

UNDER THE GAZE
A study of the portrayal by the New Zealand print
media of Pacific Island workers in the Recognised
Seasonal Employer (RSE) scheme, 2007-2012

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requirements for the degree of

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my loving mother, the late ROSA MALIA ENOKA (nee FIDOW) 25 August 1934 – 27 April 1999 who first sparked my interest in communication and for her invaluable prayers and nurturing that unlocked many doors for me to go forth and communicate.

This thesis has coincided with the untimely death of my beloved brother JOSEPH AUGUSTINE TINO ENOKA 14 February 1972 – 24 July 2015. He was the most diligent, hardworking, gentle, loving elder brother. I miss you every day.

Abstract

Media reporting on Pacific people in New Zealand has frequently been criticised for being sensationalised, biased and narrow. Yet, there have been few broad and systematic analyses of the nature of reporting specifically concerning Pacific Island seasonal workers in New Zealand. My thesis explores how the New Zealand print media portrayed Pacific Island seasonal workers travelling under the Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) scheme from 2007 to 2012. That period represented the first five years of the scheme and a time when it was in the news by virtue of its novelty in New Zealand, thereby providing a rich vein of media representations to study. My research focusses on the media themes occurring in the communities where RSE workers were living, while they were living there, so as to understand the discourse circulating in their immediate community. This provides understanding of the philosophical and cultural assumptions that underpin mainstream regional media reporting in New Zealand with regards to the particular representation of Pacific RSE workers, and how this compares with representations of Pacific people as a whole.

Although the goal of my thesis is to trace the nature of the portrayal of Pacific Island workers under the RSE scheme, I have contextualised this with a review of the depiction of Pacific people dating back to their arrival in the 1950s and '60s. I look at how Pacific people were racialised in the early 1970s and compare that with coverage of the influx of Pacific Island seasonal workers in 2007, exploring underlying assumptions prevalent in the 1970s that Pacific Island workers were disruptive to New Zealand, such as by taking employment from New Zealanders or posing a threat to health, law or order.

A sample of 115 articles drawn from the five regional newspapers - *Bay of Plenty Times*, *Hawkes Bay Today*, *Nelson Mail*, *Marlborough Express* and *The Southland Times* – was chosen for media analysis. Additionally, five selected case studies extracted from the *NZ Herald*, a metropolitan newspaper, for each calendar year from 2007-2012, were explored and compared to the regional sample, to help identify themes about Pacific seasonal workers that were portrayed in the wider New Zealand news media but missing from the regional coverage. I analysed the articles using interpretive thematic analysis. In this method, I looked at newspaper coverage in depth to make sense of the patterns of meaning. I identified themes used by print media to portray Island workers in regions that constitute a high number of Pacific seasonal workers during the scheme's first five years of operation in New Zealand, and mapped these over time to investigate whether there was a shift in the discourse of stories as the scheme matured.

With 115 articles assessed from 2007 to 2012, concentrating on November to March in each season when most RSE workers are in New Zealand, key themes were identified. Media analysis showed the reportage had extensive positive coverage of the scheme's policy aims in New Zealand, with government, agency officials and industry spokespeople the most frequently cited news sources. Nine key themes; Labour shortage, RSE policy, New Zealanders first, Pastoral care, Economic benefits, New

Zealand unemployment, RSE cap, RSE praises and RSE issues were represented in regional coverage across regions and time periods.

The overall portrayals of Pacific Island seasonal workers under the scheme represented a more positive light in comparison to what we know broadly about historical depictions of Pacific peoples in the New Zealand media. The patterns and trends in media reporting in the studied RSE regions uncovered a more affirmative portrayal overall, but also indicated that local media perceptions shifted in particular regions as time passed. The characterisation of Pacific RSE workers by the New Zealand print media in the first five years of the scheme carried fewer stigmatising discourses than in the 1970s. However, examined critically, these seeming positive discourses can be understood as positive to those promoting capitalism and seeking cheap labour, but as positioning Pacific temporary workers as dehumanised commodities in ways that may contribute to undermining their human rights and long-term best interests. These discourses and patterns are important to understand. They fill a gap that exists in the examination of how Pacific people working in temporary labour positions have been represented by the New Zealand print media.

The findings provide RSE Pacific countries with insights into the issues, challenges and successes depicted by the media about their workers, as well as alerting the New Zealand public more broadly to patterns in the way the scheme has been reported to them, and to broader patterns of racialised and economic discourse.

The RSE scheme was launched in April 2007 with a cap of 5,000 workers under the then Labour Government led by Helen Clark, but the cap was lifted to 8,000 in October 2008 and was lifted again in November 2014 from 8,000 to 9,000, and then again from 9,000 to 9,500 in December 2015 and 10,500 in December 2016. It lifted again in December 2017 to 11,100 and the latest increase was in November 2018 to 12,850. The workers are mostly sourced from the Pacific Islands. They contribute substantially to New Zealand's economy but do not accrue any rights to citizenship in New Zealand as a result of participating in the scheme.

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*Ua fa'afetai, Ua fa'afetai,
Ua malie mata e vaai.
Ua tasi lava oe, Ua tasi lava oe,
I lo'u nei faamoemoe.*

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Table of Contents

Copyright.....	i
Dedication.....	ii
Abstract.....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	v
List of Tables.....	xiii
List of Figures.....	xiv
Abbreviations and Acronyms.....	xv
PART 1: CONTEXT SETTING.....	1
CHAPTER 1: Scope of the Research.....	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Media Analysis.....	4
1.3 The Sample: Newspapers.....	7
1.4 Background to the Recognised Seasonal Employer Policy.....	9
1.5 The Research Questions.....	13
1.6 Context for the Research Questions.....	14
1.7 Methodology.....	16
1.8 My Cultural Lens.....	17
1.9 Thesis contribution.....	20
1.10 Preview of Chapters.....	22
PART 2: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE.....	23
CHAPTER 2: Pacific migration and the Recognised Seasonal Employer scheme.....	23
2.1 Introduction.....	23
2.2 Pacific migration to New Zealand.....	24
2.3 Pacific diasporas in New Zealand.....	26
2.3.1 Adaptation and assimilation.....	26
2.3.2 Discrimination, racism and scapegoats in New Zealand.....	29
2.3.3 The overstayer crisis.....	32
2.4 Pacific People in the New Zealand workforce.....	33
2.4.1 New Zealand labour immigration policy.....	33
2.4.2 Seasonal work.....	35
2.5 The Recognised Seasonal Employer scheme.....	37
2.5.1 Launch and aims of the RSE.....	37
2.5.2 RSE outcomes.....	40
2.6 Chapter summary.....	46
CHAPTER 3: The media: A literature review on media structures and influence.....	48
3.1 Introduction.....	48
3.2 The media: what is it and what does it do?.....	48
3.2.1 How the media influences the public.....	50
3.3 The media: influencing immigration, multiculturalism and racism.....	53
3.3.1 Media portrayal of immigration.....	53
3.3.2 Media portrayal of Pacific peoples.....	55
3.3.3 We're all New Zealanders: Racism in the news media.....	58
3.4 Chapter summary.....	60
PART 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY.....	62
CHAPTER 4: Research Methodology.....	62
4.1 Introduction.....	62
4.2 Research Design elements.....	62
4.2.1 Epistemology: Social Constructionism.....	64
4.2.2 Theoretical Perspective: Interpretivism.....	66
4.2.3 Methodology: Critical Discourse Analysis.....	67
4.2.4 Method: Thematic Analysis.....	68

4.3 Insider-Outsider Research.....	71
4.4 Choice of Research Methods: Paths not taken.....	76
4.4.1 Content Analysis.....	77
4.4.2 Frame Analysis.....	78
4.4.3 Computer Assisted Discourse Analysis.....	78
4.5 Data Collection.....	79
4.5.1 Selection of the Media and Sample.....	80
4.5.2 Selecting the Dates.....	82
4.5.3 Choosing Relevant Case Studies.....	83
4.6 System for Data Collection.....	85
4.7 Issues with the Data.....	86
4.8 Coding and Theme Categories.....	88
4.8.1 Themes.....	93
4.8.2 Data Analysis.....	95
4.9 Validation.....	95
4.10 Chapter summary.....	96
PART 4: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION.....	97
CHAPTER 5: Aggregation: Collating the Key Themes from Newspaper Analysis 2007 – 2012.....	97
5.1 Introduction.....	97
5.2 Print Media Analysis Results.....	97
5.3 Number of RSE-related articles.....	98
5.4 Key Themes by Time Period and Region.....	101
5.5 Source citations.....	112
5.6 Case Analysis.....	115
5.7 Chapter summary.....	117
CHAPTER 6: Discussion.....	119
6.1 Introduction.....	119
6.2 Themes of Representation.....	119
6.2.1 Theme 1: Labour shortage.....	120
The theme over time.....	120
The theme in different newspapers.....	123
The theme and media coverage: Pacific migrant workers.....	127
The theme and media coverage: migrant workers in other countries.....	130
Summary.....	133
6.2.2 Theme 2: RSE policy.....	134
The theme over time.....	135
The RSE Policy theme in different newspapers.....	136
The theme and media coverage: Pacific migrant workers.....	138
The theme and media coverage: migrant workers in other countries.....	139
Summary.....	141
6.2.3 Theme 3: New Zealanders First.....	142
The theme over time.....	143
The theme in different newspapers.....	146
The theme and historical media coverage: Pacific migrant workers.....	147
The theme and media coverage: migrant workers in other countries.....	148
Summary.....	150
6.2.4 Theme 4: RSE praise.....	151
The theme over time.....	151
The theme in different newspapers.....	153
The theme and media coverage: Pacific migrant workers.....	155
The theme and media coverage: migrant workers in other countries.....	155
Summary.....	157
6.2.5 Theme 5: Pastoral care.....	158
The theme over time.....	158

The theme in different newspapers	161
The theme and media coverage: Pacific migrant workers	163
The theme and media coverage: migrant workers in other countries.....	163
Summary	165
6.2.6 Theme 6: Economic benefits.....	165
The theme over time	166
The theme in different newspapers	168
The theme and media coverage: Pacific migrant workers	169
The theme and media coverage: migrant workers in other countries.....	170
Summary	172
6.2.7 Theme 7: New Zealand unemployment	173
The theme over time	174
The theme in different newspapers	175
The theme and media coverage: Pacific migrant workers	177
The theme and media coverage: migrant workers in other countries.....	177
Summary	178
6.2.8 Theme 8: RSE cap.....	179
The theme over time	179
The theme in different newspapers	182
The theme and media coverage: Pacific migrant workers	184
The theme and media coverage: migrant workers in other countries.....	185
Summary	186
6.2.9 Theme 9: RSE incidents.....	187
The theme over time	188
The theme in different newspapers	189
The theme and media coverage: Pacific migrant workers	191
The theme and media coverage: migrant workers in other countries.....	192
Summary	194
6.3 Case Analysis.....	195
6.3.1 CASE STUDY 1: Lured by broken promise.....	197
Discussion	199
6.3.2 CASE STUDY 2: Baby born on the plane.....	200
Discussion	202
6.3.3 CASE STUDY 3: Jobless Kiwis reap seasonal work	203
Discussion	204
6.3.4 CASE STUDY 4: RSE scheme a triple win.....	205
Discussion	206
6.3.5 CASE STUDY 5: Human trafficking and RSE	207
Discussion	208
6.4 Summary of Findings.....	210
6.5 Concluding comments.....	212
PART 5: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	215
CHAPTER 7: Conclusions and Recommendations	215
7.1 Introduction.....	215
7.2 Limitations	220
7.3 Contributions.....	221
7.4 Recommendations.....	222
7.5 Implications.....	224
7.6 Future research direction.....	225
7.7 Conclusion	226
References	228
Appendix One: Seasonal View of Data Sampling	251
Appendix Two: Summary description of key themes and sub-themes clustered to form each theme	254
Appendix Three: Number of articles published per newspaper per season	261

Appendix Four: List of Sampled Newspaper Articles, 2007 – 2012.....	263
Appendix Five: Case Study Article 1 - Lured by broken promise	267
Appendix Six: Case Study Article 2 - Woman who gave birth on plane likely to be charged.....	272
Appendix Seven: Case Study Article 3 - Jobless Kiwis reap seasonal work	273
Appendix Eight: Case Study Article 4 - Seasonal migrant plan proves a triple winner	275
Appendix Nine: Case Study Article 5 - US concern over Pacific Island workers	277

List of Tables

	<i>Page No.</i>
<i>Table 2.1</i>	RSE workers numbers by Financial Year 41
<i>Table 2.2</i>	RSE Worker arrivals by Financial Year (July to June) 42
<i>Table 2.3</i>	RSE Overstay Rates by Financial Year` 45
<i>Table 4.1</i>	Average Circulation of the Selected New Zealand Newspapers from calendar years 2007 – 2012 80
<i>Table 4.2</i>	Newspapers included in the search by number of articles 82
<i>Table 4.3</i>	Most frequent themes by Region and Time Period from November 1, 2007- March 31, 2012 92
<i>Table 4.4</i>	Number of Source Citations Used in the Study 92
<i>Table 5.1</i>	Distribution of Articles and Volume by Newspapers 1 November 2007– 31 March 2012 99
<i>Table 5.2</i>	Themes and sub-themes in the print media coverage from 2007 – 2012 101
<i>Table 5.3</i>	Themes by newspaper in the 2007-2008 season 104
<i>Table 5.4</i>	Themes by newspaper in the 2008-2009 season 106
<i>Table 5.5</i>	Themes by newspaper in the 2009-2010 season 107
<i>Table 5.6</i>	Themes by newspaper in the 2010-2011 season 109
<i>Table 5.7</i>	Themes by newspaper in the 2011-2012 season 110
<i>Table 5.8</i>	Source Citations and frequency of occurrence in each newspaper from 2007–2012 112
<i>Table 5.9</i>	Total number of source citations per newspaper 2007-2012 114
<i>Table 5.10</i>	Case Studies illustrating the Key Themes in National Media for calendar year 2007–2012 116

List of Figures

		<i>Page No.</i>
<i>Figure 4.1</i>	Research terms and relationship framework proposed by Crotty	63
<i>Figure 4.2</i>	Research position based on Crotty four different levels of research Progression	64
<i>Figure 5.1</i>	Geographical location of the studied newspapers produced by the targeted five regions of the New Zealand RSE scheme	98
<i>Figure 5.2</i>	Number of articles per newspaper per season	100
<i>Figure 5.3</i>	Total number of articles published per newspaper from 2007 to 2012	101
<i>Figure 5.4</i>	Overall themes of representation by newspaper in the 2007-2012 seasons	104
<i>Figure 5.5</i>	Theme occurrence per newspaper - season 2007 – 2008	105
<i>Figure 5.6</i>	Theme occurrence per newspaper - season 2008 – 2009	107
<i>Figure 5.7</i>	Theme occurrence per newspaper - season 2009 – 2010	108
<i>Figure 5.8</i>	Theme occurrence per newspaper - season 2010 – 2011	119
<i>Figure 5.9</i>	Theme occurrence per newspaper - season 2011 – 2012	111
<i>Figure 5.10</i>	Source citations in each newspaper from 2007-2012	113
<i>Figure 5.11</i>	Overall propositions of voice in each newspaper coverage from 2007-2012	114
<i>Figure 6.1</i>	New Zealand annual unemployment figure (2007 – 2012)	123
<i>Figure 6.2</i>	New Zealand unemployment (per cent of employable population)	147

Abbreviations and Acronyms

<i>ATR</i>	Approval to Recruit
<i>CADA</i>	Computer Assisted Discourse Analysis
<i>DoL</i>	Department of Labour
<i>FOB</i>	Fresh off the Boat
<i>IAU</i>	Inter-Agency Understanding
<i>ILO</i>	International Labour Organisation
<i>NZAID</i>	New Zealand Agency for International Development
<i>MBIE</i>	Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment
<i>MSD</i>	Ministry of Social Development
<i>NZ</i>	New Zealand
<i>OECD</i>	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
<i>PSWPS</i>	Pacific Seasonal Worker Pilot Scheme
<i>PAC</i>	Pacific Access Category
<i>RSE</i>	Recognised Seasonal Employer
<i>SAWP</i>	Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program
<i>SQ</i>	Samoa Quota
<i>VoC</i>	Variation of Condition

PART 1: CONTEXT SETTING

“In Samoan culture there are three perspectives. The perspective of the person at the top of the mountain, the perspective of the person at the top of the tree, and the perspective of the person in the canoe who is close to the school of fish. In any big problem, the three perspectives are equally necessary. The person fishing in the canoe may not have the long view of the person on the mountain or the person at the top of the tree, but they are closer to the school of fish.”

- Samoa’s former Head of State
His Highness Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Efi

CHAPTER 1: Scope of the Research

1.1 Introduction

“Leeches”. “Criminals”. “Overstayers”. “Dole Bludgers”. “Unhealthy”. These are just a few of the negative stereotypes that have been applied to Pacific people in the New Zealand media. The labels ascribed to Pacific people are not only false, unkind and demeaning; they are also negatively influencing a range of New Zealanders, leading people to believe what they read. In July 2012, the *Nelson Mail* newspaper published an article following concerns in the South Island community of Motueka (Murdoch, 2012) about large groups of Pacific Island workers congregating in the town’s retail area. The community said that they felt unsafe; they feared criminal activity and malicious intent by these dark-skinned island workers. After “discussion between retailers, the Department of Labour, the police and orchardists”, the Island workers were “encouraged not to gather in the region’s streets to socialise or shop” (Murdoch, 2012, para. 2). This was despite the fact that the region’s horticulture industry, and by extension the same retail area the workers were ‘discouraged’ from using, relies upon these same workers for its survival.

My interpretation of the article suggests Pacific people stick out and are more visible as a group. It is unfortunate, because if a group of European back packers stood near a bank or congregated in a town centre, I do not think anyone would notice. Whether it is cultural misunderstanding, intolerance, or racism, these Island workers were denied their human right to use the town streets, shop as a group or socialise in ways the rest of the town population takes for granted. Ross (1994) argued of seasonal workers that “the apparent physical and cultural differences of these small communities were highly visible in the confined locations in which they tended to congregate, and as a result they were immediately identified as being separate from other ‘New Zealanders’, as ‘alien’, as being of a different race” (p. 15). What motivated my research was to understand how widespread these kinds of othering representations were in communities new to the RSE scheme, what sorts of aspects of RSE were being selected by the media for coverage, how they report on it, and to build a more thorough picture of the kinds of representations RSE workers were facing in their own communities. Underlying this

investigation of representation is my question as to whether this has the potential to incite racial debate. Nairn et al. (2006) pointed out that racism adversely affects the wellbeing of migrants, ethnic minorities and Indigenous peoples, impacting both their physical and psychological health. Further, they noted that “numerous studies have shown that media contribute” to this negative impact, by “marginalizing particular ethnic and cultural groups (and) depicting them primarily as problems for and threats to the dominant” (Nairn et al., 2006, p. 1).

My thesis looks at the media portrayal of Pacific Island seasonal workers travelling to New Zealand under the Recognised Seasonal Employer scheme - known widely as the RSE. It provides an examination of the first five years’ (2007-2012) operation of New Zealand’s RSE policy from a regional print media perspective. These workers have migrated to New Zealand every year since 2007 to pick, prune, and harvest fruits and do other hot gruelling work in the horticulture and viticulture industries to meet New Zealand labour demands, a kind of work that is physically demanding and not very appealing to many New Zealanders.

This thesis undertakes a discourse analysis of media portrayals of Pacific Island workers using print news reports. The primary method is textual analysis using news texts produced by the five regions that have utilised the largest numbers of workers under the New Zealand RSE scheme (Spoonley & Bedford, 2008). The five regions are Hawke’s Bay and the Bay of Plenty in the northern part of New Zealand, the Nelson and Marlborough regions at the top of the South Island, and Central Otago in the southern part of New Zealand’s South Island. The newspapers are: *Bay of Plenty Times*, *Hawkes Bay Today*, *Nelson Mail*, *Marlborough Express* and *The Southland Times*. My thesis undertakes a comparative analysis of newspaper coverage to better understand the depiction of seasonal workers in those regions during the months when the workers were living in those communities.

My research interest derived from my Pacific lens to find out the nature and content of media discourses in the regions while Pacific Island workers were living there. I investigate the attributes of the discourse in detail, but for reasons of scope this necessarily precludes also investigating why are the discourses are like that and how they were received. The latter would have required reception studies and production studies, both of which were outside the scope of this thesis. My research provides the important foundation of first establishing the nature of the discourses – their content – because of my interest as a Pacific researcher in understanding what was happening in the community discourse while a particular group of Pacific people were living there. I point in my conclusions to a number of future research agendas that my findings have established the groundwork for, including interviews with workers themselves, investigations of information subsidies, and critical analysis of newsroom diversity and training.

In examining the portrayal of Pacific Island seasonal workers by the New Zealand print media between November and March in the years 2007 to 2012, I looked at that portrayal for evidence of discourses of racism and stereotypes from a white-dominant perspective. Loto (2007) argues that often New Zealand media portrayals are constructed around *palagi*¹ mainstream ideas and it is important to consider the relevance of research into media representations of minority groups. My interest, then, is in power – specifically in how ideologies as “shared social representations that have specific social functions for groups” (van Dijk, 1998, p. 192) withhold power from some groups and accrue it to others. Although there are many different theoretical viewpoints from which to examine power, and I have been influenced by and drawn on a number of approaches, my thesis perhaps best aligns with the critical discourse framework of news media power analysis developed by Teun A van Dijk, a scholar in the fields of text linguistics and discourse analysis. In 1990, van Dijk argued that in order to understand the role of the news media and their messages in contributing to societal discourses, “one needs to pay detailed attention to the structures and strategies of such discourses” (p. 17). While van Dijk points out that production and consumption of such discourses are also an important part of the overall landscape of ideological reproduction, he specifically endorses examining “the micro level” of discursive activity, “the level where ideological production and reproduction is actually being achieved by social actors in social situations,” (van Dijk, 1998, p. 192) such as by the news media in news texts. He argues that, “against the background of the classical approach to ideology, such a micro-level study of interaction and discourse is especially relevant” (van Dijk, 1998, p. 192).

Following a review of studies that assessed the broader landscape of representation of Pacific people in New Zealand, this thesis looks for connections or otherwise between this wider ideological context, and the ways Pacific RSE workers are portrayed. For example, take the comment made by a senior New Zealand politician in 2008 that Pacific Island workers needed guidance using toilets, showers and washing machines, and that employers prefer the “smaller hands” of Asians for grape pruning (“Senior NZ politician accused of racism,” 2008). Although the politician regretted the comments and argued that the newspaper had taken his words out of context, it caused public outrage. To me, as a Pacific person living in New Zealand, the debate brought with it strong allusions to the sorts of comments and climate of pervasive racialised discourse that accompanied the 1970s dawn raids.

