception of journalists, and she is probably earning about K11,000 a year, or about half of what a Fiji journalist earns in real terms when currencies are compared.

It was in the area of educational qualifications and training that significant statistical differences between the two countries were reflected. Papua New Guinean journalists were found to be more highly qualified than their Fiji counterparts. Between 1998-99 and 2001, the proportion of PNG journalists had climbed from 73 percent in the early survey to 81 percent, almost threefold higher than in Fiji. However, in the same three-year period the number of Fiji journalists with a degree or diploma rose by more than a third from 14 percent to 26 percent. This reflected the growing number of graduate journalists entering the workplace from the University of the South Pacific. Conversely, the proportion of journalists without basic training or qualifications climbed slightly in both countries to almost half of all journalists in Fiji (49 percent) and 14 percent in Papua New Guinea. However, almost one in four Fiji journalists of the

survey respondents indicated they had done professional and industry short courses run by regional or donor organisations. Papua New Guinea was less reliant on donor organisations because the country's media organisations were more integrated with the university journalism schools.

One of the ironies of the newsroom survey is that although Papua New Guinean journalists were generally better educated and with a higher mean experience, they were far more poorly paid than in Fiji. Papua New Guinean journalists have a mean salary of K11,000 a year. Although the Fijian mean salary is F\$13,000 a year, the PNG journalist would be paid about half of what a Fiji journalist earns in real terms when their salaries are compared. More than two-thirds of PNG journalists (68 per cent) were in the lowest paid bracket of between \$5,000 and \$10,000. Almost half of the Fiji journalists (47 percent) were in the lowest range. It is uncertain to what extent non-participation by *The Fiji Times* journalists could have distorted the findings in this category, but probably not by much. The company is the largest employer of journalists in the country and anecdotal evidence in the pilot survey and in the qualitative interviews points to a large proportion of lowly paid staff. It was also the most consistently criticised newspaper in interviews over its recruitment policies. Also, at the time of completing this book it was understood that the company had employed no graduate journalists with journalism qualifications.

While many of the demographic and professional values such as support for the “watchdog” ideal were comparable between the two countries, Papua New Guinean journalists often exhibited more positive views on the capacity of the media for “nation-building” and as an educator “empowering” citizens than in Fiji. For example, while almost twice as many journalists in Fiji than in PNG were attracted to the “prestige” of a media career, almost three out of every four PNG journalists regarded “communicating knowledge to the community” as a crucial factor in taking up a media career.

Papua New Guinean journalists were also more likely to choose “exposing abuses of power and corruption” as a reason to embark on a journalism career. More Papua New Guinean journalists regarded investigative journalism (89 percent) as a measure of the media's commitment to its watchdog role, but saw culture and religion as less of an obstacle than in Fiji. Nevertheless qualitative comments showed that the “wantok” and “bikpela” systems and tribalism could still influence a PNG reporter. As one journalist explained, “There's a ‘code of silence’: You ask questions to a certain point — beyond that is taboo.” Cultural relationships make reporters hesitant to interview high-ranking chiefs of their province in Fiji. The chiefly system needs to be respected. Society is reluctant to accept media questioning of the chief, whereas more vigorous questioning of leaders in Papua New Guinea (who are not hereditary) is acceptable.

The issues of pay and cultural factors pose serious questions about the impact that this may have on the autonomy of journalists and the Fourth Estate role of news media in a South Pacific democracy. Reasons for the differences between the two countries as found in the newsroom surveys are explored in depth in the concluding chapter of my book, *Mekim Nius* (2004) and further research into the cultural and income issues would be very fruitful.

Notes

¹ At the time of the 1998/9 survey, Pacnews was based in Port Vila, Vanuatu. However, the regional news service moved back to Suva during 1999 and as most of the staff is Fiji journalists, it was included in the second survey.

² Respondents gave the answers based on Fiji dollar, or PNG kina bands. The salaries have not been converted into a common scale. Thus PNG salaries, when compared with Fiji, are even lower when considering the currency exchange rate. The exchange rate at 7 February 2003 was 1FID = 1,95 PGK. Universal Currency Converter, 26 April 2003. www.xe.com/ucc/convert.cgi:

³ According to Yaya (2002), a starting salary for Fiji teachers (primary graduates) was \$11,000 a year, while secondary teachers with degree qualifications and teacher training earned \$16,618, or \$14,988 (without training). The starting salary for bank tellers was \$12,000, while graduate nurses were paid \$10,900. Yaya's survey also showed that 'cadet' reporters at *The Fiji Times* were paid \$4,800 a year on three months' probation, then \$5,600.

⁴ Wantok', literally Tok Pisin for 'one talk', or one language. This refers to kinship and loyalty to fellow clan members. 'Bikpela' (bigmen), usually chiefs or leaders, were often protected and encouraged by the Australian colonial authorities and later became very powerful or wealthy. See Bernard Narokobi *The Melanesian Way* (1980), pp 13-14.

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