The media portrayal of Pacific peoples as trouble makers, mainly identified as unmotivated, unhealthy, uneducated, having criminal issues and being overly dependent on New Zealand’s welfare system (Loto, 2007), will impact on how the dominant culture treat people of other ethnicities that they meet in their everyday lives. Agenda setting as a whole body of work (e.g. beginning with McCombs & Shaw, 1972, and building from there) provides longitudinal evidence that we should be concerned that,

¹ A Samoan term used by Pacific Islanders to refer to someone of white skin colour or people of European descent.

if the New Zealand public are constantly being presented with media depicting Pacific peoples as lazy, dumb, leeches, criminals or trouble-making idiots, often that is the opinion that they themselves will form of that racial group. Even if people believe they are unprejudiced, media affects theories have shown that a recurrent exposure to negative racial portrayals will result in a negative sub-conscious view of a particular group of people for many in the audience. Thus, this research takes as an initial premise, and motivation for examining media representation, the well-established tenets of agenda-setting theory, which are that media representations will influence public opinion in terms of both topics of interest and the perceived attributes of those topics. As Hodgetts and Chamberlain (2007, p. 411) noted, the media are “central to the organisation of society today”. I seek to understand the trends in RSE media storylines because it is well established that trends in media storylines can have ramifications on public perceptions, and I am interested in the perceptions of RSE workers that circulate in their New Zealand host communities. This is discussed further below.

My thesis is conducted in two stages – firstly an analysis of academic discourses regarding the media’s impact on Pacific peoples and their integration into New Zealand society. This analysis is used to create sensitising concepts for the second stage, a qualitative content analysis of newspapers. This structure was chosen in order to create a sound theoretical framework for examining the role media play in building discursive representations, which could then be scrutinised by empirical evidence gathered from print media analysis. At each stage of the research, a broadly interpretative framework using discourse analysis is applied, as the most effective method for the purposes of this study.

1.2 Media Analysis

Media coverage is understood to play an important role in shaping public perceptions of societal issues and solutions (Cottle, 2000; Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2007; van Dijk, 2000). The primary purpose of this study is to examine the portrayal by the New Zealand print media of Pacific Island workers under the RSE scheme from 2007 to 2012. The focus is on news coverage as a source of social discourse, which in turn contributes to production and reproduction of ideology. To use van Dijk’s (1998, p. 194) definitions, discourse is a general term for “the accomplished or ongoing ‘product’ of the communicative act, namely, its written or auditory result as it is made socially available for recipients to interpret” (in this case written media stories published in community news outlets). Ideologies are the patterns in that discourse that reflect and embed power relations. As van Dijk (1998, p. 189) suggests, “Although I focus here on the production and reproduction of ideologies, it hardly needs to be added that such ideologies also sustain concomitant social and political action”.

The media provide interpretive frameworks to influence the social and cultural aspects of communities, yet their role in the resultant identity constructions is often overlooked or ignored. “While media use

can socially construct identity, and open up dialogue between different sectors of society, we must not forget that not all communities are represented equally or have the opportunity to represent themselves on their own terms” (Loto, 2007, p 10). There has been longstanding recognition of the influence of media on perceptions. As early as 1922, Lippman argued that the news media determine our cognitive maps of the world, playing a significant role in shaping our attitudes. The pictures portrayed by the New Zealand media of Pacific peoples have often been stereotypical and confined to areas of sports, tourist attractions and crime (Macpherson, Spoonley & Anae, 2001; Taouma, 2004). Loto (2007) claims that Pacific Island peoples have faced discrimination in New Zealand since the 1960s when they left their homelands in the Cook Islands, Samoa, Niue and Tonga as labour immigrants to New Zealand. This thesis will extend prior studies (Spoonley & Hirsh, 1990; Macpherson, Spoonley & Anae, 2001; Taouma, 2004) documenting stereotypes generally faced by Pacific people in media coverage and media identity depictions of such coverage, by drilling down into a particular context, that of coverage of seasonal workers.

One of the most influential works on media ownership and ideology is Herman and Chomsky’s *Manufacturing Consent* (1988). Herman and Chomsky argued that through a series of news filters, which they called a ‘propaganda model’, mainstream media set the agenda to determine ‘what is news’; in other words, what gets printed in newspapers. Often that news serves the interests of the dominant elite (van Dijk, 1995b). Herman and Chomsky’s propaganda model focuses on the “inequality of wealth and power and its multilevel effects on mass-media interests and choices” (1988, p. 2). Herman and Chomsky point out the difficulty of maintaining press neutrality in compromised areas and press freedom where owners of the media corporations are driven by material wealth, and therefore act as a news filter which can – and does – shape editorial content (Cromwell, 2005). The sourcing of mass media news was also viewed by Herman and Chomsky (1988) as a filter, with mainstream and institutionalised sources such as police, government officials and business sources easier to access. These sources therefore dominated news coverage unless journalists made strenuous efforts to source other voices, an effort itself made difficult by the profit orientations of the media to get stories out quickly and cheaply. Herman (1996) asserted that the propaganda model still seems a very workable framework for analysing and understanding the mainstream media – perhaps even more so than in 1988. Research into regional news reporting has identified that there are particular challenges for journalists in small communities, where factors identified by Herman and Chomsky such as relationships with news sources, may be even further magnified by small reporting teams and the likelihood of many of those featured in the news as local business leaders also being advertisers (e.g. Franklin, 2006; Lewis, Williams & Franklin, 2008). This may mean that, as has been found in Australia, “regional newspapers were lacking in their role as public watchdog” (Hess & Waller, 2008, p. 153). Exploring the portrayal of Pacific Island workers in this context, this research will investigate how different views of seasonal labour as crucial for the New Zealand economy play out against public irritation about the issue of

hiring overseas labour within the media serving the regional New Zealand communities where both the seasonal workers and the journalists were living and working when the scheme was introduced.

A detailed comparative study of seasonal workers' media representation in New Zealand has never before been undertaken. Newspapers are, in a normative sense, aiming to provide impartial, unbiased information; however, we can also acknowledge that there is a large body of literature arguing that they cannot be unbiased, because the idea of absolute objectivity is a fantasy. For instance, Bagdikian (1992) and Mindich (1998) both studied how objectivity has evolved as a discourse in American journalism and suggested that journalistic objectivity can never be absolute. Bagdikian noted that newspapers neutralise information for fear that strong views pleasing to one part of the audience might offend another, and pointed out that "objectivity" in fact contradicted the essentially subjective nature of journalism. McCombs, Holbert, Kiouisis and Wanta (2011) argued that true objectivity is impossible, meaning that all coverage has a particular position on events. Robie (2001) also stated that objectivity is a 'myth', and "many journalists believe that true objectivity does not exist as the news gathering and selection process is in fact subjective" (p. 26). Tucker (1992) claimed that it is impossible to report from a neutral perspective as reporters will always choose what to report and the way in which it will be reported. He contended that limitations on the breadth of coverage come from the media's need to regard their audiences as one homogeneous group. Any issues and events perceived to be outside the best interests of this group will be suppressed to suit the consensus of the dominant group or audience. Morrison (2002) believes that the group of people who do not belong to the dominant group will question the accuracy of the story, of what the journalists 'pick out' and what they choose to 'ignore'.

Another example of a denial of objectivity, according to historian and communication scholar Mindich, was the influence of journalistic objectivity when it comes to political agendas. Mindich's (1998) historical contribution on objectivity discusses the longstanding conventions of fairness in journalism. He believes that objectivity is absolutely impossible. Herman and Chomsky's (1988) propaganda model contends that any notion of objectivity ends up heavily favouring the viewpoints of media owners, shareholders or powerful corporations, and giving that viewpoint a power and legitimacy it would not have had if news were better understood as deeply subjective. McCombs, Holbert, Kiouisis and Wanta (2011) asserted that "with rising concentration of media ownership, many have argued that this has led to news organisations being run by businesspeople, not journalists" (p. 43) bowing to market concerns and profit.

Conversely, any controversial information is going to stir public opinion. Lippmann's (1922) notion on the shaping of reality created the foundation for what has come to be known as agenda-setting. The agenda-setting theory looks at how media play an influential part in gaining public attention. Researchers have long been intrigued by the nature of this relationship in discovering the media's effect

on the national agenda, and how public opinion is formed (Stacks & Salwen, 2009). Taking agenda-setting as a foundational assumption (i.e. assuming that media representations do have the power to influence public perceptions) this research will examine the nature of the agenda that key media set about the RSE scheme in its first years in its regions of operation. A number of studies by McCombs (1993, 2000, 2005), one of the founding scholars of the agenda-setting tradition of research, seek to explain how the media set agendas and interrogate the responsibility that the media have, which raises the crucial question of whether anything has changed in how the New Zealand media portray Pacific peoples. My overarching questions are whether Pacific people are still captured through one-dimensional themes in the RSE's particular coverage, whether anything has changed, and how this plays out in the circumstance of depictions of a particular group of people while they are living within the parameters of a particular social and economic policy. Further information on how discourse analysis can help answer these questions is expanded in the methods chapter.

1.3 The Sample: Newspapers

New Zealand's first newspapers started in various provinces in the colony in the 1840s. Tucker (1992) noted that newspapers were started by the early aristocracy, men who used them to promote their political aspirations. Newspapers were the only printed source of news until "the advents of television news in 1960, regular radio news bulletins in 1962 and locally produced glossy magazines in the 1980s" (p. 1). Griffith, Harvey and Maslen (1997) suggested that "newspapers were initially established in New Zealand by the government as a response to the sharp increase in immigration" (p. 129). The authors suggested that the 1860s and 1870s saw the establishment of major daily newspapers, most of which are still publishing today, and the weekly newspapers, which were usually particularly targeted to rural areas and were influential as a channel promoting social cohesion:

Up to World War II, the newspaper in New Zealand was essentially of two kinds: a large metropolitan paper, owned by a company or perhaps still under family control; or a small or medium-sized country paper, perhaps issued daily but more likely issued bi-weekly or tri-weekly, and very likely to be under the control of a working proprietor in the case of the smallest papers or, in larger towns, family owned and perhaps also family operated (Griffith, Harvey & Maslen, 1997, p. 130).

The future of newspapers has been widely debated since the Internet was introduced. Yet, newspapers still play an important part in informing community news. Inglis (1990) claimed newspapers were the first site of public opinion and argued that "newspapers offered varying classes of their readership a way of situating oneself in the kaleidoscopic world" (p. 28). Greenslade (2012) argued that local

communities trust their local newspaper (more than they trust the national media) as it informs them of what is really going on in their neighbourhood, and sorts out the “nonsense” from the real story. However, *The Economist* (2006) article titled “Who killed the newspaper?” argued that while newspapers used to set the news agenda for the rest of the media, this was declining. Newspapers were thought to be dying as a consequence of media digitisation (Akesson, 2009). Bennett (2017) argued print media were in trouble because of the extraordinary growth and influence of information technology, however, “the print newspaper is arguably more impactful, whereas articles can be hidden away on an online website in a matter of a few days”. David Mackenzie, President of the New Zealand Community Newspaper Association, argues that community newspapers feature stories about local people and the issues that interest them. “Newspapers have prospered for one reason: the trust that comes from representing readers’ interests and giving them the news that’s important to them” (qtd. in Sherson, 2019, para. 25). Although newspapers are struggling to keep up with digital technology, McCombs et al. (2011) affirm that “newspapers rank higher in credibility when directly compared to online news” (p. 49).

Newspapers play a vital role in setting the community agenda and focusing public attention on a few key public issues. McCombs (2011) noted that “newspapers provide a host of cues about the salience of the topics in the daily news – lead story on page one, other front-page display, large headlines, etc.” (p. 1). The more recent Nielsen Consumer and Media Insights Survey results as reported by Fairfax Media (2015) show metropolitan newspapers remain a key source of news and information for New Zealanders. The survey reported 2.8 million New Zealanders aged 15+ read a newspaper each week. That is, 79% of New Zealanders read a newspaper across a week with 62% reading community news, 56% daily news and 19% on Sunday. According to an article by Sherson (2019) titled *How New Zealand’s community newspapers are bucking the trend*, New Zealand’s regional and community newspapers are retaining strong readership even while all over the world newspapers are in trouble because of technology. The article suggested New Zealand’s community newspapers’ audiences had remained strong because of their loyalty to regional content. It quoted Ellen Irvine, *Papamoa Post* editor as saying “For me, the buzz has always been writing stories about ordinary people who have done something extraordinary, or had something extraordinary happen to them... I consume a lot of international and national news online – but none of it is about the community where I live. There’s a gap and I want to fill it. If I don’t, someone else will.” This view is supported by *New Zealand Herald* columnist Tapu Misa (2012) in her argument that quality, in-depth journalism will take newspapers into the future. Despite changes in the media landscape she believes print media to be the best source of information. The print media are an integral part of regional communities. People read their community news, covering truly local news (Tucker, 1992), as the information is concentrated on proximal, rather than national, news sources (Gilliam & Iyengar, 1997).

Community newspapers were selected as the main genre of media for this research because, despite the role of national and broadcast media and the emergence of new technology, community newspapers still play an active role as a key source of information for local communities. Despite the argument that the newspaper industry is under pressure, a 2013 survey conducted in small U.S. towns and cities where 67% of residents in small towns in the United States read community newspapers proved community newspapers were still the top source for local news and that the local news community newspapers produce still matters and is significant to people in communities (National Newspaper Association, 2014). The *Hawkes Bay Today* article “NZ unlikely to stop the press”, (2009) asserted the future of newspapers in New Zealand was strong and unlikely to follow international trends of downsizing. A Wairarapa-based publisher and writer, Ian F. Grant, was quoted in the article as saying “newspapers must do two things to survive: deliver relevant, accurate, local and in-depth news, and acquire advertisement revenue” (p. 10). He further stated that the country’s small regionally based newspaper market continued to make newspapers relevant and be the most cost-effective way to reach consumers. Newspapers were also selected for this research because of their extensive coverage of RSE in community news, the ease of data collection and the level of discursive detail print media provide as compared to radio and television.

1.4 Background to the Recognised Seasonal Employer Policy

In October 2006, the New Zealand Cabinet agreed to implement a temporary seasonal work scheme to approach the problem of seasonal labour shortages in New Zealand’s horticulture and viticulture industries (Ramasamy, Krishnan, Bedford & Bedford, 2008). At the same time, the fast-growing population in the Pacific Islands had resulted in an excess number of work-capable people without access to jobs (Department of Labour, 2010). Many people in the Pacific Islands were either underemployed or unemployed (Cameron, 2011). The RSE scheme looked to meet both needs, at least partially, by providing temporary access to New Zealand’s horticulture and viticulture industry for thousands of Pacific workers. The horticulture industry estimated that the shortage of labour within New Zealand was costing it NZ\$180-300 million in lost output, NZ\$140-230 million in lost value added and NZ\$100-160 million in lost household income (Ramasamy et al., 2008). These losses along with issues such as high labour turnover especially during high-demand seasons; poor quality work; and illegal use of casual workers, paved the way for a policy approach to overseas labour.

Research by Ramasamy, Krishnan, Bedford and Bedford (2008) argued that at least 50,000 workers a year are needed at peak times. However, recruitment of RSE workers is always subject to checking on the availability of local New Zealand workers. It is required that employers try to draw from New Zealand residents first before employing overseas workers mainly from the Pacific to make up the shortfall. Cameron (2011) claims that while New Zealand’s seasonal labour demands were earlier met

by casual workers, students, and people under the Working Holiday Scheme, this pool of labour has been unable to meet the demand since the early 2000s, constraining growth. It was argued that having a scheme to focus explicitly on development in the Pacific alongside the aim of benefitting New Zealand employers could achieve a triple win – for the workers, their country of origin and New Zealand as a whole (Bailey, 2009; Ericsson, 2009; Ramasamy et al., 2008).

The New Zealand RSE policy began in April 2007, as a pilot scheme targeting workers for seasonal employment in the horticultural industry and in particular, orchards and vineyards (Bedford, et al, 2007). There had been requests by Pacific Islands Forum countries² to have temporary work access to New Zealand for workers from the Pacific. Ramasamy et al. (2008) highlight the convergence of mounting pressure from Pacific Islands Forum leaders for New Zealand (and Australia) to widen their labour markets to include those with low literacy and numeracy skills from the Pacific. At the same time, New Zealand's low unemployment and global competition for low-skilled labour to meet labour shortages in the horticulture and viticulture industries created a demand. For New Zealand to remain competitive with the rest of the world, quality, innovation and productivity, including an on-going supply of labour to fill seasonal shortages in the horticulture and viticulture industries, were crucial (Papau, 2007).

Pacific workers who enrol with the RSE scheme are told that they are guaranteed employment in New Zealand temporarily, and will be provided with accommodation and pastoral care support. The RSE policy suggests that the employer must be able to provide suitable accommodation. However, RSE workers' pay for their own accommodation, half of their airfares and pay for medical insurance while in New Zealand. Bailey (2009) claims that RSE employers need to provide adequate accommodation for seasonal workers and ensure that they are treated fairly. Although pastoral care is the responsibility of hiring RSE employers, problems arose with regards to accommodation costs as identified as the key issue in the first year of the RSE scheme (MacLellan, 2008), including the opportunity for recreational activities and religious observance (Department of Labour, 2010). A common complaint among the RSE workers was the costs of accommodation and living in New Zealand. "This was a common complaint among workers from all the kick-start states – accommodation was far more expensive than they had expected, especially as they were sharing quite basic facilities and often had to pay additional charges for electricity" (Bedford, Bedford & Ho, 2010, p. 439). Prochazkova (2010) argued that Pacific workers imported to New Zealand under the RSE scheme were viewed as cheap labour because of easy exploitability. "Pacific Islanders were depicted as easy to control and misuse because they were

²The Pacific Islands Forum member countries are made up of a political grouping of 16 independent and self-governing Pacific Island states. Members include Australia, Cook Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, New Zealand, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Republic of Marshal Islands, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu and Vanuatu.

perceived as reluctant to complain. This was considered as being due to fear of losing their jobs; they receive significantly higher earnings than on their islands. If these workers are productive during their time in New Zealand, they have the chance to be reselected” (Cameron, 2011). I will elaborate more on the accommodation issues in Chapter 6.

The scheme was also seen as an important avenue for low-skilled migrant workers, predominantly from the Pacific Islands, to be provided with an opportunity to live and work temporarily in New Zealand. These foreign workers may not have qualified under other New Zealand immigration categories, and the RSE scheme provided them with a chance to earn an income, learn new skills, and be exposed to new experiences (Plater, 2011). These workers are employed with an accredited New Zealand employer, for a period of up to seven months per 11 months and may return if recruited again. Employers wanting to be part of the RSE scheme first have to show that no New Zealanders are available for the work, and then give preference to workers from Pacific Island Forum countries (Gibson & McKenzie, 2010).

In October 2006, at the Pacific Islands Forum meeting in Fiji, New Zealand’s Prime Minister announced that a new seasonal labour migration scheme, prioritising recruitment of workers from Pacific Islands Forum members, would be introduced in 2007. In April 2007 the Recognised Seasonal Employer policy was implemented and over the subsequent 12 months more than 5,000 workers were recruited to work in New Zealand’s horticulture and viticulture industries, mainly from Pacific countries (Bedford, 2007, p. 10).

Five Pacific Islands were initially selected by the New Zealand government to be part of the RSE scheme: Samoa, Tonga and Tuvalu in Polynesia, Kiribati in Micronesia, and Vanuatu in Melanesia (Maclellan, 2008). They were termed the “kick start” Pacific states. The Solomon Islands, Fiji and Papua New Guinea, both Melanesian countries, later joined the scheme. Bedford (2007) stated that in early 2007, the first batch of around 200 Ni-Vanuatu workers was recruited to work in vineyards in Central Otago. This was followed by other batches of workers recruited from Tonga and Vanuatu. In 2008, workers started to arrive for temporary employment in New Zealand from all five of the kick-start states. Since then, temporary migration has increased significantly during periods of high demand for RSE labour. To date, RSE workers have constituted 75 per cent from the Pacific Islands and 25 per cent from other countries with whom an RSE employer holds a pre-established relationship, predominantly South East Asian countries (Department of Labour, 2012).

Following the launch of the RSE policy, there have been several research publications promoting the positive social and economic benefits of the scheme. For example, Bailey’s (2009) thesis covered the social dynamics of labour mobility by focusing on the workers’ experiences in the form of making “as

much money as they can to improve their livelihoods, gain new skills, be employed by a good employer that will accommodate their needs and treat them fairly” (p. 25). Cameron’s (2011) thesis on social development outcomes for Ni-Vanuatu workers participating in the RSE scheme also highlighted clear evidence of social and economic benefits for the workers through remittances home and skills and knowledge transfer for an improved lifestyle for their families. A World Bank (2006) report on expanding job opportunities for Pacific Islands through labour mobility, drew attention to the benefits of the RSE scheme for Pacific Island nations’ economic development by means of remittances. Gibson and McKenzie (2010) evaluated the developmental impact of the RSE scheme on households in the country sending labour. Their study showed little displacement of New Zealand workers, very low overstaying rates (1% or less), and only a few isolated cases where concerns about worker exploitation had arisen.

The most recent research on the assessment of the first five years of the RSE policy by Bedford (2013) argued that the RSE has delivered positive outcomes to workers and to sending and receiving countries. The RSE policy costs have been “outweighed by the productivity gains for employers, financial gains (in island-dollar equivalents) for the workers, and improvements in living standards at the household and community level in participating island countries” (Bedford, 2013, p. xii). However, there have been some concerns raised about other aspects of the scheme, not often in research, but frequently highlighted by the media. For instance, a *New Zealand Herald* article (2008, August 14) about a group of Kiribati workers being sent home early, without pay and unhappy, asked ‘who to blame – boss or RSE?’ to shed a different light on the scheme. Another media article by Morton (2011) about an RSE worker contracting typhoid that resulted in 100,000 trays of fruit including about 30,000 that were destined for foreign stores being destroyed and nearly crippling the Kiwifruit industry, questioned the medical screening programme for RSE workers. These kinds of issues, although raised in media coverage, have not been addressed with academic research. Therefore, this study seeks to contribute to an understanding of how these issues have been portrayed by media, offering a new set of insights into the different aspects of the scheme and of migrant workers’ portrayal more broadly.

Hall (1997) argued that the influence of media on the social construction of minority groups needs considerable academic attention. With most research on the RSE scheme focussing on its economic and social benefits, little research has attended to the role of news coverage in the representation of Pacific Islands seasonal workers and their lives. The study looks at what is presented (key themes, changes in coverage over time, regional differences, whose voices are represented and whose are not), and how the material is presented (news genres and placement). These data are set in context against an understanding of news, readership, and modes of media ownership, which certainly have an influence on content.

1.5 The Research Questions

The overarching questions for this study are how Pacific Island seasonal workers were depicted in the local newspapers of the communities they were living in during their time in New Zealand and whether there has been a shift in the topics of the stories as the scheme has developed. These questions are approached from an open-ended interpretivist standpoint, that is, being open to whatever this study will find, while still having some direction of inquiry based upon my testing of my initial anecdotal observations leading into this study. Although my conclusions are dependent entirely on the eventual findings I developed by systematically working through all of the media coverage piece by piece using the thematic interpretive approach to discover new findings, I initially predicted, based on my experience with the scheme and its media coverage, as well as my reviewing of literature from similar schemes internationally, that there was likely to be a cyclical process of media portrayal of seasonal workers in the RSE scheme. I have noted a similar cyclical process described in the literature (see literature review chapter), when Pacific people started to migrate in bigger numbers to New Zealand in the 1970s. This cyclical process suggests that when a particular group first migrates, such as happens with the start of seasonal worker schemes, they are typically subject to much negative publicity in the early years, before a shift in coverage to considerably more positive publicity, a trend which this research seeks to explore. My anecdotal observations of the RSE media themes before analysing the data were that, as the scheme matured, the media attitude appeared to have shifted in commentary to reflect broader issues such as human rights, workers' behaviour and community relations. Through analysis of news items, this research sought insight about these possible topic trends. Using an emic (open discovery) approach allowed these questions to be explored and also enables the research to identify other discursive themes of interest that I may not have predicted (Morris, Leung, Ames & Lickel, 1999).

There are several interlinked research questions addressed in this study. The questions are both descriptive and comparative. Descriptive questions are constructed to investigate the way RSE workers are portrayed in New Zealand print media in their communities. Conversely, comparative questions determine whether there has been a shift in portrayals and issues. This study proceeded by considering the following research questions:

1. Overall, what kinds of themes and discourses structure print media representations of RSE Pacific seasonal workers in their local community newspapers while workers are living in the region?
2. Are there media trends in regional reporting over time, and do these follow a cyclical pattern as detected elsewhere, with initial negativity reducing as the relationship matures?
3. What were the peak regional coverage times for the RSE scheme in New Zealand from 2007-2012?

4. How was 'share of voice' allocated in stories about the scheme?
5. Do the discourses develop in similar or different ways in the regions studied?
6. Does a sample of national media coverage about the RSE scheme contain any discourse that is missing from or limited in the regional media discourse on Pacific Island seasonal workers?
7. Do the discourses in the RSE regional coverage show continuity with earlier broader media discourses about Pacific migration to New Zealand or are there unique themes?

According to Hodgetts and Chamberlain (2007), media discourse can shape public attitudes and behaviours in ways that have negative and positive impacts. The research questions therefore focus particularly upon the discourses by measuring the extent of coverage in depth, and assess the patterns of print media coverage. Although there is extensive research into the social and economic benefits of the RSE scheme and the media representation of Pacific peoples in New Zealand (e.g. Spoonley & Trlin 2004; Ramasamy, Krishnan, Bedford & Bedford 2008; Spoonley & Bedford 2012, Bedford, 2013; Gibson & McKenzie, 2014) there is a shortage of examination of media representation regarding the Pacific Island seasonal workers. These questions attempt to fill that gap.

The questions on broader media trends provide context by looking at the historical racialisation of Pacific immigrants to determine if there is a correlation with the moral panic towards Pacific immigrants in the 1970s (Spoonley & Butcher, 2009) and the influx of Pacific seasonal workers in the 2000s. These questions will explore the state of play of print media reporting in New Zealand with regards to the relationship that exists between New Zealand as a country and Pacific peoples.

1.6 Context for the Research Questions

Although the primary goal of this thesis is to trace the nature of the regional media portrayal of Pacific Island workers in their immediate host communities under the RSE scheme, the depiction of Pacific peoples in New Zealand media more widely dates back to their arrival in the 1950s and '60s, prompted by a classic political economy of labour migration (Macpherson & Spoonley, 2004). There were also some temporary work schemes, and illegal labour importing occurring before the RSE, that brought in Pacific Island workers without offering any residency or citizenship options. In his thesis on 'Immigration and National Identity in 1970s New Zealand', Mitchell (2003, p. 34), wrote that:

Prior to 1974, immigrants from Tonga, Samoa and Fiji were seen as useful for meeting the short-term labour requirements of the boom in manufacturing. Many Pacific Island migrants came on three or six month permits either as visitors or on government work schemes but had no right to remain in New Zealand after this period. In the words of National Member of Parliament John Luxton, this

made them an effective “recession buffer” who could be expelled if unemployment appeared. Because their labour was needed by Auckland employers, the thousands of Pacific Islanders who overstayed their permits were overlooked by authorities as were irregularities and falsifications in applications for temporary permits. The result was a de facto migrant labour scheme which was so ‘successful’ that by 1974, Minister of Immigration Fraser Colman admitted ‘the Government has to face the fact that New Zealand industry was dependent on illegal Island labour’ and that ‘unless they used such labour, production and export targets would not be met.’ It was, however, still assumed that this pool of workers would leave if jobs became scarce.

Macpherson and Spoonley (2004) noted that “These early migrants were racialised in the early 1970s. They were seen as presenting problems for the host community, they took jobs, contributed to the decline of certain urban areas and were a threat to law and order” (p. 180). Since then, representations of Pacific people as a minority group have been strongly presented by the New Zealand media and have been at the top of the news agenda for the past decade. The arrival of the RSE Pacific workers to New Zealand arguably saw a similar trend – but we have no specific studies to test this observation, hence my research questions explore this at an overarching level.

More specifically though, I wanted to research for the first time how Pacific Island seasonal workers are depicted in the New Zealand media of their communities. Matheson (2005) argues that discourse analysis is a fine-grained tool that allows us to see how ideas emerge differently in different contexts. Macpherson and Spoonley argue that “discourse is important because it influences the ways in which audiences consume the information: the ways they filter, re-construct and, finally, react to it” (2004, p. 224). As the media play a significant role in shaping the minds of people, this study would be of great importance in showing whether a racialised portrayal by the print media of Pacific RSE workers in their communities is invested with negative perceptions based on their temporary migration to New Zealand, such as beliefs that they are taking away jobs from the locals, that they are responsible for social problems and represent a threat to the majority culture (Miles, 1989).

This study aims to make a contribution in the following areas:

- Investigating media discourse as a means of assessing cultural reporting and its impact on greater tolerance and cultural appropriateness in media depictions.
- Employing the interpretive analysis framework as a method of studying portrayals of RSE workers with prevailing perceptions of media credibility.
- Researching the context of communication as a way of understanding meanings of texts by looking at theme and contradiction analysis i.e. identifying similarities and differences in

articles in different regions and over time from the beginning of the scheme to its five-year anniversary.

- Exploring the discourse present in media texts by assessing the breadth of coverage sources and share of voice.

This study's media analysis will provide a robust evidential base for describing the manner in which Pacific workers are portrayed in their local news media, but will also contribute to a better understanding of how those portrayals are constructed. This study could also provide a baseline for further research into the topic, inviting possible longitudinal studies to measure coverage over a more extended timeframe. The data from this study could potentially be used for government policies which relate to the role and influence of news media portrayal of foreign migrants, for training of new journalists, and certainly would assist media and communication advisors to understand how this issue and related issues are represented in the media agenda.

My research aims to build on earlier research and contribute new research findings in the area of print media analysis concerning Pacific Island workers. With the growing interest in media discourse, a range of perspectives based on the frameworks and viewpoints of Fairclough (1989); Foucault (1972); van Dijk (1988); Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), seek to understand how media discourses work in society. An understanding of whose viewpoints and interests RSE media discourse represents is important and valuable to building our understanding not only of how media coverage impacted this specific scheme, but also of issues of cultural diversity and inclusion in New Zealand society.

1.7 Methodology

I designed my methodology to find out how many instances of particular discourse were in the community when the Pacific RSE workers were living there. As a Pacific researcher, I was influenced by Pacific methodologies (e.g. Baba, Mahina, Williams & Nabobo-Baba, 2004) to want to critically investigate, using my Pacific lens, how Pacific peoples are included or excluded by societal processes that relate to them. Specifically, I wanted to find out what discourses about RSE workers were present in the dominant regional news publications, along with the total number of times people reading the newspapers were exposed to any particular discourse, while the Pacific RSE workers were living in those communities. My focus on using a Pacific lens to interpret and critique dominant discourse reflects a broadly underpinning critical race studies approach (Twine & Warren, 2000), that has then flowed through into my specific methods (more detail is provided in my methods chapter).

I conducted an interpretive thematic analysis of newspaper coverage from print media outlets in the five regions of New Zealand with the highest number of RSE workers. Findings were collated to give an

overall discursive picture of scheme coverage, as well as compared and contrasted across regions and over time to identify temporal and regional specificity. Given I have first-hand knowledge of the RSE scheme as a former Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment senior communication advisor, the interpretive research paradigm provides a suitable approach to manage and acknowledge my participant-insider status when analysing themes. Interpretive research enabled me to view the RSE ‘mental pictures’ as presented by the media using my cultural, professional and researcher’s lenses. A fuller disclosure of my own stance in this research is expanded in Chapter 4.

Thematic analysis was adopted for use in this thesis as qualitative research focusing on examining themes within data. Thematic analysis is a “common interpretive data analytic process ... which involves immersing oneself in the data in order to identify common ideas or themes that emerge based on the phenomenon under investigation and that resonate with the research question(s) posed in the study” (Peterson, 2017, para. 1). Boyatzis (1998) gives numerous examples of research studies that demonstrate thematic analysis and suggests that it “can be thought of as a bridge between the language of qualitative research and the language of quantitative research” (p. 185). Boyatzis claimed that there were two major challenges to thematic analysis: personal challenges and those for the field, discipline, or profession. Despite the assertion that thematic analysis can be used in any form of qualitative research, the challenge lies in its descriptive nature.

Thematic analysis is a research method whereby a selection of data is analysed for the purpose of identifying themes. Boyatzis (1998) believed that descriptive or interpretive methodologies do not preclude scoring or scaling of themes. “Using thematic analysis does not ensure meaningful results or observations” (p. 164) even though it may shorten the time a researcher spends with the raw information. Thematic analysis minimises the time involved in data processing. “Searching for meaningful observations and attempting to extract all of the important discoveries can lead a researcher to months of exploration of raw data” (p. 164). Braun and Clarke (2006) argued that although thematic analysis is a poorly demarcated, rarely-acknowledged methodology (Roulston, 2001), it is yet a widely-used qualitative analytic method that offers an accessible and theoretically-flexible approach to analysing qualitative data. Thematic analysis can be a method concentrating on the implicit notion of themes and discourses which combine to create a total representation, and to unpack the meanings behind each text. Further information on thematic analysis is expanded in Chapter 4.

1.8 My Cultural Lens

The old English-language adage that “sticks and stones may break your bones, but words will never hurt you” (Macdonald, 2003, p. 6) has a contradictory meaning to a Samoan proverb ‘*E pala le ma’a ae le pala le tala*’ that stones erode, but words will never decay, encapsulating a Pacific Island belief

that language will endure. This can be applied to media texts and images that have relatively strong meanings and may in turn influence perception. These perceptions could result in labelling, misrepresentation and ideologies that could pass down from generation to generation. The meanings attributed to words and images may result in social and cultural differences as a framework of thinking. Media coverage is understood to play an important role in shaping public perceptions of societal issues and solutions. Gans (1979) supported this statement by stating “the news does not limit itself to reality judgments; it also contains values, or preferences” (p. 40). Rupa (2010) asserted that the “power of journalists to determine newspapers’ representation, interpretation and the construction of reality is institutionally rooted” (p. 4). This is supported by Zelizer’s (2004) approaches to journalism “as seen as a profession, institution, as a text, as people and a set of practices” (p. 32).

As a Pacific Islander I am sensitised to media coverage that is pejorative about my people. This gives me a motivation for testing my ‘gut responses’ to what I see and read. The New Zealand RSE scheme was chosen because the similarities and differences in media articles were anticipated to produce new insights into newspaper representations of ethnic minorities. My thesis is expected to add a different perspective on media reporting by European-culture-dominated newspapers, examining the dominant themes used to portray foreign workers in an unfamiliar environment using my Pacific Island cultural lens. The findings could assist regional newspaper journalists and editors to better understand their reporting and which discourses it favours. It could also provide the RSE Pacific countries with insights into the issues, challenges and successes depicted by the media about their workers.

Cultural sensitivity is without a doubt a considerable challenge. Understanding a culture and its way of life can be a challenging aspect of journalism. Michael Field, a Pacific correspondent for Nine to Noon at Radio New Zealand and journalist for Fairfax wrote in *Pacific Journalism: Reflections from a journalist in the field*, “Pacific governments are particularly sensitive to outside criticism, but it is usually politics, not culture, that is at the heart of it all” (p. 237). McGregor and Comrie (2002) state that journalists are always anxious about mini-scandal reportage which includes a degree of media manipulation and influence. van Dijk (1991) believes that reports confirming negative stereotypes are often front-page news. This was evident in 2008 when Wellington’s *Dominion Post* newspaper ran a front-page headline that Pacific migrants were a ‘drain on the economy’. The statement was based on Massey University economist Dr Greg Clydesdale’s report which claimed that Pacific Island migrants display a significant and enduring under-achievement as compared to the rest of New Zealand. The *Dominion Post* (2008, May 20) story quoted Dr Clydesdale as stating that “Pacific Islanders’ poor educational attainment, crime rates, and low employment were creating an underclass and a drain on the economy”. However, according to the Human Rights Commission report (2008) the *Dominion Post* subsequently issued a correction stating that Dr Clydesdale had not used the specific words ‘drain on the economy’ which sparked a national controversy and international attention. It can be argued here

that even though journalism does not produce objective knowledge, having the story run on the newspaper's front page suggests that journalism practices can be harmful, in several ways.

Former Labour MP Mark Gosche stated that the New Zealand media need to deliver to more than just the white middle class (Bond, 2006). Pamatatau (2012) argues that stories about obesity, diabetes, low home ownership rates, low wages and the like are often 'tut-tutting' towards the Pacific population. Fleras (2011) supports this view by stating immigrant groups are only visible to the media when they represent a problem. Gripsurd (2002) too supports this view by arguing that the media play a crucial role in the self-perception of individuals and groups. Dyer (1993) suggested that the media representation of groups has an impact on public perception. This eventually constructs an identity of representation. These representations emerge as labels which media themselves help to create. Most media organisations position themselves as a neutral voice. In fact, the media represent neither the silenced minorities nor the majority of society.

Newspaper organisations deal with the way communities inform their regions by telling stories and keeping them abreast of issues that they believe matter to them. Their coverage reflects and often shapes discourses that express anxieties about social change and economic uncertainties (Fowler, 1991). van Dijk's (1988a) persuasive model of how the news works grew out of a project on racism in society that was further explored along with Bell's (1995) and Fairclough's (2003) studies of hard news discourse. 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 (Hall, 1997). According to Loto et al. (2006) Pacific Islanders are presented as a 'one size fits all' "to be talked about and administered, rather than communicated with or encouraged to participate in wider deliberations" (p. 28). These misconceptions are often reflected in news items that relate to the specific characterisations of Pacific peoples. The symbolic relationship between "us" and "them" was forged partially through news narration and has a wider impact on perception. News discourse is a dependent interaction between the social environment, the public (newspaper readers) and the journalist. The description and presentation of a news story influences public discourse and "makes explicit the overall themes of a text" (van Dijk, 1988a, p. 13).

My desire to document and verify the nature of the discourse has been prompted by my own experiences as a Samoan-born New Zealander of seeing media trivialise, demonise, or discriminate in ways that reduced real people to objects. For instance, an article in the *Marlborough Express* by Connell (2009) reported claims by a Blenheim contracting couple about a group of 20 Samoan RSE vineyard workers trashing their accommodation complex before leaving New Zealand. The article quoted the complainant accusing the workers of "hundreds of items stolen, faeces and urine on the carpet, and extensive damage and vandalism. All bedding had been taken, a stereo taken out of a van and wires and appliance cords

had been cut” causing \$60,000 worth of damage. However, a Blenheim accommodation provider who jumped to the defence of RSE workers said he was very happy with them and was unpleasantly surprised about the accusations. These and other such stories overall presented generally negative views on the RSE workers’ behaviour in New Zealand.

While the media play an informative role in shaping the opinion of people, the public also play a role in presenting their views and ideas about the essential materials that analyse illuminating important aspects of the role of media. For example, a *Metro News* article titled ‘Outrage at MP’s ‘small hands’ jibe’ (2008) reported on the comments made by National Party immigration spokesman Lockwood Smith about the small hands of Asians making them better at picking fruit, and about Pacific Island workers not knowing how to use a toilet and showers. The comments were also exposed in a *New Zealand Herald* article ‘Asians have small hands’ remarks ‘racist’, ‘daft’, say leaders’ (2008), which raised questions about potentially racist comments and provoked wider public discourses on media commentary and overseas workers. Whether such comments were taken out of context or not, media effects theories including agenda setting and Herman and Chomsky’s propaganda model suggest that they will reinforce and legitimise wider racialised prejudices. Keeping in view the significant and crucial role played by the media, studying the portrayal of Pacific workers is of great importance. One potential consequence of this research is that the potential for RSE workers to experience harm as a result of media shaping public perceptions and attitudes towards them in their host communities could be identified by methodically evaluating news media representations.

The personal motivation for my research is to provide me with a platform on which to build a successful research career and demonstrate my personal passion for research. My motivation in researching this topic is based upon my role as a former senior communications advisor for the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (MBIE), formerly Department of Labour (DoL) which has shown great interest in appraising how media have represented the RSE scheme to date. I have also opted for this topic due to my ethnic background as Samoan-born, to assess how media represent foreign people and views. I am certain that with my professional experience in communications I will be able to add more diversity to published research on the scheme, in addition to providing me with an opportunity to evaluate my own existing views on the RSE scheme. I will add more to this discussion in Chapter 4, Section 4.3.

1.9 Thesis contribution

As a Samoan-born New Zealander, what interests me most about engaging with the media is their depiction of Pacific peoples. If newspaper audiences are constantly being presented with themes depicting Pacific peoples as lazy, criminal or trouble-making (Loto et al., 2006), then often that is the

opinion they themselves will form. Because even if people believe they are unprejudiced, constant exposure to negative racial portrayals will result in negative sub-conscious views of targeted groups like seasonal workers. My research will provide an important new portrait of how a particular set of dominant discourses about temporary migrants is constructed and maintained. It will provide insights into how the symbolic ‘othering’ of seasonal workers functions, particularly against a background of arguments about what constitutes citizenship. The findings will illuminate national and racial identity construction processes that occur through media representation. They could also assist newspaper journalists and editors to better understand their reporting and which discourses it emphasises. My future research plans include developing guidelines for this purpose.

This study on the media discourses of labour mobility under the RSE scheme will contribute not only to the communication and media discipline but also to wider academic and non-academic fields, including the RSE Pacific Island states and within New Zealand’s horticulture and viticulture industries. This study will provide RSE Pacific countries with insights into the issues, challenges and successes depicted by the media about their workers, as well as alerting the New Zealand public more broadly to patterns in the way that the Pacific RSE scheme has been reported to them, and how these patterns relate to broader patterns of racialised discourse in our news about Pacific peoples generally. It could provide a baseline for further research into the topic, inviting possible longitudinal studies to measure broader coverage of Pacific New Zealanders over a more extended timeframe and/or to make comparisons with depictions of seasonal workers and other marginalised groups in other countries internationally. It could also provide the evidence of partial and subjective discourse that is necessary to justify future production and reception studies to investigate how specific discourses were shaped and limited, and whom they impacted.

My thesis will make original contributions in the communication and journalism fields. Taking as a basic premise that, as demonstrated repeatedly by agenda-setting theory, public opinion is influenced by media representations, this study provides a thematic interpretive analysis of media representations of RSE workers, in the context of their specific historical and cultural framework. It fills the gap that exists in the examination of how Pacific Islands RSE workers have been represented by the New Zealand print media. Therefore, this study seeks to contribute to an understanding of these issues. This research will contribute to the illumination of media representation in the recorded news texts of selected newspapers with high RSE media exposure, in order to examine the perceptions of Pacific RSE workers. Additionally, there is little research on newspaper representations of Pacific RSE workers, particularly from the cultural viewpoint of the migrant workers. My research is expected to add a different perspective to existing studies by *palagi* researchers on media reporting by European-culture-dominated newspapers, examining through my own Pacific cultural lens the dominant themes used to

portray foreign workers in an unfamiliar environment. I aim to fill this gap in our knowledge about how this particular group is depicted.

1.10 Preview of Chapters

This research is divided into five main parts; (i) context setting, (ii) a review of the literature, (iii) research design and methodology, (iv) findings and discussion and (v) conclusions and recommendations. This introductory chapter has provided background to the media and the RSE scheme, to my research aims and questions, and to how my cultural lens applies to my motivation for research and to my interpretive analysis of news media content. In Chapter Two I give an account of the labour migration from the Pacific, a brief history of the Pacific peoples' diaspora in New Zealand, and forces behind Pacific migration and its opportunities and challenges. Chapter Three is about the portrayal of Pacific peoples by the New Zealand media, the role of the media and the influence of the media in creating racialised discourses. Chapter Four provides the research methodology from research design elements to the choices of research methods and my position in the research. In addition, it discusses the step-by-step process of data collection, challenges and limitations with the data, coding and themes categorisation. In Chapter Five, I present an overview of the results from the data analysis. In the last chapters, Six and Seven, I conclude my findings with a summary of their implications and recommendations for future research.

PART 2: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

“Life is tough, but for Pacific people life is also good. As New Zealand looks out across the Pacific it also sees into its future. But New Zealand has yet to fully come to terms with its place in the Pacific, and to acknowledge the critical work its Pacific people and communities can do to make it finally at home in the Pacific. Pacific people have transformed who and what New Zealand is, and the last transformation will be changing how New Zealand sees and acts in the world, especially in the Pacific.”

- Associate Professor Toeolesulusulu Damon Ieremia Salesa

CHAPTER 2: Pacific migration and the Recognised Seasonal Employer scheme

2.1 Introduction

This literature review chapter provides a critical review of studies that examine the complex relationship between the New Zealand media and Pacific peoples. The review focuses on the conceptual and theoretical framework to subsequently support the thesis’s analysis of media coverage portraying Pacific Island workers temporarily migrating to New Zealand under the Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) scheme over a five-year period. The analysis uses print news reports and is aimed at discovering how media represent Pacific temporary workers in New Zealand regions. I propose that the portrayal of Pacific RSE workers in New Zealand will likely be connected to the ways the New Zealand print media depict Pacific Islanders in general – and hence it is necessary to have an understanding of that broader baseline. It is important to ask if anything has changed in how media represent Pacific peoples over the years.

This review also critically analyses literature on Pacific migration and labour mobility, encompassing prior research studies, literature reviews, government policies and theoretical articles. There is a particular focus in this literature review on summarising conditions during the period 2007-2012, and illuminating the historical context leading up to that point, given that is the window of media coverage that will be scrutinised in the primary data analysis. The literature reviewed included relevant books, journals and articles, with subjects covering Pacific peoples’ representation in the New Zealand media, helping identify potentially harmful stereotypes and assumptions and relevant discourses so as to establish some sensitising concepts for my own data analysis. Still, much more of the New Zealand media portrayal of Pacific people in New Zealand awaits documentation and analysis.

The literature review has four major sections. The first examines Pacific migration to New Zealand and diverse interpretations concerning the ways in which Pacific peoples are portrayed by the New Zealand media especially during the first wave of Pacific immigration to New Zealand in the 1950s. The second

section is a general overview of the media depiction of Pacific peoples in the New Zealand workforce, with a particular investigation into Pacific peoples migrating to New Zealand temporarily under the RSE scheme. Third, this chapter critically evaluates the role media play with regards to their representation of foreign immigrants. Lastly it focuses on assessing the role of news media broadly and their function, principally reviewing different theories and examining how media in a multicultural New Zealand have dealt with Pacific issues through the news media in terms of diverse stereotypes and representations.

2.2 Pacific migration to New Zealand

New Zealand is referred to as an immigration country (Spoonley & Bedford, 2012). Spoonley and Macpherson (2004) argued that New Zealand is one of the classic countries of immigration, seeking to nation-build by encouraging immigrants to settle (p. 175). Hughes and Sodhi (2006) suggested that New Zealand (and Australia) have always been countries of immigration. Over the years, New Zealand has experienced increasing ethnic diversity as a result of successive waves of immigration from all over the world, including the Pacific.

Spoonley described two very different types of migrants and suggested they elicited quite different responses from the New Zealand public.

The first group are migrants from Britain and the Netherlands. Significant proportions have been skilled or professional people, and they are white. The second group consists of Polynesians, and there are two forms of migration. Internally the indigenous Māori have migrated in the post-war period from the rural hinterland of New Zealand to the major cities such as Auckland and Wellington. Internationally, there has been a substantial flow of Pacific Islanders into New Zealand. Some, such as Cook Islanders, Tokelauans and Niueans are New Zealand citizens and have been able to enter New Zealand relatively freely. Others (Samoan, Tongans, Fijians) had relatively easy access to New Zealand during the 1960s and early 1970s (Spoonley, 1990, p. 155).

Spoonley and Butcher (2009) contended that New Zealand is one of the classic settler societies where almost all of its immigrants were recruited from the UK and Ireland. That trend was disrupted in the 1960s when labour supply was recruited mostly from the Pacific and then subsequently from Asia. Spoonley and Bedford (2012) believed that immigration from the UK and Ireland was the overarching story of New Zealand's experience as an immigrant society. The presence of European immigrants formed a colonial connection with the indigenous population which resulted in the signing of multiple

documents in the 1840s known collectively as the Treaty of Waitangi, treaties between some Māori chiefs and British settlers. The signing of the Treaty was regarded by New Zealanders as New Zealand's first immigration policy. Immigrants from other countries soon followed, such as Chinese miners in the mid-late 19th century and Pacific labourers as part of the post-war labour migration. "These communities provided the first major non-British migration and a considerable presence" (Spoonley & Bedford, 2012, p. 11). The abolition of the 'white' New Zealand immigration policy in 1986 and 1987 opened the way for culturally diverse immigration flows after the 1990s.

New Zealand has a special relationship with the Pacific dating back many years. Bedford (2008, p. 3) argued that New Zealand's connections have been reinforced by the fact that its indigenous population, the Māori, are Pacific peoples by ancestry. The Pacific migration led to the discovery (and naming) of Aotearoa by peoples who came from the Pacific. As such, there is a unique and profound relationship between contemporary people of the Pacific Islands and Aotearoa New Zealand today, and most significantly between Māori as tangata whenua and Pacific peoples. In this sense, Pacific peoples come to New Zealand in modern times with an ancestry of exceptional achievement as scientists, navigators, explorers, and entrepreneurs. It is an important relationship because of the cultural and social ties. Cunliffe (2006) claimed that Pacific peoples have lived in New Zealand for over 100 years. Pacific peoples have always inhabited a world that is more extensive than their island homes (Hau'ofa, 1993).

Bedford (2008) suggested that the Pacific is divided into three island sub regions: Melanesia, with a population of 8 million people; Micronesia, home to just half a million people; and Polynesia with a population of around 650,000. Bedford (2008) argued that New Zealand has particularly strong links with Polynesian compared to Micronesian and Melanesian people. Cameron (2011) claimed New Zealand's particularly close relationships with Polynesia is largely due to its colonial-era links. Due to these close connections, New Zealand offers the citizens of Samoa, the Cook Islands, Niue and Tokelau special concessions regarding entry to New Zealand (Cameron 2011; Bedford 2008). People of the Cook Islands, Niue and Tokelau have New Zealand citizenship, and as such are able to enter and exit New Zealand as they wish.

Although New Zealand now has large numbers of Pacific immigrants it was a different story in the last three decades of the nineteenth century when there were small numbers of Pacific peoples crewing on vessels working in the seas around New Zealand. Spoonley and Bedford (2012) recorded that several thousand Pacific crew worked at any one time on whalers during the 1800s. The number then increased dramatically during the population movement in the 1960s and the 1970s under a range of migration programmes.

Spoonley and Bedford (2012) also recorded that the number of Pacific peoples in New Zealand more than doubled from 988 to 2,159 between 1936 and 1945. This number increased to 8,103 and then more than trebled again between 1956 and 1966 to reach 27,271 in 1966. “By the 1940s, a New Zealand-born component to the Pacific ethnic population was also emerging but this was to be dominated numerically by new immigrants from the Pacific until the mid-1980s” (p. 126). Statistics New Zealand (2006) reported that there were 265,974 people of Pacific ethnicity living in New Zealand at the time of the 2006 census (a date of interest here, because this is just prior to the commencement of the RSE scheme, so gives a sense of the population makeup into which the RSE workers arrived). This was a 15% increase (34,173 people) since 2001 and 59% (98,904 people) since 1991. The largest ethnic group was Samoan comprising around 131,103 people followed by Cook Islands Maori (58,011), Tongan (50,478), Niuean (22,476), Fijian (9,864), Tokelauan (6,822) and Tuvaluan (2,625). Over half of Pacific peoples were born in New Zealand. At the time of the 2006 census, six in 10 people of Pacific ethnicity were born in New Zealand and two in five overseas-born Pacific peoples arrived in New Zealand 20 or more years ago.

Tanielu and Johnson (2013) suggested that the Pacific population grew by around 10,000 people per year over the five years that were also the first five years of the RSE scheme (2007-2012), or by 3.2–3.3% per annum. They cite census data that suggested the number of Pacific peoples in New Zealand was estimated to have grown by about 60,000 people to around 360,000 in the period between June 2006 and June 2012. At that time Pacific people made up around 8.1% of the New Zealand population. Tanielu and Johnson also argued that the results from the Census make it difficult to accurately discuss the size, structure and distribution of New Zealand’s Pacific Island population. This is because of persistent problems the Census staff have in reaching every Pacific household and the increasing complexity around defining who is Pacific. Macpherson (2006) believed that the Pacific population would continue to grow and was very much younger than the total population of New Zealand and had a high growth potential. It is estimated that the Pacific population will constitute 9% of New Zealand’s population by 2020 (Cunliffe, 2006) and 12% by 2051.

2.3 Pacific diasporas in New Zealand

2.3.1 Adaptation and assimilation

Zodgekar (2005) claimed that immigration is more than just an inflow of population, as immigrants bring with them a variety of cultures and traditions that may influence those of their adopted countries (p. 140). “Who comes, why they come, how they are chosen, the conditions of their arrival, the conditions of their settlement and the conditions that help shape their future will increasingly become important” (p. 140). Ward and Lin (2005) asserted that 40,000 to 50,000 new settlers arrive in New

Zealand each year and are confronted with two important basic questions: How important is it to maintain my cultural heritage? And how important is it to adopt the cultural identity of my new country? How migrants respond to these questions explains their views on dealing with and adapting to life in New Zealand. Hughes and Sodhi (2006) suggested that the decision to migrate has always been fraught with hardships and risks, but migrants and their children benefitted by sharply improving their living standards as they integrated into host country societies.

de Bres and Campbell (1976) argued that although there were a number of advantages, immigration also involved considerable costs. Some immigrants had found the experience was not as satisfying to them as anticipated due to costs of travel, housing and other costs incurred in New Zealand. The social and economic aspects of Pacific populations in New Zealand can still be challenging today. Macpherson, Spoonley and Anae (2001) claimed that over time the circumstances of Pacific peoples in New Zealand have changed. “They established families, churches and then educational, political, sporting, professional and recreational bodies and associations which reflected their growing commitment to this new home [New Zealand] and their determination to make their mark in their adopted society” (p. 12).

While there are positive stories about momentous changes for Pacific peoples in New Zealand, as suggested by Tanielu and Johnson (2013) – for prowess on the rugby field and sports arenas, general commitment to the Christian religion, and for colourful festivals that have become national and global attractions, such as the Pasifika Festival and the Secondary Schools Polynesian Festival – Pacific peoples still face major challenges. The health and social conditions for Pacific people worsened as Pacific communities faced rising unemployment compared to the rest of New Zealand.

McCarthy (2001) claimed that Pacific peoples are lagging behind the rest of New Zealand on all social indicators.

The income levels are among the lowest of all New Zealanders and they are the most unemployed of all New Zealanders. They are over-represented in the lowest paying jobs. Their general health is extremely poor in relation to other groups, particularly in respect of rheumatic fever, rheumatic heart disease, liver cancer and respiratory diseases, to name a few. Pacific students have comparatively low participation levels and achievement rates in key areas of education and are least likely to continue into post-compulsory education. Pacific people are over-represented in poor housing indicators, all areas of the criminal justice system, and government funded income support (p. 278).

Ioane and Lambie (2016) argued the same points as McCarthy. Furthermore, they are backed up by the Pasifika Futures report *Pacific People in New Zealand – How Are We Doing* (2015) that illustrates more than half of Pacific people (55.6%) live in the most deprived areas of New Zealand. This rate is higher in comparison to Māori (40.3%), Asian (17.3%), European and others (11.2%).

Hughes and Sodhi (2006) also claimed that Pacific migrants find jobs by word of mouth and are concentrated in low income occupations. They also claimed that in 2001 Pacific peoples' labour force participation rate was 65% as compared to all New Zealanders at 68%. A 2013 study by Tanielu and Johnson showed high unemployment rates for Pacific peoples and lower labour force participation than the total population. This rate has fallen further since the 2007 financial collapse than for the overall population. "In late 2012 the overall labour force participation rate was 67.4%...while for Pacific people it was 59.6%" (p. 40). Hughes and Sodhi (2006) proposed that the unemployment rate of 16% for Pacific peoples in 2001 was high compared to all New Zealanders which was 7%. Tanielu and Johnson (2013) argued that by the end of 2012 Pacific people appeared to be relatively worse off in economic terms compared with 2007.

However, Salesa (2017), in his book *Island Time: New Zealand's Pacific Futures*, countered the relentlessly negative framing of Pacific people's experiences in New Zealand. He argued that the many strengths of Pacific communities in New Zealand in creative industries, politics, sport, community organising, transnational networks, and business operations, signal untapped potential still coming to the fore. Salesa likened Pacific peoples within New Zealand to islands and archipelagos:

[L]ike their islands, they are in motion, growing and moving on the crest of powerful forces, some dramatic like tectonic or volcanic energy, and some working at a smaller but no less powerful scale, such as the collective effort of formidable life forms like corals. The islands heave higher and higher, occasionally through fire, but always growing and in motion. Under the water are connections and life at work too, a future that is happening but which we are yet to see. (Salesa, 2017, p. 101)

In particular, Salesa argued that strength could be seen in Pacific peoples' development of "safe, energising and nurturing paths for their communities and people" through investment in families, children and education. He suggested that "If an overwhelming commitment to family and children is not a successful strategy for life, as it is in the homelands of the Pacific, then we all have larger moral, ethical, political, economic and social questions to answer" (Salesa, 2017, p. 102).

These kinds of familial commitments can be seen, for example, in the ways Pacific migrant workers send remittances home that are not only important to their countries' balance of payments but for family and other community projects. However, this reliance by families in the Pacific on the workers in New Zealand may have contributed to a pressure to overstay. The extent of overstaying in the mid-1970s was significant and with particular attention on Pacific peoples, the effects of immigration restrictions became felt in the Islands. While migrant workers were acting as a classical employment "buffer", firm action was also in place to arrest and obtain deportation orders against people who had overstayed their permits (de Bres & Campbell, 1976). Overstaying is discussed in more detail in section 2.3.3.

Although Pacific peoples remain attached to their homelands, they are increasingly committed to building a community for themselves, their children and grandchildren in New Zealand. Tanielu and Johnson (2013) argued that the story of Pacific people in New Zealand is not really an immigrant story any more. "It is a Kiwi story. It is part of our national story. It is a story that has seen New Zealand embrace Pacific people some of the time, but also discriminate and marginalise them at other times. It is also an on-going story, one that is now firmly ingrained in the fabric of New Zealand society" (p. 4). The Pacific voice and contribution to New Zealand is not new. Tanielu and Johnson believed that the contributions Pacific people have made to business, local and central government politics and academia are not always easily evident or even recognised in New Zealand. New Zealand needs to acknowledge and embrace these wonderful contributions and celebrate the unique history Pacific peoples have in New Zealand. At the same time, there is also a need to carefully and thoughtfully consider the less positive parts of the story. It should also mean that the progress of Pacific peoples is a responsibility of not just Pacific peoples themselves but of all New Zealanders.

2.3.2 Discrimination, racism and scapegoats in New Zealand

The cultural diversity of those arriving in New Zealand has raised a lot of concerns and questions about their assimilation in society. Spoonley and Bedford (2012) argued that, "the negative reaction to some immigrants – and a declared preference for others – is part of New Zealand immigration history... these discrimination policies grew in scope in New Zealand through the latter part of the nineteenth century and continue to be refined through to the first two decades of the twentieth century" (p. 8). Ongley (1996) argued that immigration provisions for permanent or long-term immigrants favoured those mainly from the 'white' Commonwealth nations, and those with occupational skills in demand in New Zealand. Ongley also claimed that racism is likely to be intensified, "by perceptions of inter-ethnic competition for economic resources and the negative connotations that arise when supposed racial distinctiveness coincides with inferior economic status" (1996, p. 19).

Ongley (1996) discussed the importance of class structure in New Zealand influencing the generation and reproduction of racism. Ongley identified two important approaches in understanding racism and cultural relations in the sense that it illuminates the circumstances of labour migration. Firstly, the migrants' allocation to a narrow range of inferior positions in class relations results in the negative connotations of material disadvantage being associated with and explained by supposed 'racial' characteristics, thus perpetuating negative stereotypes and obscuring class factors associated with economic structures. Secondly, the incorporation of migrants into the metropolitan working class may create perceptions of competition for jobs, housing and other scarce resources, or the belief that wage levels are being restrained by the additional labour supply. "These perceptions may be accentuated during economic downturns when migrants provide a convenient scapegoat, and may also be encouraged by the actions of the state in managing economic crises by focusing attention on the presence of migrants, as occurred during the overstayers campaign" (Ongley, 1996, p. 32).

Spoonley (1990) noted that the New Zealand economy began to decline from 1973, and Pacific peoples became scapegoats as Pākehā sought to identify the cause (p. 28). Spoonley and Bedford (2012) argued that the early 1970s were a watershed period for New Zealand. Racism towards Pacific peoples was intensified, fuelled by political uncertainty and comments relayed by a willing media. "Pacific immigrants rapidly came to occupy a particular location in New Zealand's labour market and to be the focus of a sustained and highly discriminatory campaign that effectively demonised them" (p. 134). Deconstructing and challenging discriminatory representational practices became a challenge.

Not only were the certainties of a colonial New Zealand being challenged or displaced but the country was facing economic difficulties that contrasted with the affluent decades of the 1950s and 1960s. But this was accompanied by the arrival in the urban, industrial economy of significant numbers of Polynesians... Their recruitment as industrial labour became an issue as New Zealanders began to lose the certainty of employment; they were seen as a threat to the economic security of many.... Finally, there was something of a moral panic about law and order issues and Pacific immigrants were highlighted as a key group of offenders, especially in acts of violence or rape (Spoonley & Bedford, 2012, p. 133).

Negative stereotyping was apparent and Spoonley and Bedford (2012) noted the cartoons depicted during the 1970s on behalf of the then National Party portraying 'Pacific Islanders' as a threat to New Zealand, particularly in relation to crimes and the loss of employment of New Zealanders. Spoonley (1990) claimed that racism was epitomised in the way Pacific peoples were seen as posing a racial threat. He described in detail the general view of New Zealanders about Pacific peoples representing a 'threat' and being seen as a 'problem' in three ways. Firstly, Pacific peoples were seen as taking jobs

away from New Zealanders; hence the labour supply from the Pacific Islands needed to be closely related to demand. This also led to the view that the arrival of Pacific peoples in New Zealand would put New Zealanders on the dole. A second belief held by many was that the presence of Pacific peoples lowered the property values of a residential area. Real estate agents and property owners believed that this would occur. The third element in the racialisation of Pacific peoples was the way in which they were perceived as a threat to law and order, and in particular, the association of Pacific males with sexual offending. However, Ongley (1996) argued that this portrayal was not unique to Pacific peoples but mirrored the experience of migrant ethnic minorities in other developed capitalist societies that went through a trend in the post-war economy as a result of labour migration.

Spoonley and Macpherson (2004) note a fraught period for escalating tensions between Pacific peoples and other New Zealanders began in the 1970s, and continued unresolved into the 1980s.

These early migrants were racialised in the early 1970s. They were defined as ‘Pacific Islanders’ who were ‘racially’ distinctive, although this proved not to be the case as agencies such as the police and immigration found it difficult to identify the various Pacific communities or to distinguish between Māori and these communities. (Spoonley & Macpherson, 2004, p. 180)

This undifferentiated group labelled ‘Islanders’ became scapegoats for problems of unemployment and crime. At the same time, a new discourse of anti-racism developed (Cottle, 2000). Pacific migrants, unlike other groups, “face the disadvantages of being an ethnically distinct and racialised minority” (Ongley, 1996, p. 30). Given the various forms of racism that the Pacific population increasingly faced, immigration seemed a focus of attack from local New Zealanders who overlooked the need for Pacific migrants in times of high labour demand. “This has led to what became known as the overstayers crisis” (Macpherson, 1996, p. 132).

Spoonley (1990) noted that from the mid-1970s there has been an intensification of racism towards Polynesian migrants, especially Pacific peoples, through both popular and state racism. This has been further complicated by the contrasting politics of *tangata whenua*³, the Māori, and their ambition to resolve long standing grievances, especially over land, and the politics of Pacific peoples, whose interests are more likely to centre on citizenship rights in New Zealand (p. 155).

³ A Māori term that literally means people of the land.

2.3.3 The overstayer crisis

Early in the 1970s, New Zealand began to experience a level of economic recession that was unlike anything since the 1930s (Spoonley, 1990). The cheap labour that had helped fuel the economic growth over the previous two decades in New Zealand was now not needed and it was severely and swiftly dealt with (Tanielu & Johnson, 2013). In 1974, the Labour Government mandated a campaign against ‘overstayers’. The negative label of ‘overstayer’ was symptomatic of the racialisation of Pacific immigrants and it rapidly became a term exclusively directed at Pacific peoples. Unemployment, deterioration in law and order and the problem areas of the major cities were all associated with the presence of Pacific overstayers. The effect was to assume that all Pacific peoples were potentially law breakers until they could prove otherwise, and the street checks and dawn raids represented a period of highly discriminatory and repressive activity by the New Zealand government (Spoonley, 1990, p. 15).

The government initiated the infamous Auckland ‘Dawn Raids’ policy in 1974 to clamp down on Pacific people overstaying their visas. Homes of suspected overstayers were often raided in the early hours of the morning while they were sleeping. People were taken from their beds and asked to produce evidence of their identification; and anyone who could not do so was taken to the Auckland Central Police Station. Offenders were deported despite immediate protests from community groups (Tanielu & Johnson, 2013; Spoonley & Bedford, 2012; de Bres & Campbell, 1976). Hundreds of Pacific people were deported under this regime.

Pacific peoples, irrespective of their residence status in New Zealand, quickly became the visible targets of the immigration authorities and the police (Spoonley & Bedford, 2012). De Bres and Campbell (1976) argued that dawn raids have had effects on community relations generally, particularly on Pacific communities who had already become sensitive to the racist tendencies in New Zealand society. “Pacific islanders are understandably sensitive that they, as brown-skinned New Zealand residents, have been the target for harassment by the police and immigration department (p. 23).

Toft (1990) used a statement in 1976 from a senior police officer about the random checking of Pacific people’s passports as an example of targeting by the police. “A person who does not look or sound like a New Zealander was likely to be stopped and checked for valid permits....it would be helpful to us and ‘them’ if Pacific Islanders carried passports during this period” (p. 113). Kolo (1990) argued that a study conducted by the *Auckland Star* journalist and later verified by the Race Relations Office, found that overstayers from other countries far outnumbered those from the Pacific Islands; however, despite such findings, the word ‘overstayer’ remains firmly rooted in association with Pacific New Zealanders.

The overstayers policy still affects Pacific peoples today. Spoonley (1990) argued that from the mid-1970s, there has been an intensification of racism towards Polynesian migrants and especially Pacific peoples, through both popular and state racism. de Bres and Campbell (1976) argued that there was a continual discussion of the overstayer problem in the news media, and the term ‘Pacific Island overstayer’ has become a cliché which causes concern and suffering to Pacific peoples in New Zealand and in the Pacific alike. Tanielu and Johnson (2013) argued that Pacific people and communities are now clearly and firmly entrenched in New Zealand. “But the relationship had definitely changed by the close of the 1970s. As successive governments responded to global and domestic economic pressures, negative stereotypes and images of Pacific people also became entrenched, particularly with a perception that Pacific Islanders were taking jobs that New Zealanders should hold” (p. 11).

2.4 Pacific People in the New Zealand workforce

2.4.1 New Zealand labour immigration policy

Moore, Leckie and Munro (1990) argued that many Pacific peoples’ lives have been shaped by conditions of labour, particularly through colonial and capitalist expansion into the region. Ongley (2004) looked at the historical context in which different groups including the Pacific have been drawn into the labour market and have been differentially affected by forces of political and economic change. “Māori, Pacific and Asian people, as well as European immigrants have entered the urban New Zealand labour market during particular phases of global and local economic development in response to different types of labour demand. They have subsequently become concentrated in different types of occupations and industries and have been affected in distinct ways by economic restructuring and cycles of recession and growth” (p. 199).

New Zealand’s immigration policy leading up to the 1970s, had been based on ethnic and racial grounds (Spoonley & Bedford, 2012), and inevitably meant that incoming immigrants should be culturally similar to those already resident in New Zealand. This was on the assumption that there would be fewer problems arising from immigrant settlement and adjustment given the preferred societies and races. However, Spoonley and Bedford (2012) claimed that the growing number of immigrants from the Pacific was encouraged in 1974 when the then New Zealand Prime Minister, Norman Kirk, took a more expansive view of New Zealand and its place in the world by declaring New Zealand was becoming a Pacific/Asian country, rather than continuing to be a transplanted Britain in the Pacific. This led to the abolition of the ‘white New Zealand’ immigration policy and opened access to labour markets and a subsequent increase in the number of arrivals from the Pacific and other countries.

Legislation such as the South Pacific Work Schemes began in the mid-1970s as a New Zealand move towards a contract labour scheme. It strictly controlled the flow of Pacific Island labour into New Zealand, and gave migrants few rights when they were in New Zealand. The scheme applied to citizens of Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, Tuvalu and Kiribati and allows them to work in New Zealand for up to 11 months. By contrast, to date, Pacific peoples employed under the RSE policy may only stay in New Zealand for up to seven months during any 11-month period (Bedford, 2013). Exceptions to this are workers from Tuvalu and Kiribati, who can stay for nine months because of the distance from New Zealand and the cost of travel (Department of Labour, 2010).

In 1990, Spoonley (1990) believed that the Work Scheme numbers rarely exceeded 350 in any given year. “The scheme, like others, is tied to the availability of work in New Zealand and it effectively limits the flow of short-term contract labour from the Pacific” (p. 159). He also argued that this tie to work availability disproved the widespread stereotype about ‘job stealing’: “In fact, Pacific Islanders were replacement labour; they occupied jobs that Pakeha workers no longer wanted in the boom period of the 1960s. A scapegoat was needed to explain growing unemployment, and for some Pakeha, Pacific Islanders provided this answer.”

Over the years, there have been various special arrangements in place to facilitate the entry of Pacific peoples to New Zealand. Based on the special Treaty of Friendship between New Zealand and Samoa, the Samoa Quota (SQ) scheme allows up to 1,100 citizens of Samoa (including spouses/partners and dependent children) to be granted residence in New Zealand each year. Citizens of Tonga, Kiribati and Tuvalu are also provided with opportunities under the Pacific Access Category (PAC) each year. The PAC allows up to 250 Tongans, 250 Fijians and 75 each from Kiribati and Tuvalu to gain residence in New Zealand annually (Cunliffe, 2006). Most of these people enter New Zealand as low-skilled workers and use the scheme to raise their potential to contribute to their own personal and family development. Unlike those in the RSE, in which Pacific peoples will only be recruited if there are not enough New Zealanders available to do the work, the PAC offers a balloted place to anyone from the eligible regions with a job offer in New Zealand (Ramasamy et al., 2008). Since 2001, permanent residency quotas have also been opened up for Kiribati, Tuvalu, Tonga and Fiji. Bedford (2013) explored the needs of the horticulture and viticulture industries for the 2004/05 season with a range of options being identified including using those who gained residence under schemes such as the SQ and PAC, the Working Holiday Schemes, and Variations of Conditions (VoC) for visitors already in New Zealand wanting to undertake seasonal work.

Selection criteria for Pacific immigrants, which emphasise skills, knowledge of English and family ties in New Zealand, have created the parameters of Pacific New Zealanders’ immigration experience.

Hughes and Sodhi (2006) claimed that when New Zealand opened up its immigration doors to the Cook Islands, Tokelau and Niue, most people from those islands subsequently moved to New Zealand. Despite the hardships and risks of settling into a new country, citizens from these countries and their families have benefitted by settling in New Zealand. The majority have found jobs and incomes, send their children to school, save and unless they run into bad luck with employment or through illness, establish themselves fairly quickly and can acquire houses, cars and other material goods.

Labour market access has become important to New Zealand's relationship with Pacific Island countries. One example of this relationship was discussed by Luthria (2006) with regard to New Zealand's bilateral maritime arrangement with Tuvalu and Kiribati. This means that New Zealand will provide more favourable entry conditions for up to 20 nationals from Kiribati and up to 80 nationals from Tuvalu at any one time. This scheme would apply for an indefinite period. The other example is given by Voight-Graf (2006) who described Fijian citizens benefitting from a managed temporary scheme in the 1980s that allowed farm workers to work in New Zealand, with around 200-300 seasonal agricultural workers participating each year. The scheme was discontinued after the 1987 coup in Fiji. Tanielu and Johnson (2013) argued that although the Pacific population in New Zealand was now primarily New Zealand born, there was still a steady flow of migrants from the Pacific.

2.4.2 Seasonal work

The horticulture and viticulture industries are major providers of seasonal work in New Zealand and an important component of the primary industry economy. Around the time of the start of the RSE scheme, the horticulture and viticulture industries had exports of over NZ\$2.3 billion a year, as well as production for domestic consumption worth NZ\$2.5 billion (Maclellan, 2008). Gibson and McKenzie (2014) claimed New Zealand's horticultural industry has grown from NZ\$200 million in export sales in 1991 to NZ\$2.23 billion in 2011, making it the sixth largest export industry in New Zealand. New Zealand's wine industry has seen even more rapid export growth, growing from NZ\$300 million in export sales in 2004 to almost NZ\$1.2 billion in 2012 (p. 4).

Ramasamy et al. (2008), claimed horticulture and viticulture underwent a major expansion as a primary industry in New Zealand in the past decades, and it is estimated that at least 50,000 workers a year are needed at peak times to meet the highly variable seasonal demands for labour to pick and pack fruit, as well as to prune and prepare the orchards and vineyards for the next season's crops. The Horticulture Industry Strategy 2009-2020 – "growing a new future" – projected a growth in industry value to NZ\$10 billion by 2020. To continue growing the horticulture industry, New Zealand needs to set the standard for sustainably produced products (Horticulture NZ, 2009) and recognise that people are the industry's greatest asset (Bedford, 2013).

The horticulture and viticulture industries' needs were met by people travelling to New Zealand under the Working Holiday scheme, local and international students, casual workers, the unemployed and underemployed pools of labour. Ramasamy et al. (2008), and Spoonley and Bedford (2012) claimed that this pool of labour was unable to meet the demands of the horticulture and viticulture sectors in the early 2000s resulting in a constraint on growth. Lovelock and Leopold (2008) believed that those engaged in viticulture and horticultural production have a greater need and reliance on temporary seasonal labour. "Attracting temporary, fixed term contract workers for work on a seasonal basis and/or attracting permanent workers into areas where public amenities such as schools, childcare facilities, health care and retail outlets (supplying basic goods), have been lost has been a significant challenge for many employers in rural New Zealand over the last two decades" (p. 215). Spoonley and Bedford (2012) argued that, "immigrant labour was often employed illegally (without an appropriate work visa) and under very poor conditions as far as wages and accommodation were concerned" (p. 149). Ramasamy et al. (2008) estimated that the shortage and poor quality of labour in the horticultural industry was annually costing NZ\$180-300 million in lost output and NZ\$140-230 million in lost value added.

A shortage of workers has been widely reported by the New Zealand media. MacKay (2006, p. 16) argued that at the start of the kiwifruit harvest in the western Bay of Plenty, there were 5,000 people listed as unemployed in the Bay of Plenty region but only 36 jobseekers were listed with the Ministry of Social Development. MacKay reported around 6,000 workers were needed in the Nelson Tasman district over harvest period between February and May; 12,000 labour units per day were required in the Hawkes Bay from the beginning of the harvest in February through to May when other crops are reaped; some 2,000 workers were required for the citrus harvest which takes place in May and June in Northland, and around 6,000 workers were needed for the Marlborough area each day over the June-August period when winter pruning was completed.

A survey, referred to as the "Supply of Seasonal Labour – Employers Demand and Supply" was conducted by industry and Labour Governance Groups with assistance from the Department of Labour. All of the major regions with significant horticulture and viticulture activities such as Hawkes Bay (covering pipfruit, wine, kiwifruit and vegetable crops), Bay of Plenty (kiwifruit), Marlborough (wine), Nelson (pipfruit) and Wairarapa (wine) carried out the surveys after the 2006/07 season. (SriRamaratnam, 2008). That survey suggested sample peak turnover of almost 12,000 workers in Hawkes Bay alone.

Ramasamy et al., (2008) further argued that high levels of labour turnover were also a problem within particular growing seasons, resulting in few opportunities for training workers and substantial losses

through poor-quality work. “Without confidence in the supply of labour that can contribute to achieving the improved productivity, efficiency and quality goods, the industry is unlikely to make the necessary investment” (p. 174). High levels of worker turnover resulted in few opportunities for sustained training of workers and poor-quality work, reducing the value of crops harvested. Lovelock and Leopold (2008) reported “concerns about the ‘work ethic’ amongst the local pool of labour” and that “many of the young who remained in local areas did not want to work or were unreliable.”

In August 2004, there was a meeting between industry representatives and government ministers (Hons Anderton, Swain O’Connor and Barker) to consider how an anticipated shortage of seasonal labour was going to be met for the 2004/05 horticulture sector (Horticulture and Viticulture Seasonal Working Group, 2005). Two approaches were agreed to at the meeting in 2004: firstly, to develop short-term solutions to meet the needs of good employers in the industry for the 2004/05 season; and secondly to develop medium and longer-term solutions.

The Labour government reintroduced temporary policies from 2004 to allow New Zealand employers to recruit workers on seasonal permits (Ramasamy et al., 2008), before the establishment of New Zealand’s Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) scheme in 2007 (Cameron, 2011).

2.5 The Recognised Seasonal Employer scheme

2.5.1 Launch and aims of the RSE

The New Zealand RSE scheme requires a direct labour shortage to be proved before hiring overseas workers to do the job. The overriding principle of this policy, which guides all immigration policy, is that temporary migrant workers are only admitted when no New Zealanders are available for the work. Once it can be determined that no New Zealanders are available to work, labour can be sourced from Pacific countries – unless employers have robust reasons why they should recruit from elsewhere (Department of Labour, 2007).

The RSE policy requires that employers recruit workers from eligible Pacific Forum countries unless reasonable attempts to recruit from the Pacific have been unsuccessful, or the employer has pre-established relationships with workers from outside the Pacific (Lovelock & Leopold, 2008). The RSE policy allows for return migration: knowledge can be taken away by workers, and productivity can be increased each season when employers have the opportunity to re-employ the same workers.

Another key principle of the policy is the lack of any pathway to New Zealand residency or citizenship. This is temporary migration, framed within an objective to aid Pacific workers to gain offshore

employment and skill development opportunities so they can remit money and take new skills back home. Workers who apply under the RSE scheme, Lovelock and Leopold (2008) suggested, need to obtain certain clearances including confirmation of a current and valid passport, undergo a police check, tuberculosis screening, provide a medical certificate and hold a return air ticket.

Applicants who are recruited for employment in New Zealand must attend pre-departure orientation programmes, covering such issues as climate, clothing requirements, taxation, insurance, health, accident compensation, banking and remitting, budget advice, and travel arrangements. Pre-departure resources in the form of an RSE Get Ready Booklet, RSE Pay Slip Sample, and RSE ‘Get Ready’ DVD are provided to the respective Pacific Governments for dissemination to their workers, with the Get Ready booklet translated into six Pacific languages. (Department of Labour, 2007, p. 2).

There is an option of return for a worker in the following season only if various conditions have been met (Lovelock & Leopold, 2008).

When the RSE was introduced, there was a limit of 5,000 placed on the number of workers who could come to New Zealand per year. This limit is a cap – a maximum upper limit. It is not a quota to be achieved, and there are no sub-caps or sub-quotas for any particular country. It is also not a limit on the number of Approvals to Recruit (ATRs) that can be granted. It is a limit on the number of workers who can actually come to New Zealand. The annual limit was a limit on the total number of RSE workers – including workers from outside the Pacific. Later, the annual limit was increased to 8,000 in 2009 and in 2014 to 9,000 as announced by the then New Zealand Immigration Minister, Michael Woodhouse and Social Development Minister Paula Bennett. The new cap took effect from November 2014 (Grant-Mackie, 2014). Minister Bennett claimed that “the Government is committed to ensuring that New Zealanders remain at the front of the job queue” and further announced alongside the increase in the RSE cap, that Cabinet had “agreed to introduce a New Zealand Seasonal Worker Programme to provide more pastoral care and other support to assist Kiwis into work” (“More seasonal workers welcomed”, 2014). The RSE annual national cap has risen four more times subsequently and in 2019 stood at 12,850 workers (as of its sixth increase, in November 2018).

The RSE is employer-driven. Firms wishing to employ RSE workers must be accredited, seek approval every time they wish to employ RSE workers and comply with RSE policy, including those aspects of policy which are designed to ensure that workers are treated fairly and properly. Gibson and McKenzie (2014) emphasised that employers wishing to recruit workers under the RSE first have to register and get approved as a recognised seasonal employer. This requires demonstrating that they are financially viable, can pay workers at least the minimum wage for 30 hours a week, can provide accommodation

and pastoral care to workers, have a dispute resolution process for workers, and that they have in the past met all relevant immigration and employment laws.

Employers then need to apply for an ATR from the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment that specifies the number of workers required, the types of positions, the length of time the positions are open, the employment agreement that workers will be offered, and the countries the employer intends to recruit workers from. Employers are required to pay half the return airfare for the workers, and ensure that return tickets are purchased when the workers are recruited. If they pay the full cost of the airfare, they are able to recover up to half from deductions from worker wages (Gibson & McKenzie, 2014, p. 6). But, subject to that, it is employers - not Government agencies - who decide whether they want to employ RSE workers, from which eligible countries they wish to recruit, and who they actually want to employ.

Pacific states have been key to the smooth running of the RSE policy. Their involvement has provided benefits including managing overstaying risks, facilitating the return of trained and productive workers, and allowing New Zealand to build on its already strong relationships with Pacific states by facilitating overseas employment opportunities and remittances. Gibson and McKenzie (2014) reported that bilateral interagency understandings to launch the scheme were negotiated between New Zealand and five Pacific states: Kiribati, Samoa, Tonga, Tuvalu and Vanuatu, the 'kick start' countries, with assistance from New Zealand Agency for International Development (NZAID) and other agencies. The Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea later joined the RSE scheme.

These Inter-Agency Understandings (IAUs) covered how workers were to be recruited, the provision of pre-departure orientation material, visa processing, and compliance with regulations. "Seasonal workers cannot transfer to another type of visa or permit while they are in New Zealand and must leave at the end of their stay, which is limited to a maximum of seven months over an eleven-month period. Most workers are employed by one RSE employer, but it is possible for two or more employers to submit joint Applications to Recruit – thus a group of seasonal workers might pick apples for two months, then kiwifruit for the next two months with a neighbouring farmer" (Maclellan, 2008, p. 10). For workers from Kiribati and Tuvalu, the maximum visa was extended to nine months in eleven, recognising the extra costs and distance in travel in comparison to other Pacific countries that have direct air connections to New Zealand.

Gibson, McKenzie and Rohorua (2008) argued that the RSE policy varies slightly between RSE countries according to the terms set out in each interagency agreement between the New Zealand Department of Labour and respective Ministries in Pacific countries. For example, Tonga's minimum age for participation in the RSE scheme is 18, as it is with Kiribati, Tuvalu and Samoa, whereas with

Vanuatu the minimum age is 21. Other differences occur in the ways that recruitment takes place. Some Pacific countries recruit from a 'work ready pool' facilitated by Government Ministries in the Pacific whereas others recruit through the New Zealand employer or through the use of agents that recruit directly by travelling to a Pacific RSE country to select and screen a number of candidates. Maclellan (2008) claimed that the regulation and licensing of recruitment agents will be a central feature of on-going monitoring of workers' rights, to avoid any perception of favouritism, corruption or kickbacks in the recruitment of workers (p. 3). New Zealand employers can select workers who all come from a single district, in order to establish a community linkage or select across different districts.

Several features of the RSE are designed to reduce the risk of workers overstaying as noted by Gibson and McKenzie (2014). They include a worker being unable to return to New Zealand in subsequent years if found to have overstayed their visa; and employers being required to pay the costs associated with the removal of workers from New Zealand if they do overstay (up to a maximum of NZ\$3,000).

2.5.2 RSE outcomes

Many researchers have argued that the RSE is a win-win-win initiative – because it is a scheme designed to help employers and benefit Pacific countries while protecting New Zealanders (Gibson & McKenzie, 2010). The 'triple-win' policy was believed by Ramasamy et al. (2008); Bailey (2009); Gibson and McKenzie (2010) and Cameron (2011) to benefit (1) New Zealand employers who win with a reliable and stable seasonal workforce that contributes to business growth and productivity across the horticulture and viticulture sectors, (2) Pacific workers, families and communities who win by benefitting financially from their New Zealand income and gaining new skills, and (3) the New Zealand economy and society which win, with greater connections to our Pacific neighbours, productivity gains meaning higher quality export products and consequent benefits for New Zealanders and our main horticulture regions. The policy's Pacific preference is argued to have provided significant development outcomes for Pacific sending states. Research by Gibson and McKenzie (2010) monitored the impacts on development in the Pacific Islands of Vanuatu and Tonga, as the two biggest sending countries of RSE Pacific workers. The initial findings have pointed to some positive outcomes for households and communities in these countries, as well as for the New Zealand employers and the individual migrants (Spoonley & Bedford, 2012). Gibson and McKenzie called the RSE policy "possibly the best development intervention we have evidence for to date" in 2014.

Horticultural work is by its nature seasonal and temporary. Ramasamy et al. (2008), reported that in the first season of the RSE (2007-2008), 2,390 RSE workers arrived in New Zealand from the five kick-start Pacific nations: Kiribati, Samoa, Tonga, Tuvalu and Vanuatu. In the second season, the number

increased to 5,207. In the 2012/13 financial year, Bedford and Bedford (2013) reported that 7,456 seasonal workers came to New Zealand under the RSE with 85% of these workers from the Pacific.

Bedford and Bedford also argued that the number of workers who actually arrived during the financial year was smaller than the number of visas approved for seasonal work under the RSE scheme. “This occurs for a variety of reasons, some workers are employed on more than one contract during the season, unpredicted changes in weather may result in employers needing fewer workers than originally requested during the visa approval process, and workers may encounter difficulties when trying to meet the costs and logistics of getting to New Zealand (or Australia) on time to start their contracts” (Bedford & Bedford, 2013, p. 5). Ramasamy et al. argue that the “RSE scheme is seen as the first significant attempt to develop an international migration policy that explicitly attempts to achieve the triple win for migrants, their countries of origin and the destination countries” (2008, p. 172).

Spoonley and Bedford (2012) claimed that by June 2010, over 19,000 contracts for temporary work had been provided during the three years the scheme had been in operation. A summary of the numbers of workers from Pacific Island countries in comparison to other countries who were employed since the RSE was officially launched in 2007 ended 30 June 2018, follows.

Table 2.1: RSE worker numbers by Financial Year

	2007/08	2008/09	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	2013/14	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17	2017/18
Brazil	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Czech Republic	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fiji								30	92	355	359
India	41	77	25	40	15	25	28	27	35	35	35
Indonesia	249	271	271	304	299	303	305	313	321	323	325
Kiribati	69	38	48	149	142	138	127	136	162	189	231
Malaysia	364	374	406	375	317	273	308	333	335	321	329
Nauru								20	20	17	14
Papua New Guinea	-	-	-	6	6	31	58	96	68	121	124
Philippines	80	76	75	74	74	68	68	67	67	66	67
Samoa	647	1228	1021	1219	1162	1137	1169	1238	1454	1690	1878
Solomon Islands	238	311	256	252	407	423	491	511	590	593	643
Taiwan	-	12	54	31	31	34	34	20	20	20	20
Thailand	195	684	727	827	658	565	588	624	637	634	629
Tonga	805	1355	1142	1411	1398	1573	1538	1563	1687	1822	1899

Tuvalu	99	49	54	51	88	56	71	70	64	80	80
Vanuatu	1698	2342	2137	2352	2412	2829	3070	3435	3726	4171	4445
Vietnam	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Grand Total	4486	6821	6216	7091	7009	7456	7855	8483	9278	10437	11078

Source: Immigration New Zealand, <http://www.immigration.govt.nz/about-us/research-and-statistics/statistics>

There are some significant differences in the numbers of workers sourced from different countries. Bedford and Bedford (2013) claimed that Vanuatu is the main source of RSE labour constituting 38% of the total since the RSE pilot in 2006, with Tonga and Samoa competing for second and third rankings. Other countries like Kiribati, Solomon Islands, Tuvalu and Papua New Guinea followed. Bedford and Bedford also claimed that from the outset of RSE, recruitment for New Zealand's scheme had been dominated by employers rather than labour hire companies.

Gibson and McKenzie (2014, p. 11) suggested that in total, 39,079 worker arrivals have been recorded over the first six years, with 28,849 coming from the five kick-start countries (73.8%), and further 1,887 coming from the Solomon Islands – a Pacific Forum state that was not one of the initial five kick-start states, but entered into an interagency understanding in 2010. The other three countries for recruiting are Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand, based largely on prior linkages some employers had to those regions. Gibson and McKenzie reported the overall numbers, and numbers by main source country, over the first six years of the scheme.

Table 2.2: RSE Worker arrivals by Financial Year (July to June)

Year	Total	Tonga	Samoa	Vanuatu	Kiribati	Tuvalu	Solomons	Other Countries
07/08	4486	805	647	1698	69	99	238	930
08/09	6821	1355	1228	2342	38	49	311	1498
09/10	6216	1142	1021	2137	48	54	256	1558
10/11	7091	1411	1219	2352	149	51	252	1657
11/12	7009	1398	1162	2412	142	88	407	1400
12/13	7456	1573	1137	2829	138	56	423	1300

Source: Gibson & McKenzie, 2014.

As already stated, Gibson and McKenzie (2014) noted that Vanuatu supplied the most workers to the RSE, which is somewhat unexpected given that Tonga and Samoa both had initially much stronger ties to New Zealand through existing migrant networks and permanent migration programs such as the SQ and PAC quota. The other significant differences in the numbers as argued by Gibson and McKenzie were the importance of geography and costs. The numbers of workers coming from the more remote countries of Kiribati and Tuvalu have been relatively small due to cost and constraining distances for international travel.

Booker (2010) claimed that the horticulture and viticulture industry which had faced the prospect of fruit rotting on trees because of labour shortages was now having to turn away some prospective casual workers as a result of the success of the RSE. The industry responded to Booker's claim by stating that growers will always take Kiwis first, if they are committed to working and have the ability to do the job, to dispel the myth that industry did not need New Zealanders because it had plenty of overseas workers to choose from. This is further discussed in Chapter 6, section 6.3.3.

The RSE policy argument is that immigration is required to respond to the needs of New Zealand's horticultural and viticulture sectors, to allow temporary migration as a means of addressing labour shortages in these sectors. Sceptics including the media argue that in many cases these claims simply reflect employers' preferences for recruiting cheap labour and exploiting migrant workers over improving wages and employment conditions (Ruhs & Anderson, 2010). Moreover, when unemployment rises for the whole country or for particular segments such as youth jobseekers, the media argue, the economy's need for overseas seasonal workers declines (e.g. Walters, 2019).

In 2011 the US State Department's latest international report on human trafficking viewed the New Zealand RSE scheme as verging on human trafficking and debt-bonded labour (Field, 2011). The report highlighted particular sets of vulnerabilities encountered by workers with references to debt bondage, slavery, forced labour and human trafficking. In media coverage, an RSE contractor defended the RSE scheme and believed it was a strange accusation as the RSE scheme complied with both RSE law and general employment law (Berry, 2011). This mention of worker conditions in the media is atypical, however, as media coverage of proposals for a seasonal work scheme has generally depicted the issues as a debate about the need for labour versus local jobs, and at times mentioned the host country coping with the visitors, with little or no focus on the visitors coping with the host country. Further information on the US report on human trafficking and debt-bonded is expanded in Chapter 6, section 6.3.5.

The objectives of workers, employers and Pacific governments for the RSE scheme differ. Hughes and Sodhi (2006) asserted that the earnings of a Pacific seasonal worker would be substantially higher than Pacific incomes but that benefits in general would depend on whether they have worked in New Zealand several times or have only been selected once. However, Hughes and Sodhi argued that experienced agricultural workers are mainly women, but recruiting women as seasonal workers would be unlikely to suit Pacific governments and communities even where women could get away from their family responsibilities. Bailey's (2013, p. 4) research on Ambrym Vanuatu workers in Central Otago found a lower number of RSE female workers from Vanuatu on the RSE scheme. In her fieldwork, the researcher was told that Ambrym women from the island do not volunteer for the scheme because they were required to stay on the island and 'take care of things' as this 'is their role'. Bedford (2013) suggested the numbers of women participating in the RSE are relatively small (15% of the overall

numbers of workers 2007-2011) and argued that the participation of female RSE workers should be examined in future research. Bedford believed females' experiences of work and life in New Zealand, their patterns of saving and spending, and the social costs for female migrants and family members left behind may be quite different to those of male workers, and therefore require attention (p. 271).

Hughes and Sodhi (2006) claimed that employers would be likely to prefer repeat migrants to maximise productivity. Bedford (2013) stated that in the 2012/13 season significant numbers of workers were returning for another season of employment in New Zealand. In the case of 6,187 workers recruited by RSE employers and contractors, two-thirds were returning for a second or subsequent season of work (p. 17). However, the selection of workers has been critiqued by Gibson, McKenzie and Rohorua (2008) who say that community and church leaders have the ability to give preference to applicants of familial, social and political connections or based on how much added income they promise to contribute to their communities rather than household needs. Maclellan (2008) claimed that the majority of RSE sending countries have used their national Labour Ministries to select and screen potential workers in consultation with local island governments, churches and chiefs – the exception is Vanuatu, which has relied on private sector recruiters who contract with New Zealand employers.

For Pacific governments, their primary interests are likely to be relieving pressures of increasing social instability caused by urban unemployment and underemployment. Spoonley and Bedford (2012) claimed that RSE was also a solution for New Zealand's aim to assist governments in the Pacific region to find avenues for wage employment for members of their rural communities. The New Zealand government preferred spreading the benefits of the scheme by selecting workers from a range of different islands and having low or no repeat selections.

Hao'uli (2013) argues that the underlying economic logic of the RSE scheme failed to adequately account for non-economic impacts. Hao'uli refers to the *Final Evaluation Report of the Recognised Seasonal Employer Policy 2007-2009* (Department of Labour, 2010) that highlights parental absence as a major issue for families of RSE workers. The report noted the Tongan community where "some respondents described children becoming less disciplined and unruly and increasing with truancy and petty crime...and the increasing reliance on relatives and others in the community to support the children left behind" (Hao'uli, 2013, p. 207).

The report Hao'uli cited was an independent evaluation commissioned by the (then) New Zealand Department of Labour (2010). It also identified that despite financial and skill development "wins" for Pacific workers and states, "alongside these is an issue requiring attention: worker support and access to dispute resolution. The evaluation findings highlighted factors that reduce the ability and opportunity for individual workers to raise issues about workplace conditions and pastoral care and to have such

issues addressed.” Similar issues had been identified by Maclellan (2008), including the need for increased efforts on support services and “pastoral care” for seasonal workers, a lack of engagement with unions, and isolation due to lack of connections with either their immediate community sector or other Pacific diaspora communities.

As noted above, a frequent objection to seasonal labour programmes in New Zealand is the fear that temporary workers will overstay their visas. Bedford (2013) claimed that the RSE (and the Australian PSWPS) were designed to avoid the failures of past large-scale European guest worker schemes that resulted in the settlement of considerable numbers of migrant workers in host countries. Gibson and McKenzie (2010) reported that the RSE explicitly drew upon the successes and failures of existing guest worker programmes in an attempt to discourage exploitation, overstaying, and native displacement. The RSE experience suggests that predictions of seasonal workers overstaying have not eventuated. Of the 5,000 RSE workers (selected from Kiribati, Samoa, Tonga, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu) permitted to work for up to seven of every eleven months for the first two years of the RSE scheme, Gibson and McKenzie’s (2010) evaluation found almost all workers had returned, with overstay rates of about 1% in the first season and less than 1% in the second. Many of the workers, particularly from the Pacific, were reported to have returned home before their visas expired. Gibson and McKenzie (2014) asserted that overstay rates averaged under 1% for the first six seasons with the exception of the first two years, largely due to a couple of isolated cases of worker disputes with employers about insufficient work being available.

Table 2.3: RSE Overstay Rates by Financial Year

Financial year	Overstay rate (%)
2007/08	0.47
2008/09	0.62
2009/10	1.25
2010/11	1.02
2011/12	1.03
2012/13	0.70
Overall first six years	0.86

Source: Gibson and McKenzie (2014).

The low overstay rates in the RSE scheme were engineered through recruitment criteria that were skewed to select those seasonal workers deemed most likely to return to their homeland. For instance, Samoa’s Prime Minister Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi issued a “zero tolerance” warning to Samoan workers against breaching their visa conditions. Punishment imposed on workers for breaches of visa conditions has involved sanctions that go beyond deportation for the individual worker (Maclellan, 2008). The same applies to other Pacific RSE sending countries encouraging their workers to uphold New Zealand laws. Pacific governments are concerned that cases of overstaying or substance abuse will

damage the reputation of the sending countries and promote a backlash that could end opportunities to send seasonal workers.

The positive aspects of the RSE scheme were contradicted by Collins (2008) in his article *Lured by broken promises* where he told a story of one of the first groups of Tongans heading to New Zealand under the RSE scheme. They received unfair treatment with regards to their wages and living conditions, being housed in crowded accommodation (see further detail in Chapter 6, section 6.3.1). A subsequent column by Labour's Electoral Candidate for Kaikoura, Janette Walker, 'The RSE elephant in the room' in the *Marlborough Express* (Walker, 2014) contradicted the policy goals of the RSE scheme by claiming that there are still breaches of New Zealand employment law with regards to the treatment of RSE workers. For instance, a lack of employment contracts, fly-by-night contractors, unpaid annual leave and contract payment systems meant the workers earned less than the minimum wage. Walker's further examples of worker exploitation focussed on accommodation conditions, such as housing 18 men in one house, supplied by the contractor; with some sleeping on the floor, using one toilet and shower and being charged \$130 each a week.

Gibson, McKenzie and Rohorua (2008) questioned the development impact of the RSE scheme: whether it will largely depend on rural unskilled workers participating in the scheme, or whether in practice employers end up recruiting more educated, wealthier, urban workers with better English skills who still stand to benefit from the higher wages offered in New Zealand. The RSE scheme is seen to be targeting rural areas and less educated individuals than those applying to permanently migrate to New Zealand under the SQ or PAC quota. Therefore, the RSE could appear to be filling that gap in migration opportunities for a large sector of the Pacific population which previously had no available mechanism for working abroad. However, if employers do not target rural labourers, that gap will not be filled.

2.6 Chapter summary

Migration from the Pacific states to New Zealand for better employment, and education prospects for their children increased following World War II, particularly in the 1950s to 70s, to fill post-war domestic labour (low skill) shortages. However, Pacific migrants have faced entrenched negative stereotyping, reinforced or constructed by media representations, and in the 21st Century declining living conditions are recorded for resident New Zealand Pacific populations. Alongside that, the RSE scheme has been represented as a success since it came into effect in April 2007. The World Bank has flagged New Zealand's RSE scheme as an example of best practice, since it was launched, with an explicit focus on development for our Pacific neighbours as well as the aim of benefiting employers at home (Winters, 2016). However, the need for labour in the horticulture and viticulture sectors originates not only from low unemployment in the regions but also the characteristics of the work and the

conditions and pay offered. There remains scope for research that further critically explores the rhetoric of 'triple win' and the implications of the RSE scheme in the long run, both in the Pacific communities participating and in host communities in New Zealand.

Although the number of temporary migrant workers employed under the RSE scheme is not large when compared to all migration movements to New Zealand, it is a significant development and one that has parallels internationally particularly in North America and Western Europe (Lovelock & Leopold, 2008). While the scale of the RSE scheme is also smaller compared with other temporary migrant workers' schemes that have been in operation in other countries for some years, it is nonetheless held up as a model for the world to follow (Gibson & McKenzie, 2010). Lovelock and Leopold (2008) believed that it is critically important that research which explores schemes and policies in New Zealand be situated with respect to international research in this area and that researchers ensure that good intentions do not serve to obscure outcomes and/or serve as a substitute for critical evaluations of this and other temporary migrant schemes in New Zealand. However, international literature on migrant schemes and Pacific literature on the RSE schemes are largely optimistic that such a scheme offers valuable opportunities and partnerships and a means of benefitting all key players.

CHAPTER 3: The media: A literature review on media structures and influence.

“We can’t rewalk the exact footprints we make in the stories of our lives but we’ll hear again our footprints like the lullabies our parents sang us the moment our stories end. Perhaps out of our footprints our children will nurse wiser lullabies.”

- Professor Maualaivao Albert Wendt

3.1 Introduction

The data analysis chapter of this thesis will examine the regional media coverage portraying Pacific Island workers temporarily migrating to New Zealand under the Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) scheme. In order to prepare some background for that analysis, this section of the literature review looks at research on media structures and effects. In particular it looks at research on media influences on immigration, multiculturalism and racism, including specifically the media portrayal of Pacific peoples in New Zealand media. The review elucidates critical points of Pacific peoples’ representation when they first migrated to New Zealand and reviews academic research about those representations. This work provides a rationale and series of sensitising concepts for application in the data analysis.

This review of the literature and the thesis itself are guided by a broader understanding of news media discourse as influentially interwoven with societal discourse. Thematic analysis will be employed as a method that seeks to establish what a body of text has to say, and what topics are presented as central to the process of interpretation. Although agenda-setting is an important assumption, this thesis concentrates only on what the media say, assuming that what they say influences what people say, think and do. This underlying assumption is helpful in understanding the broader framework of news media influence in society as there is enough evidence over the years from various media research approaches to suggest the media do influence public opinion (Entman, 1989). What this thesis does is to look, for the first time, at ‘what is there’ in a set of newspapers discussing the RSE scheme. For reasons of scope, the thesis will not also track cause and effect between the media discourse that is present and public opinion.

3.2 The media: what is it and what does it do?

The term ‘the media’ covers all aspects of television, radio, newspaper, magazines, the Internet, social media and various other forms such as film, video, DVD, smart phones etc. – which all play an important role in informing the public (Sanson et al., 2000). Bell (1998, p. 64) argued that the media are important social institutions. They are crucial presenters of culture, politics and social life, shaping and reflecting how these are formed and expressed. Maharey (1990) asserted that the media help us not simply to know more about the world, but to make sense of it. To make sense of it, the media must

represent the world using certain means. “They must choose who we will hear about, what and who should be left unnoticed, and how things, people, events and relationships should be represented” (p. 13). With this understanding of the nature of the media it does really matter that the media play a significant role in shaping and framing people’s perception of the world.

There is debate that traditional forms of media such as television, radio and print are slowly being replaced by digital media where the choice of words, images and messages can be self-regulated as a result of unrestricted internet content, great immediacy and impact. This represents an example of a significant change in the mediascape and can also define what does or does not matter to individuals and the world around them. For instance, Matheson’s (2005) contrasting of the phrase “interactive media” with “old media” explores the idea of interactivity and relations between people in comparison to broadcast or printing technology allowing only one-way communication.

Online media form an immense field, with a correspondingly immense range of discourse (p. 157). McCombs, Holbert, Kioussis and Wanta (2011) argued that the rise of the web can be felt most profoundly at the international level whereas in the past only the most elite within a society had access to even a small range of international news outlets. Today an average citizen can now gain instant access to news across the globe that offers vastly different perspectives on the major issues of the day.

As noted in the introduction, the power of the print media is not, however, over. McCombs, Holbert, Kioussis and Wanta (2011) argue that readers of a daily newspaper especially want local news in their newspapers, the type of local coverage that is difficult to get through any other information source. Most newspapers have expanded to a web presence that offers a variety of news with room for immediate feedback. Matheson (2005) points out that media users choose the way they receive content. With limitation of space in print publications, many newspaper outlets use their web presence to upload an extended version of the same article that can be found in a much shorter version in print. “This effort to offer original content on the web, information that is distinct from what can be found in the print edition of the newspaper, reflects a desire to embrace the instantaneous nature of the web and provide up-to-date news and information to the audience” (McCombs, Holbert, Kioussis & Wanta, 2011, p. 15). Newspapers having access via the web as another medium to upload content that is engaging, interactive and allowing the public to be more involved in ways that surpass the traditional print-based medium, plays a major role in reaching wider segments of society. This in turn supports the survival of the print version as a key part of that overall media mix.

3.2.1 How the media influences the public

According to some theories of media effects, including agenda setting theory, the media are powerful and effective means of communication that widely affect people and society at large. The news media serve as valuable sources of information and powerful modes of communication. Agenda setting theory suggests that this power controls much of what people understand of events that occur around the world on a daily basis (Cissel, 2012). Spoonley (1990) argued that the media determine what becomes public knowledge and their power to confirm values makes them a significant, if not *the* significant, factor in influencing public opinion (p. 31). Maharey (1990) claimed those who work in the media not only publish material about the world, they also construct it: “As media professionals put together the elements of a message, they create what social scientists call *discourse* – a particular way of representing reality” (p. 18).

The media have a powerful role regarding what should be presented to the public, what should be omitted and how and when the content should be presented. If the media influence how people think and behave, then the matter of who is in control becomes very important (Maharey, 1990). Spoonley and Bedford (2013) claimed that “the media are read by individuals from a personal frame that reflects social influences. An audience can read the same media item in a variety of ways depending on these personal and social beliefs” (p. 215). Mahtani (2001) claimed that media influenced attitudes by siphoning and selecting the information the public receive to make choices about day-to-day realities and the selection process is governed by a series of imperatives. The media provide an important source of information through which citizens gain knowledge about their nation, and peoples’ attitudes and beliefs are shaped by what the media discerns as public knowledge. Thus, the power of the media cannot be underestimated. Simply put, the media are responsible for the ways that society is interpreted, considered and evaluated by its residents.

Gans (1979) believed that news organisations place a lot of emphasis on their sources and on feeding what they project to be the desires of news consumers. Entman (1989) agreed that consumers are the most important influencers of the news whereas Altschull (1984) argued that advertisers have the most influence over the news. Turow (1984) claimed that the control of the news is predominantly imposed by its owners whereas Bagdikian (1990) and McManus (1994) argued that large private media investors exercise control over the news in their own right.

There are particular issues for regional news. Poepsel (2019, para. 1) describes “community and small-town news publications” as “engines of social capital”. He suggests that regional media aim to “connect readers to one another and, as news organizations intimately connected with their communities, they do not tend to separate themselves from their audiences in the way that larger news outlets do” and that

consequently, in many cases, “the publication may come to define the way a community sees itself” (para. 1). Franklin (2006) claimed that local newspapers have been targeted as particularly receptive vehicles for government news initiatives and can sometimes lack resources and incentives to properly check information supplied to them. Richards (2013) has pointed out the importance of rural or regional journalism, using Kanniss’s (1991) US study to claim that local news is anything but inconsequential and that regional news media produce local identity as much as they produce news. This is described by Kanniss (1991) as cheer-leading boosterism, “meaning the tendency of some media outlets to display excessive enthusiasm for their local community while underplaying or ignoring its faults” (Richards, 2013, p. 629).

Richards suggests that other particular issues in regional news include “pressures on journalist and editors to ‘cosy up’ to local power-brokers and businesses; the potential for local advertisers to unduly influence media content because offending them could lead to the withdrawal of advertising; [and] the increasing corporatisation of regional media” (Richards, 2013, p. 629). Poepel (2019, para. 1) agrees that regional news organisations can face unique “ethical problems”, including the lack of separation between advertising and editorial functions identified by Richards. Poepel argues that, while in large news organizations serving mass populations, journalists and advertising sales people have traditionally been kept apart, this has not been the norm for most publishers of community journalism. Publishers in small-town news organizations often maintain close relationships with local business leaders both because local businesses buy most of the advertising and because local businesses themselves are community members with an interest in news and with new and interesting stories to tell. (Poepel, 2019, para. 1)

Hess and Waller (2008) also point out that limitations to the watchdog function can be caused if regional newspapers are seen as ‘training grounds’ and mostly staffed with junior reporters. In their research in Australia, they found that local government media officials actually considered inexperienced journalists to their advantage in their aims of influencing the news, because they were more likely to use media releases or policy statements verbatim, “particularly at regional newspapers which have a high staff turnover rate and where inexperienced reporters are dependent on the council for news and information while they ‘find their feet’” (p. 158).

The influence of individual journalists or advertisers is debatable – and beyond the scope of the data in this study – however in general it is well understood that the media impact on public attitudes gives priority to some interpretations over others. Media discourse may define the contours of ‘other’ groups (Macpherson & Spoonley, 2004) and van Dijk (1988a) argued that “white journalists primarily write as white in-group members and, hence, represent ethnic minority groups in terms of “them” and not as part of “us” (p.156). Ethnic community cohesion and cultural difference were frowned upon. Machin

and Niblock (2006) believed that the model of journalists being the eyes and the ears of the public relies on the supply of important and relevant events being made accessible to them so they can inform their audience. Tucker (1992) asserted that “news is what the chief reporter says it is” (p. 26) and acknowledges that news selection decisions are often not made by journalists.

To further understand the effects of the media, attention has been drawn to some journalistic practices that trade on gullibility and public reaction. Mahtani (2001) claimed that the ‘traditional’ journalistic focus on balance, objectivity and impartiality does not mean that every member of society, young and old receives equal treatment in media representations. Minority groups are regularly excluded and marginalised while the dominant culture is reinforced as the norm. The relationship between discourse, journalistic practices and media agencies has been noted by a number of studies. Pyne (2001, p. 6) argued that the media industry is engaged in an uphill battle to preserve freedom of expression and individual journalists have the responsibility to remain honest, investigative and accountable in their news endeavours.

The news media can do much good or harm. Macpherson and Spoonley (2004) argued that the role of media in the selection, construction and management of ethnic images has changed and that mainstream media are no longer the dominant brokers for what news is and what is considered to be newsworthy. These changes in the production and dissemination of information have opened new ownership and control possibilities including the emergence of the Internet and other technologies in the mid-1980s. Macpherson and Spoonley referred to this phenomenon as sidestream media, in which many are now controlled by minority interests, and which produce a different set of ethnic images in reporting and messages.

The rapid growth of sidestream media has allowed minority groups to gain a greater degree of control over the production and dissemination of their own stories and images. It has allowed some communities to create direct links between producers and audiences within the New Zealand transnational groups. This trend has resulted in new forms of coverage and has produced a situation in which a few dominant media organisations have to compete with minority ethnic media organisations, and they can no longer reproduce their preferred ethnic images and ideologies without challenge (p. 235).

Typically, though, while this situation may be changing, independent media are still smaller, less resourced and reach more specific niche communities than dominant mainstream media. They may particularly struggle to establish and survive in regions where the total media audience is already smaller, and therefore their niche within the regional population is particularly small.

3.3 The media: influencing immigration, multiculturalism and racism

3.3.1 Media portrayal of immigration

Brown (2010) argued that immigration is among the most important mainstream media stories and pointed out two different dominant immigration discourses. One deals with an influx of people who enter a country through official immigration channels seeking permanent residence. The other concerns people who enter by crossing a country's border without government permission or those who remain in a country unlawfully after their visas have expired. Brown highlighted how media coverage of legal and illegal immigrants evaded or obscured the reasons for their status. Illegal migrants were the subject of media debates and long stories about their morality, without mention of the morality of the systems that had created their lawbreaking. Stories about legal migrants focussed on how they behaved, settled, disrupted or contributed in the host country, again seldom with mention of history or context. Brown (2010) argued that both are important stories, but often the stories become intertwined, with the media's spotlight primarily focussed on the conflict surrounding what is called 'illegal immigration' and the meaning-making from that spilling into interpretation of stories about legal migration.

Threat is a powerful theme that underpins negative inclinations and the categorisation of new migrants entering a foreign country. van Dijk (1985) has pointed out the consistent role of media coverage in defining immigrant minorities as threatening the values or draining the resources of a host society. In New Zealand, Spoonley and Bedford (2012) argued that the stigmatisation of immigrants echoed the general moral panic concerning the arrival of immigrant communities and marked a growing concern: "there was a problematisation of these migrants – their drinking behaviour, distorting Auckland housing market, 'swamping' certain schools and suburbs, and a threat to New Zealand values and cultures" (p. 216).

Spoonley and Butcher (2009) noted that the media construction of immigrants often as an exotic or threatening 'other' has been a focus of social sciences research for many decades. The framing of the racially different 'other' had a huge impact during the period of immigration from the Pacific, alongside the growing migration from other ethnic groups. Portrayals of visibly different migrants were noticeable in media reporting and Spoonley and Butcher argued that they prompted new interest among researchers in the reporting of different immigrant flows and in the changed circumstances to New Zealand society by the mainstream media. For instance, the media representations of Pacific peoples were significantly more visible and unfavourable. There is evidence in Spoonley and Bedford's (2012) article of how Pacific immigrants were perceived that referred to the fact they were not welcome.

Being a Pacific Islander became associated with being 'overstayer', a public discourse that then expanded to include the threats to 'New Zealanders' on law

and order issues, competing for jobs and contributing to urban decline in the late 1980s...In the 1990s, public opinion shows that New Zealand respondents continue to view Pacific immigrants more negatively than Asian immigrants (Spoonley & Bedford, 2012, p. 211).

Spoonley and Trlin (2004) argued that “New Zealand media have played a variety of roles and presented a variety of images concerning immigrants and their settlement since the early 1990s” (p. 17). Spoonley takes as a premise that media representations of immigrants reinforce stereotypes around them. It appears that minority groups are often used as an easy way to stimulate public opinion. Fleras (2011) claimed that immigrant groups are routinely ignored by media and only become visible when they represent a problem. If the media do, as the originators of agenda setting theory McCombs and Shaw claimed, influence how people think and behave, then the matter of who is in control becomes very important. Media stereotypes reflect the dominant perspectives regarding “us” and “others” in a way that makes “us” look better (Batziou, 2011, p. 94).

Macpherson and Spoonley (2004) argued that people in both ‘dominant’ and ‘minority’ ethnic groups become increasingly dependent on media-generated images of themselves and of others. This signifies the influence of media in defining the ways in which people understand, respond or react to others in social environments between individuals or communities. Anderson (1983) argued that the influence of media is not, however, confined to shaping views about others. Anderson believed that the mass media play an important role in shaping ‘imagined communities’ where the minority groups have to imagine themselves as part of the larger ethnic groups. “In extreme cases, the broadcasting of these claims (about imagined communities) can create mass anxiety and alarm and give rise to ‘moral panic’ which result in sudden and irrational public reactions against ethnic groups” (Macpherson & Spoonley, 2004, p. 225). “This idea that the media do more than represent, that they help to construct our ideas about the real world, is especially pertinent in thinking about a topic such as ‘race’ which defies what it ‘really’ is” (Macdonald, 2003, p. 14). As Wilson and Gutierrez (1985, p. 41) suggested “in the absence of alternative equitable portrayals and broadened coverage, one-sided portrayals and news articles could easily become the reality in the minds of the audience”.

Pickering (2008) argued that news reporting has long tentacular roots into the past and that sexuality and ethnicity are potent categories. “In news reporting, the ways in which such categories are symbolically mobilised may seem very much of the present, but such uses are often deeply rooted in the past and reproduce stock notions that were developed in previous historical formations” (p. 363). Pickering believed that stereotypes are closely suited to the ways news handles what is temporally proximate through stock narrative templates. These kinds of ideas, about discursive templates that are

sustained through a society's history, informed my intention to scrutinise the regional media coverage of the RSE for echoes of earlier media coverage of Pacific peoples in New Zealand.

3.3.2 Media portrayal of Pacific peoples

Taouma (2007) claimed that images of Pacific peoples have historically been tailored to fit western ideas. Do these western ideas still shape the ways Pacific peoples are portrayed by the media today? Macpherson and Spoonley (2004) argued that the coverage of events is largely shaped by the reporter's ethnicity. "Often when these people come from a dominant ethnic group their reporting is typically superficial" (p. 229). Silverstone and Georgiou (2005) supported this view by stating that minority groups are underrepresented and when they are featured, they are branded as one-dimensional. Research by Loto et al. (2006, p. 106) claimed that media coverage of Pacific peoples was extremely negative, implying that they are a drain on tax payers, mentally ill, lazy, uneducated, overweight, violent, criminals and illegal immigrants. Spoonley and Bedford (2013) further argued that media coverage tended to associate Pacific peoples with problematic behaviour and that the media reinforced and framed an issue in a particular way. Hier and Greenberg (2002) demonstrated a similar portrayal of Chinese migrants as human cargo, boat people and a human avalanche. Ward and Lin (2005, p. 164) contended that New Zealanders have more favourable perceptions of migrants from Australia, Great Britain and South Africa, compared with those from Asia and the Pacific. Ward and Lin also believed that these portrayals have fundamental implications for the attitudes and treatment experienced by ethnic groups.

The other most enduring stereotype of Pacific people is that they are associated with gang culture and violence, and identified as unmotivated, unhealthy and being overly dependent on other members of New Zealand society (Loto et al, 2006). Loto (2007) argued that Pacific peoples, like other minority cultural groups, are further marginalised in their communities as they are identified and limited by the stereotypical media portrayals cast out and inherited by the public. Spoonley (1988) believed that newspapers were three times more likely to use labels such as Pacific Islander or Polynesian in contrast to European or Pākehā when describing violent or sexual offending and often media provided a very misleading picture. Spoonley pointed out that this occurred because Pākehā do not have a conception of themselves as a distinct cultural or ethnic group.

Hunkin-Tuiletufuga (2001) claimed that New Zealand is home to the largest Polynesian, or Tagata Pasefika population in the world, with the highest concentrations in Auckland and Wellington. Although diverse Pacific groups made up of Polynesians, Melanesians and Micronesians, are frequently combined and labelled 'Pacific Islands' people or 'Pacific nations' people, they differ in a number of ways that may not be easy for outsiders to distinguish (p. 196). This distinction has been widely debated

by Spoonley and Bedford (2012) in relation to depicting Pacific people into a single racial box or category 'Pacific Islander' and assert that this is imbued with negative characteristics despite the cultural differences (p. 211). A study by Loto (2007) into the role of news coverage in the lives of Pacific peoples stressed the media's negative perceptions on Pacific immigrants which contained references to 'Pacific Islanders' as 'overstayers', 'coconuts', 'bungas' and 'fresh off the boat' (shortened as 'FOB'). It is the nature of these portrayals, in particular of Pacific Islander worker, which is under consideration here.

Loomis (1990) describes the use of the 'FOB' as a term to distinguish New Zealand-born Pacific from those who just arrived from the Islands. The term 'FOB' can be classified as a label or a tool of social division between insiders and outsiders or old and young. Loomis gave the example of some young people calling parents and community leaders FOBs for their 'old fashioned' cultural beliefs and practices. "By employing the term, many Pacific Islands youth demonstrate their awareness of racist and ethnic stereotyping, and a concern to distance themselves from the culture of their parents" (p. xii). For young Pacific New Zealanders, a FOB is a colloquial term that is likely to be thrown at someone to put them down for being clumsy, backward behaviour or not adapted to modern society.

Samasoni (1990) argued that the New Zealand media have unconsciously perpetuated the notion that Pacific people are a blight on society. "The reason for this is simple: news editors, chief reporters, reporters and sub-editors all bring with them their personal fears and prejudices. While paying lip-service to objectivity, journalists unwittingly help to mould, shape and influence our attitudes in a variety of ways" (p. 135). This has been challenged by Pacific journalists who point out that many stories go unreported, and the Pacific Island Media Association, and other ethnic-specific media, were set up to promote a Pacific presence in the New Zealand media (Sergel, 2013). This may have led to a subsequent shift in media approaches and reporting as reflected in the number of Pacific journalists, editors and media managers who began to tell their own stories or a specific Pacific media outlet that engages with its own community, both in professional and personal settings. I argue that the media should not only look at the negative portrayal of ethnic and cultural groups but also reflect their strengths and diversity to avoid those groups being stereotyped and portrayed with demeaning depictions.

Loto's (2006) research argued that Pacific peoples are rarely represented as a voice in the media. Kolo (1990, p. 120) argued that rarely are there positive stories about Pacific peoples. The media coverage of Pacific peoples in New Zealand is usually inadequate and tends to reinforce a negative image.

Loto et al. (2006) argued that mainstream print outlets failed to engage with Pacific people on their own terms, and raised 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” (p. 116). Negative representations of Pacific peoples extend even to those who have had their New Zealand visas granted, and are now New Zealand residents. Maharey (1990) argued that the media get to choose and decide who will be talked about on the news. For example, an important gathering of Pacific peoples may be ignored as a news item because a Pākehā journalist has no way of understanding its significance (p. 21). Loto et al. (2006) claimed 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 either of marginal interest, or are issues for the majority to regulate and deal with on behalf of Pacific peoples, who are considered to lack the education and leadership to manage their own affairs (p. 108).

Spoonley and Hirsh (1990) felt strongly that journalists’ training ought to be more culturally sensitive. “If overstaying is considered by the public to be a problem, it will be because it is represented as such by the media. If Pacific Islanders are defined as the overstayers – quite inaccurately – then again, the media will have provided the information which underlies this public perception” (p. 9). Spoonley and Hirsh further contended that “when minority groups have asked to exercise their right of reply or, increasingly, for the right to offer alternative information ... they have run up against opposition, hostility or indifference” (p. 8).

Samasoni (1990) argued that being excluded from the media is almost as disheartening as being portrayed negatively. “Some journalists argued that the media merely offer a mirror to reflect our society, but for Pacific Island people they present a window through which they view “someone else’s world” (p. 135). With this different view, Pacific Island people have created their own media by establishing ethnic specific newspapers for example Samoa Times, television programmes such as Tagata Pasifika on TVOne and radio like NiuFM and Radio 531 PI with ethnic specific programmes in many regions to serve their own communities. These channels of ethnic-specific media create a more positive, balanced reporting on Pacific issues and mainstream media are taking more interest in and notice of Pacific success stories. The development of ethnic specific media certainly meets the demand for accurate information and to recognise Pacific peoples’ contribution to New Zealand. However, there is a critical need for the practices of mainstream media in their reporting of the news to be sensitive and equal and for more Pacific people as journalists and, importantly, in decision making roles. Utanga (2007) believed that Pacific communities in New Zealand should have access to media services owned or run by Pacific businesses or organisations based either in New Zealand or in the Pacific (p. 20). “If Pacific Island people have a negative image in the general media, or are simply not represented, then one solution is to develop their own media” (Samasoni, 1990, p. 135).

Robie (2009, p. 86) believed that diversity has been a growing mantra for the New Zealand media in the last two decades and argued that there is a “growing need for both more diversity in journalist representation in the mainstream media and better education in cross-cultural reporting and coverage of diversity issues.” Although some mainstream media have Pacific-specific programmes like Television New Zealand’s only formal Pacific Island television programme Tagata Pasifika on Thursday late nights and repeated on Sunday mornings, some people complain that it is screened too late to attract a mainstream audience and has failed to increase awareness of Pasifika issues (Papoutsaki & Strickland, 2008). Monteiro and Cruickshank (2006) argued that “the reach of these media channels is limited to the boundaries of these communities and does not appear to influence stories in the mainstream media” (p.13).

This area of journalism stresses the value for Pacific people as a marginalised group in gaining a voice in the media. John Utanga, a reporter for Television New Zealand’s Tagata Pasifika programme, claimed that Tagata Pasifika, like other Pacific specific journalism, has had to adapt to the evolving Pacific populations, and continues to exist because mainstream media are still failing to cover many of the issues that Pacific people are facing (Sergel, 2013).

3.3.3 We’re all New Zealanders: Racism in the news media

Racism involves positive or largely negative attitudes towards an individual or a group, and might well involve stereotypes or unfounded generalisations. Spoonley’s 1993 definition of racism says:

Racism is the ideological belief that people can be classified into ‘races’often used to refer to the expression of an ideology of racial superiority....(which) indicates the difference between majority and minority groups. The description of them as a minority reflects their relative lack of power. A majority group by contrast, is politically, economically, and ideologically dominant and the reference to it as majority reflects the power available to it (p. 4).

Racism in New Zealand media, as Macpherson and Spoonley (2004) argued, “has been in existence over a considerable period of time as newspapers were controlled and owned by British, and later British settler, interests” (p. 228). It is also discussed in the large body of postcolonial literature which argues that the silencing of Indigenous voices has been both a product and a mechanism of colonial oppression (Barclay & Liu, 2003). Colvin (2009, p. 41) argued that racism belongs to an historical period, a social structure, a political order and economic relations and is embedded in text, talk, institutions and systems.

Wilson (1990) argued that imbalances in a story can be traced back to the childhood of New Zealand’s journalists. Wilson claimed that 10% of journalists come from overseas, mostly the United Kingdom,

and have not been taught much of New Zealand's history, culture, geography and language when they were at school. This has a greater impact in media reporting when they try to explain New Zealand to New Zealanders. Hartmann and Husband (1974) argued that one of the media's main flaws on the coverage of minorities is the failure to provide background. The media's inability and unwillingness to examine the contextual background of ethnic minorities' stories stems from the lack of Pacific peoples working in the media. Samasoni (1990) claimed that half a dozen journalists of Pacific descent worked as journalists in 1984. By 1989, more than 50 Pacific people had been formally trained in journalism, however Brown (2010) argued that the way media select and report stories is driven largely by factors attributed to dominant class. "Newsrooms are staffed overwhelmingly by people who are part of the dominant class, and they share certain class biases that influence the way stories are selected and edited" (p. 127). Tully (1990) has been highly critical of the role of the media, regarding it as a monocultural institution which fails to reflect multi-ethnic perspectives.

Henry and Tator (2002) argued that media discourse is not just a symptom of the problem of racism. It reinforces individual beliefs and behaviours, collective ideologies, the formation of public policies, and organisation practices. van Dijk (1988a) claimed that the media play a significant role in the production and reproduction of racism. Spoonley (1990) contended that the role of the media in causing or contributing to racism shows a definite link.

If the media are racist, then it will be because the wider society is racist. The media will reflect and appeal to commonly held values to varying degrees. If racism is part of New Zealand society, then it would be unusual not to find it represented in the media (p. 31).

Pietikainen (2003) argued that news media seem to favour similar representations in different social, political and cultural situations and with different ethnic minorities. This kind of news publicity is seen to contribute to racism, the fragmentation of society and prevents full participation by citizens from various ethnic groups (p. 8). Wilson, Gutierrez and Chao (2003) claimed that the distinctions between the dominant and minority groups distort the reality of how the media react and represent people of different races.

Toft (1990) argued that New Zealand has had a long ignoble history of prejudice against migrants who failed to conform to the colonial 'white New Zealand' policy. Spoonley and Hirsh (1990) claimed there is historical research into the construction of racialised discourses in New Zealand especially given the issues of enhanced contact with Pacific peoples (from the 1960s) that documents the evidence for, and the nature of, this mass media racialisation. Macpherson and Spoonley (2004) debated that many groups – dominant or minority – become increasingly dependent on media-generated images of 'themselves' and of 'others'. "This confers significant power on the controllers of mass media to define the ways we

come to know, understand and react to the ‘others’ in our culturally diverse societies” (p. 223). Loto et al. (2006) argued that reporting played an important role in stigmatising Pacific communities. When positive reporting did occur, it tended “to reflect processes of cultural assimilation, where Pacific people can be reported as successful if they conform to *palagi* norms, or if their creativity can be assimilated into the dominant culture” (p. 115). Fletcher (1999) pointed out that “discrimination and prejudice has the potential to make the process of settlement more difficult for newly arrived migrants....and is more likely to affect those from culturally dissimilar, non-English speaking backgrounds” (p. 61).

Racialisation and ethnic categorisation are often employed in the control and exploitation of migrant labour. Loomis (1990, p. 15) argued that paternalistic racism in New Zealand proceeded on the basis of positive (through largely untrue) stereotypes of happy Pacific Islanders and of the nation as ‘one family’. In retrospect, Tapu Misa’s article for the *NZ Herald* “Blind racism gets it all wrong again”, 2008 questioned whether the use of negative stereotypes reinforced racist thinking. The director of Pacific Studies Centre at Auckland University and author of *Polynesian Panthers*, Dr Melani Anae laid the blame for promoting the kinds of stereotypes on Pacific people by saying “we fought against (these) stereotypes) in the 70s, the happy-go-lucky brown coconuts, good at singing, dancing and making people laugh. We’ve moved beyond the stereotype of just being entertainers”. Misa (2013) claimed that the negative stereotypes don’t just hurt our feelings and affect our sense of self-worth, they can jeopardise our chances of employment, and affect the quality of our education and healthcare, and the kind of justice we can expect.

Stereotypes can determine a teacher’s attitude about whether a Māori or Pacific Island student is worth the effort of teaching, a social worker’s assessment of whether a Pacific Island man is capable of being a responsible father, a policeman’s attitude about claims of innocence. But here’s the thing about the negative stereotypes that I often wrestle with as a journalist. It’s difficult to get the kind of policy action that leads to societal change without highlighting the real problems in our communities. But how do you highlight the negatives without becoming hostage to them? (Misa, 2013).

3.4 Chapter summary

The news, particularly Pacific representation by the New Zealand media, is an important aspect of this thesis. The broad relationships between media and societal discourse can arguably be multidirectional relationships rather than a cause and effect, which would be too simplistic. In other words, the relationship is inseparable from capturing clearly the complexity of the media’s role but in domains that infuse and contaminate each other. There are quite diverse theories of media effects, some of which see the audience as thoroughly empowered and others of which see them as susceptible. There is no one

overarching conclusion either way, other than that it tends to depend on the issue, people's prior knowledge, their general media literacy, their specific connection with an interest in the issue, their access to other sources of information, etc.

Nonetheless, the media continue to play a prominent role in our lives. This review highlights research showing the effects of the media on attitudes and behaviours by the way the general public interpret and construct what they read, see or hear. The notion of moral panic was introduced in the 1970s (Cohen, 1972) to describe the anger or outrage directed at certain groups in the community, largely created by negative representations and images of those groups in the media (Sanson et.al, 2000). The moral panic concerning Pacific peoples in the 1970s framed Pacific peoples into a single racial box or category (Pacific Islander) and this was imbued with negative characteristics (Spoonley & Bedford, 2012, p. 211). These negative characteristics have continued to impact both non-Pacific views of Pacific peoples, and Pacific people's views of themselves. This research will seek to identify whether this coverage of earlier periods of Pacific migration to New Zealand has any parallels with that of the period 2007-2012 when RSE Pacific workers started to migrate to New Zealand for temporary work.

PART 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

“Discourse matters. The ways in which we communicate our views on other people come not just from direct words and actions, but through the subtleties of assumptions. These assumptions are built into our social mannerisms and particular expectations of what we believe others should be. And when we encounter people who don’t fit into this, we try to re-box them into a frame that fits our preconceived ideas about what we think they should be.”

- Seuta’afili Patrick Saulmatino Thomsen

CHAPTER 4: Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter begins by describing the overall research design, exploring the epistemological and theoretical perspectives that informed the choice of the overall methodological approach, followed by a description of methods and how they were implemented in this study. It outlines the methods of data collection and analysis employed in this study, illustrating the significance of adopting such methods in line with the questions addressed in the preceding chapters and why these methods are appropriate for use in this study.

The conceptual framework for this thesis draws on an interpretative thematic analysis framework to identify emerging themes from the study of newspaper coverage to better understand the depiction of Pacific RSE workers in the Hawke’s Bay, Bay of Plenty, Nelson, Marlborough and Otago regions. These regions constitute those with the highest numbers of RSE workers. The data for this research will be drawn from newspapers produced by the targeted five regions of the New Zealand RSE scheme. The newspapers are: *Bay of Plenty Times*, *Hawkes Bay Today*, *Nelson Mail*, *Marlborough Express* and *The Southland Times*. In this chapter I look at the theory and method for interpretative thematic analysis, and clarify the similarities and differences between different approaches that share common features with a thematic approach. I demonstrate in this chapter the perspective of an insider-outsider researcher and explore the attendant research challenges.

4.2 Research Design elements

According to Crotty (1998), methodology is the strategy or plan of action which influences the choice of methods. Crotty claims that methodology is concerned with why, what, from where, when and how data are collected and analysed. Nonetheless, people tend to adhere to the methodology that is most consonant with their socialised worldview. Crotty suggests there will be certain activities we engage in to gather and analyse data. These activities are research methods. Crotty further argues that “we will

not just talk about identifying themes in the data, but will show what we mean by themes, how the themes emerge, how they are identified, and what is done with them when they do” (p. 7).

The framework proposed by Crotty (1998) provides a logical explanation of the above terms and the relationship between them (Figure 4.1).

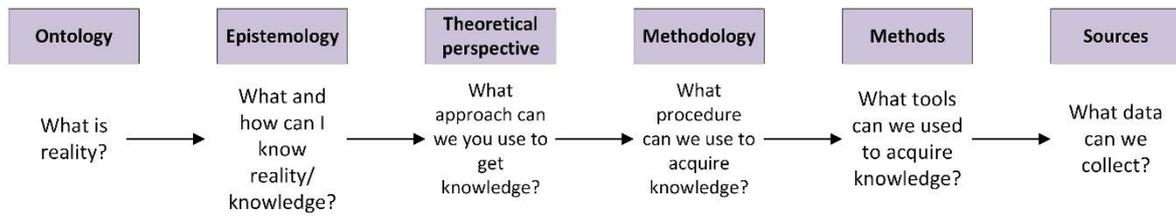


Figure 4.1 Research terms and relationship between them (based on Crotty, 1998, p.5)

I used Figure 4.1 as a starting point to understand the symbiotic relationship between ontology, epistemology, theoretical perspectives, methodology and methods in my research. By using this visualisation, I was able to recognise how these assumptions relate to my chosen methodology and methods, and connect to the findings of this study. Although Atieno (2009) argues that there are some fundamental differences between the research paradigms which lie primarily at the level of assumptions about research (epistemological and ontological assumptions) rather than at the level of the data, I was influenced by Crotty’s (1998) view that the justification of our choice and particular use of methodology and methods is something that reaches into the assumptions about reality that we bring to our work. To ask about these assumptions is to ask about our theoretical perspective (p. 2).

Epistemology derives from the Greek word *epistēmē*, meaning ‘knowledge, understanding or to be acquainted with’ meaning and is “concerned with ways of knowing and learning about the world and focuses on issues such as how we can learn about reality and what forms the basis of our knowledge” (Ritchie, et. al., 2014, p. 6). Crotty (1998) defines epistemology as ‘how we know what we know’. It is a way of looking at the world and making sense of it. Crotty further argued that the nature of reality implies a particular epistemological stance, meaning there is no single objective truth to be known and an array of perspectives can be applied to interpret the world. The framework below illustrates my epistemological position for this study based on Crotty’s (1998) four elements that represent different levels of research progression.

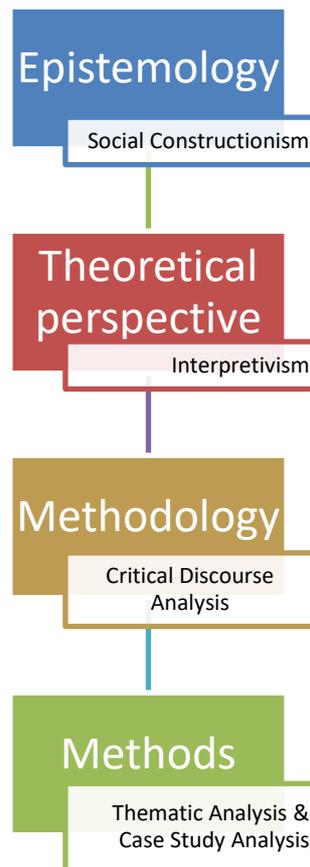


Figure 4.2 Research position (based on Crotty, 1998, p. 5).

4.2.1 Epistemology: *Social Constructionism*

As a starting point, the first layer contains my epistemological position for this study: Constructionism, or the concept that the world as we know it is a ‘social construction’. Social constructionism understands the social reality we experience every day as a human construction; it can also therefore be changed by human action (Hjelm, 2014). The notion of social construction has led to a shift in thinking about the nature of knowledge (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). To me, social constructionism suggests that people are experiencing the world through the power structures of society. We can access reality only via representation, but there is still a material reality.

Social constructionism argues that we are born into a world in which meaning has already been made: we are born into culture (Scotland, 2012). Elder-Vass (2012) believes that social constructionism is about the ways in which we collectively think and communicate about the world which both reflect and affect the way the world is, and that “any attempt to make sense of our social world must explain the roles that culture, language, discourse, and knowledge play in it” (p. 1). This view has established for me that my research positionality in choosing social constructionism has been the right fit. My standpoint is about making sense of the social world by using my cultural lens as a Pacific person to pose an alternative interpretation of media data alongside the dominant *palagi* cultural view. Thus,

social constructionism is a key part of this research process in determining multiple truths. Crotty (1998) states that:

We are all born into a world of meaning. We inherit a system of significant symbols. When we first see the world in meaningful fashion, we are inevitably viewing it through lenses bestowed upon us by our culture. Our culture brings things into views for us and endows them with meaning and, by the same token, leads us to ignore other things. All reality, as meaningful reality, is socially constructed. (p. 54)

For this study, it seemed appropriate to collect data that would serve my research objectives. The analysis of the information collected formed a tentative reconstruction from the multiple realities that existed in the data. With the aim that data collected forms the basis of reality, my reconstruction of the multiple realities revealed by my original analysis might evolve in the light of new insights and clarification of themes and meanings expressed.

The second academic field underpinning my epistemological position concerns the role of the media in the construction of public belief and social change. This has been addressed in more detail in the literature review, but to summarise it here in the methodological context, Happer and Philo (2013) claim that the media play a central role in communicating and constructing what happens in the world. In those cases, in which audiences do not possess direct knowledge or experience of what is happening, they become particularly reliant upon the media to inform them. Acknowledging the value of social constructionism, media are believed to be key to setting agendas and focusing public interest on particular subjects, which operates in the social ways of knowing to inform public debate. Happer and Philo confirm this, stating that:

In the case of media coverage of migration, some arguments and the assumptions that they contain – for example, that a ‘large number’ of migrants constitute a ‘threat’ – may underpin the structure of specific news stories. The story is organised around this way of understanding migration, underpinned by key assumptions about social relationships and how they are to be understood. At the heart of these lies in the complex process of negotiation in which audiences receive messages involving a range of factors including current and past media accounts, beliefs, knowledge and prior experience, structural barriers and values. (p. 322-323)

Although the alignment of my research is with social constructionism as my compelling choice, I also take into consideration Pacific indigenous knowledge as a key part of philosophical grounding, in

deciding the kinds of knowledge from which I draw meaning or claims for this study. I feel it is important to acknowledge that indigenous epistemology is also shaped by worldviews which guide the social construction of indigenous knowledge. I am influenced by Smith's (2005) view that "indigenous communities and researchers from different parts of the globe have long and often voiced concern about the 'problem of research' and represented themselves to be among the 'most researched' peoples of the world" (p. 87). For this study, I am researching *palagi* media representations of RSE workers rather than researching RSE workers. This constitutes a completely different approach by applying a critical whiteness studies orientation as opposed to an anthropological orientation. For instance, I am interested to study the outputs of "white" media and turn the spotlight on them, and interpret their role in social construction of dominant views. Scrutinising the dominant discourse as opposed to those marginalised by it is, I believe, helpful to generating change. It is the politics of racism and white supremacy embedded in seemingly neutral media that are intriguing to me in pursuing this study, as I suggest it is the perpetrators not the victims of marginalising discourses who need to be analysed, so that they can recognise, understand and change what they are doing.

The connection between social constructionism and indigenous epistemology is that both bodies of thought argue for the need to acknowledge that reality is perceived as much as it is material (Sarantakos, 2005). Gegeo (1998) argues that "indigenous epistemology guides the social construction of indigenous knowledge, and indigenous knowledge is the result of the practice of indigenous epistemology" (p. 290). Indigenous knowledge has developed over time by a group of people in a society which has been transmitted from generation to generation. It includes "traditional knowledge" based on past history but it is also evolving and embraces modernity. As eloquently stated by Smith (2005) all research needs to honour indigenous ways of knowing "for it is not just noisy communities of difference 'out there' in the margins of society who are moving into the research domain with new methodologies, epistemological approaches, and challenges to the way research is conducted" (p. 85). For me, born an Indigenous Samoan then spending from my teenaged years onwards studying, living and working in Aotearoa, my epistemological heritage is diverse. A social constructionist perspective enables me to embrace these heritages, acknowledge their influence on my methodology, and put them to work via an interpretivist approach to the data.

4.2.2 Theoretical Perspective: Interpretivism

The second layer of my research design contains my theoretical perspective: interpretivism. Bryman (2016) states that interpretivism is a term given to an epistemology pointed to the study of the social world, therefore guided by the beliefs and experiences of the researcher about the world. Taking an interpretative stance, the theoretical position allowed me to explore the data using my personal lens. Willis (2007) suggests that interpretivists assert that how they view the world is a socially constructed

activity, and the ‘reality’ it tells is therefore also socially constructed. Interpretive research is rooted in philosophies that include the idea of multiple subjective realities that are best interpreted from the standpoint of the researcher to address his or her ability to capture and represent multiple realities (Merrigan & Huston, 2009). This method is valuable in identifying patterns of meaning in texts. Merrigan and Huston (2009) believe that the purpose of interpretive research is to “understand how meanings are created, maintained, or changed” in a given context (p. 87). Sligo (2005) argued that there is a difference between analysis and interpretation. “Social scientists are often aware that they need to filter and interpret scientific-type findings...when social scientists interpret the meaning of their findings their approach will often owe much to assumptions taken from the humanities to do with the importance of the individual person’s perspective” (p. 7).

Interpretive analysis is the search for the meaning circulated by (in this case, media) texts and, with its attention to power, is always a form of social criticism. Baym (2012, p. 323) argued that interpretive analysis must be able to justify the specific texts selected for analysis, and show how the examination of signs and signifying systems demonstrates the multiple ways a text can construct meanings. Baym further suggested that the end result of the interpretive analysis process is an argument about a text or a series of texts and that the argument must be insightful, valid and valuable (p. 324). Baym claimed that the strength of interpretation lies in the ability to reveal (sometimes deeply) the various layers to the construction of meaning and in turn to tease out the implications therein. He recognises that the researcher is inside the meaning-making, constructing it, and developing interpretations emerging out of selected texts.

My goal for this thesis is to decipher threads of meanings that create themes used by regional print media to report RSE matters. Acknowledging the constructivist and interpretivist frameworks, I can only do this from my individual perspective – but, as I outline below, that perspective brings with it particular illuminating factors, not least my cultural lens, that help that individual perspective add a unique richness to the range of ways we can look at RSE media coverage. The findings from this research will explore my interpretation of whether the media consistently emphasise particular viewpoints and voices at the expense of others and whether the socially reconstruct reality of regional RSE coverage reflects the kinds of social and institutional ideologies that have governed earlier media coverage of Pacific peoples in New Zealand.

4.2.3 Methodology: Critical Discourse Analysis

The third layer of my research design contains my main methodology: qualitative critical discourse analysis. Wood (2003) believes that qualitative approaches to research are “valuable when we wish not to count or measure phenomena but to understand the character of experience, particularly how people

perceive and make sense of their communication experience” (p. 69). This involves interpreting meanings. Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) assert that underlying the word ‘discourse’ is the general idea that language is structured according to different patterns that people’s utterances follow when they take part in different domains of social life. ‘Discourse analysis’ is the analysis of these patterns (p. 1). However, Henry and Tator (2000) claim that the term ‘discourse’ is slippery, elusive and difficult to define. It is most closely associated with language and the written or oral text, and the production or reproduction of ideologies in those texts. “Thus, discourse analysis of language and text can be used as a tool to deconstruct the ideologies of the elite and to help identify and define social, economic and historical power relations between dominant and subordinate groups” (p. 76).

While I have been somewhat influenced by a number of writers on critical discourse analysis, I found Van Dijk’s framework the most fitting. Van Dijk’s approach to discourse employs a multidisciplinary theory of ideology which asks the question how societal structures relate to discourse structures (Bell & Garrett, 1998). I am also influenced by Fairclough’s discourse practice perspective (2003), which looks at the importance of language, discourse and power in society. I have also looked at the structural discourse analysis approach advocated by Bell (1991), which examines the structure of news stories and the role of media languages. This approach looks beyond the text of a story to uncover gaps and find out what the text does not say. I have combined some of those elements into my own conceptual approach to create the framework that best helps me answer the research questions. I may also be influenced somewhat by critical whiteness theory by examining the white narratives from my Pacific lens to understand the social construction of whiteness in media reporting. However, I will not be specifically conducting a critical race analysis but aiming to focus on a cultural lens approach to critical discourse analysis, as I acknowledge below. I agree with philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche’s belief (cited in Berger, 2013) that everything boils down to interpretation (p. 18) and that there is more than one way to interpret data.

4.2.4 Method: Thematic Analysis

The final layer contains my method of analysis: interpretative thematic analysis, which I applied both to a broad sample from the regions and, for comparison, to purposively sampled specific case studies. This method involves analysis of the raw data from newspaper articles to identify key themes and patterns in the portrayal of Pacific seasonal workers by the New Zealand print media.

Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing and deciphering patterns of themes within data. It acknowledges the active role of the researcher in “identifying patterns and themes, selecting which are of interest, and reporting them” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 80). It describes patterns across qualitative data and generates themes from the data. Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest that it minimally

organises and describes data in rich detail and often goes further to interpret various aspects of the research topic and that thematic analysis has been used widely in qualitative research and been found useful in constructing meanings.

The interpretative approach to textual analysis is conducted by reading and analysing media content and drawing from it the sociocultural meanings the content potentially creates and circulates. While my literature review had provided some sensitising topics that I could recognise as important if I came across them, my approach was to examine the textual data multiple times in an open-ended inquiry, to identify themes that emerge from the articles rather than setting predetermined topic limits to search for. Merrigan and Hudson (2009) argued that interpretive research values subjectivity and “aims to richly describe multiple realities” (p. 88). Themes in thematic discourse analysis arguably seek to summarise the data. I agree with Merrigan and Hudson’s view that the warrants for interpretive research shift from reliability and validity to a researcher’s systematic approach, their credibility, and their production of plausible interpretations and transferable findings.

My use of thematic analysis to examine the regional print media depiction of Pacific seasonal workers in New Zealand was therefore guided by Braun and Clarke’s (2006) step-by-step guide before, during and after analysis.

The process starts when the analyst begins to notice, and look for, patterns of meaning and issues of potential interest in the data. Analysis involves a constant moving back and forward between the entire data set, the coded extracts of data that you are analysing, and the analysis of the data that you are producing (p. 86).

Thematic analysis allowed for a careful read of the articles through multiple sweeps. It involves searching through data to identify and then check recurrent patterns. These recurring patterns can then be clustered as themes of linked categories conveying similar meanings, and for my data I recorded these themes, how they were developed and refined, and their finalised descriptions, in both a research diary and a codebook. While interpretive research is situated in the researcher’s lens, careful documentation of the process in this way provides for reliability of the research, because there is a track record of its conduct such that another researcher could follow the systematic procedures (DeCuir-Gunby, Marshall, & McCulloch, 2011).

Thematic analysis is not guided by any preconceptions on how a research topic should be presented. Thus, the researcher does not have to be an expert to adopt this methodology (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Boyatzis, 1998; Tuckett, 2005). However, in order for the analysis to be effective, some conceptual understanding of data collection and analysis is needed. In thematic analysis the researcher will identify a number of themes which reflect the required level of analysis adequately. The interpretation of texts

is simply from the viewpoint of the researcher based on theme frequencies, re-occurrence, and interpreting the intricacies of meanings from various articles. Whether the process of data analysis proceeds inductively or deductively, the themes identified are strongly linked and depend on the researcher's epistemologies.

Thematic analysis assesses and identifies themes in texts. Important data are coded in terms of as many themes as are relevant and then these themes are compared. Boyatzis (1998) argued that reliability is critical in using thematic analysis. "Reliability is consistency of observation, labelling, or interpretation. It is not verification, which is a pure, positivistic notion" (p. 144). It is the ability of the researcher to "recognise what is important, give it meaning, and conceptualise the observations" (p. 8). Glaser and Strauss (1999) suggested that this kind of methodology will provide relevant predictions, explanations, interpretations and applications. For this thesis, my methodology attempts to represent a view of reality from the standpoint of a Pacific researcher, by working through texts to identify themes that present themselves as frequent and meaningful. To ensure consistency of labelling and interpretation of these themes, I used HyperResearch (Hesse-Biber & Dupuis, 2000), a qualitative research software package that has been used in multiple previous studies, helps with consistency, systematic recording of coding choices, and therefore reliability. Within HyperResearch, I used the 'Code Descriptor' field to develop and refine my code book content, as described above, but I also simultaneously used a hand-written journal to record all research steps. More detail of my coding protocol is provided in section 4.8 (Coding and Theme Categories), below.

For this study, interpretative thematic analysis is my main method supported by Huberman's (1994) view that words render more meanings than numbers. This is more appropriate to qualitative research especially in media article analysis where numbers are often not the focus but words and meanings are. The interpretative thematic analysis is a process where I as the interpreter determine themes during the analysis using my own understanding and constructions related to studied text. Although thematic analysis is one of the most common forms of analysis in qualitative research, it has its own limitations.

First by its nature thematic analysis is restricted to analysing themes only. Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest that in thematic analysis, weaknesses are dependent on a poorly conducted analysis or inappropriate research question, rather than on the method itself. Problems can also arise if unclear guidelines are provided around thematic analysis in coding the data. Clarifying the goals of the thematic analysis is important, because "it has limited interpretive power beyond mere description if it is not used within an existing theoretical framework that anchors the analytic claims that are made" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 97). Braun and Clarke further argue that although thematic analysis has its limitations, the method of analysis is driven primarily by the research question and broader theoretical assumptions. A well-constructed thematic analysis acknowledges its limitations and needs to be applied rigorously

to the data. Guest, Macqueen and Namey (2012) support this view by arguing that despite a few issues, thematic analysis is still the most useful method in capturing the complexities of meaning within a textual data set. Attride-Stirling (2001), Braun and Clarke (2006) and Savin-Baden and Mayor (2013) concur that provided researchers are clear about what they are doing and why and how they did their analysis, thematic analysis can offer a sophisticated, reliable and valuable method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns of themes within data.

I now delve into my research lens – my cultural and personal position - in greater detail and describe how it fits and relates to my overall research design.

4.3 Insider-Outsider Research

This study focuses on the portrayal of Pacific seasonal workers by the New Zealand media. I am a Samoan-born New Zealander, and also a former journalist. In this regard, I consider myself an insider (Samoan-born, journalist/media expert), an insider in the sense of being on the ‘inside’ of that Samoan/Pacific-born lens and having once been on the ‘inside’ of the media. As a researcher rather than someone working for or employing workers under the scheme, I am also an outsider. My role as a researcher and my occupation as a former senior Communications Adviser for Immigration New Zealand, the government agency that manages the RSE scheme, place me in the unique position of insider as well as outsider. It is a position that carries both advantages and disadvantages from an interpretivist theoretical viewpoint, to support the approach of this study.

The insider-outsider dilemma has been discussed by many leading Pacific and Indigenous scholars. Smith (1999) illustrates it beautifully using the multidimensionality of the “space between,” drawing on her ethnicity, her previous community work, her education, and her income, among other characteristics, to problematise her position as a complete insider in relationship to her research participants. Smith argues how her identity as a researcher led the women she interviewed to treat her differently than they might otherwise if she were visiting their house as a mother. In Smith’s (1999) example cited by Kerstetter (2012), Smith described her own experience occupying the “space between” as a Māori researcher in New Zealand.

I was an insider as a Maori mother and an advocate of the language revitalisation movement, and I shared in the activities of fund raising and organising. Through my different tribal relationships, I had close links to some of the mothers and to the woman who was the main organiser...When I began the discussions and negotiations over my research; however, I became much more aware of the things which made me an outsider. I was attending university as a graduate student; I had worked for several years as a teacher and had a professional income; I had a

husband; and we owned a car which was second-hand but actually registered. As I became more involved in the project...these differences became much more marked. (p. 137-138)

Another viewpoint comes from Anae (2019) who argues that the crisis facing Pacific research is the continuing adherence to traditional Western theories and research methods that undermine and overshadow the *va* – the sacred, spiritual and social spaces of human relationships between researcher and the researched that Pacific peoples place at the centre of all human interactions. “It offers a consideration of the ontological questions of relationship in research methodology and provides an extensive examination of the development of ‘*teu le va*’ as a framework in Pacific research and ethics, addressing the issues of accountability and responsibility within this paradigm” (Anae, 2019, p. 4). This reference to ‘*teu le va*’, meaning to value, nurture and care for the sacred and social spaces of all relationships, resonates with me as a Pacific person ensuring careful and respectful critique. My research did not physically connect me with Pacific RSE workers, as I chose to point my lens of critical inquiry at the *palagi* media’s treatment of issues that affect those workers, rather than subject the workers themselves to the inconvenience and burden of research scrutiny. However, the motivation for my research, to help better understand and explain the discursive context in which my Pacific peoples are living in their host communities, relates to Anae’s description of reaching out across space to connect in an empathetic relational gesture. The very first seeds of a possible idea for this research were in fact formed after a lengthy face to face meeting with a group of RSE workers who told their experiences to me, when I worked in communications for the scheme, and my surprise at seeing a story in their local community’s newspaper, the next day, that painted a completely different picture from the one they had shared with me.

Heneriko (2000, p. 89) cautions, however, that “sometimes native scholars like to claim that they know their people better than foreign scholars by mere virtue of their being insiders”. Heneriko points out the complexity of the insider concept of ‘knowing’ and ‘understanding’. He concedes that being Rotuman (an insider) does not necessarily make him the subject matter expert about Rotuma’s history, as opposed to a non-Rotuman (an outsider) who has studied the Rotuman culture for years. On the contrary, Heneriko argues, “knowledgeable as they are, outsiders can never truly know what it is like to be a Samoan, a Papua New Guinean, or a Marshallese.” He further illustrates his point by talking about the outsider concept: “Just because you went into a garage, that doesn’t make you into a car” (p. 89). This is good advice. I consider Heneriko’s views on a collaborative approach between the researcher and the researched would be relevant for this study if I was focussing on direct research such as interviews, in which the context the insider position helps with rapport and questioning. However, my position as insider in relation to this study is about the texts, specifically newspapers. As a former senior communications advisor for Immigration New Zealand who manages the RSE scheme, I have

previously dealt extensively with journalists in a professional capacity. First, being Samoan, it helps sensitise me to recognising culturally specific or racist content in the *palagi* journalism. Second, having been immersed in journalistic culture for many years through my professional work might simultaneously have desensitised me a little, but it also brought insights into the context of newsrooms and journalistic culture so that I might have some understanding of why the discourse is the way it is. My twin insider positions (cultural and professional) probably have some advantages and some disadvantages in terms of my perceptiveness to discourse, but on the whole the advantages outweigh the disadvantages. Thinking this through has challenged my expectations about my position as a researcher, in particular my previous assumptions, experiences and practices.

Theory ought to be informed by practice and the insider-outsider status can at times be interchangeable, as argued by De Andrade (2000) as something that is fluid and dependent on the context. It is self-defined by the participant and the researcher respectively. As a result of my career background, this research involves an ‘insider’ perspective. As detailed in the Introduction, I have worked in Immigration New Zealand as a communications practitioner who dealt with media and communication matters with regards to the RSE scheme. I understand the challenges, opportunities, strengths and weaknesses of the RSE scheme with regards to its own representations to the media and this has been a benefit and a challenge for this study. Through applying this ‘insider interpretative’ perspective, I have gained invaluable insights of the complexities of this study. On the ‘outside’ perspective, I was a Samoan-born, former journalist, researcher, and it is quite likely that the New Zealand media saw me as an outsider. If I were currently practising as a journalist, I would be an ‘insider’ from a media lens. However again, unless I was New Zealand-born to *palagi* parents, my position as a researcher could have been different. Although I am not an outsider objectively, I am fully aware of the subtle difference between the two perspectives. As beautifully described by Smith (1999), the real difference between insider and outsiders is that insiders have to live with the consequences of any wrong-doing in their research as they often live on a daily basis with those research participants, whereas outsiders do not. I am not an insider to the RSE workers’ realities. A big part of the learning journey of this thesis, however, has been coming to the realisation that reality is not a part of what the media represents, and was also not a part of the discourse that the RSE scheme provided to the media in its releases: each was partial and interested. Recognising what is missing from my own perspective has been just as important as utilising what is there, such as my ethnicity as a Samoan-born New Zealander, my career pathway as a former journalist and communications practitioner working for the New Zealand government, among other characteristics such as professional and personal affiliation in the community, which determined and to a further extent, problematised my position in relation to my research data.

My position of former insider to the scheme itself means I have inside knowledge of the RSE scheme and presumption of the data in which I enter each situation knowing more about the cases and events

occurring in the media about a particular period of analysis. This made some of my decisions, such as which years and months to sample media coverage from, easy due to my familiarity with seasonal periods of the scheme and the RSE cases and events occurring at a particular date and time. My position as an insider means that I begin each coding with a “familiar sense” of not just scratching the surface but I have inside knowledge of what the media case was about. This is a consequence of my familiarity with the RSE scheme within my professional capacity and knowledge about the scheme, even though I find myself at this point in the research process to be an outsider looking in.

For me, as it occurs, my sense of befuddlement due to being on the outside looking in dissipates, due to my sense of greater understanding of the RSE scheme. This understanding allows me to have growing confidence as a researcher in my description and analysis of data. Kerstetter (2012) claims that recent research methodological understanding moves beyond a strict insider-outsider dichotomy to emphasise the relative nature of researchers’ identities and social positions, depending on the specific research context. Kerstetter’s view is supported by Asiasiga (2007) who articulates the precarious nature of insider-outsider status:

Everything is relative and no-one is wholly an outsider or insider. Relationships are constantly shifting so that even within a group where a researcher is an insider there will be some factors that create distance and others that create connection (p. 91).

For this study, I am making meaning of the articles studied for myself, to understand the depiction of Pacific Island seasonal workers by the New Zealand print media as an important discourse to understand how a predominantly Western media is portraying Pacific people. Representations of Pacific people have been strongly shaped by the New Zealand media and have been particularly prominent in the news agenda for the past decade and it is important to understand if the same portrayals apply to those who travel to New Zealand on a temporary basis. This process has changed my thinking on experience and research combined.

I was fully aware of my position as a researcher and challenges to this research with regards to emotional attachment and in-between positioning. Dwyer and Buckle (2009) argue that an insider researcher conducts research about populations of which they are also members so that the researcher shares an identity, language, and experiential base – for me, that base existed to the extent that I was a former member of the media and more recently a professional dealing daily with the media. For an outsider researcher there is no affiliation to the group studied. “Instead, we posit that the core ingredient is not insider or outsider status but an ability to be open, authentic, honest, deeply interested in the experience of one’s research participants, and committed to accurately and adequately representing their experience” (p. 59). Dwyer and Buckle further suggest that we may be closer to the insider position or

closer to the outsider position, but because our perspective is shaped by our position as a researcher, we cannot fully occupy one or the other of those positions.

It is important to take into account the emotional wellbeing of the researcher. Morse (2000) proposes that when researchers conduct sensitive research, they run the risk of encountering and becoming engulfed with a shared suffering. Baird and Mitchell (2013) suggest that the risk of personal emotional turmoil should never be underestimated and initiating support mechanisms for the researcher is vital to the success of the study. Working in the social constructivist epistemology and interpretative perspective allowed me to explore this study with an understanding that emotions are part of a research experience, yet to try not to immerse myself in emotional responses to the data.

Research that has emotional risks is often considered as sensitive research. Campbell (2002, p. 150) suggests “the emotions of researching emotionally difficult topics are often overlooked in academic discourse. Yet, the emotionally engaged researcher bears witness to the pain, suffering, humiliation, and indignity of others over and over again.” It was difficult to separate my feelings from my work. As someone who has worked in connection with the scheme I have, with the permission of my employer, had unprecedented access to and in-depth knowledge of this scheme, as a participant observer, which can inform my interpretations. During the data collection phase, a common risk for me was the emotional detachment of looking at negative articles with the assumption that the depiction of RSE workers is similar to the general negative portrayal of Pacific people in New Zealand. This was my general view based on preliminary investigation of the topic which suggested that the RSE workers are an example of a profoundly marginalised and voiceless group in New Zealand and for this reason it is important to understand how they have been dealt with by the media. It would be disingenuous not to admit these feelings. However, it was unexpected that such emotions would become intensified during the data analysis phase, when the articles retrieved did not match my expectations, allowing for another search to triple-check the results.

I managed these feelings using Lee’s (1993, p. 4) philosophical approach to sensitive research as “research which potentially poses a substantial threat to those who are or have been involved in it”. Lee’s definition suggests that sensitive research has the potential to impact on the people who are involved in it, including researchers. It examines the potential for harm to the researchers as well as to the research participants. While Lee’s definition is beneficial, I think of ‘sensitive’ research as in the eye of the researcher. I considered this study to be less sensitive research given there was no direct engagement with those who are vulnerable, or disempowered. My analysis of the newspaper articles will be based entirely on how ‘sensitive’ my interpretation to a wide range of topics which brings the various debates on the New Zealand media portrayal of Pacific seasonal workers. In Dickson-Swift, James and Liamputtong’s (2008) views there is no generic way to describe what sensitive research is.

It encompasses a wide range of topics undertaken in a range of different locations, using a variety of methods. (p. 5)

As qualitative researchers, Gilbert (2001) argues that the goal is to see the world through someone else's eyes, "using ourselves as a research instrument; it thus follows that we must experience our research both intellectually and emotionally" (p. 9). On the contrary, some researchers argue that individual researchers should separate their feelings from their work. Dickson-Swift et al., (2009) claim many researchers spoke about the value of being professional which involved not showing any outward signs of emotion. For this study I take into account both my 'thinking' and 'personal experiences' in my interpretations. In short, it allowed me to conceptually think more about my position in this study.

For me, knowing from my professional work as a media advisor that one media story could be interpreted in very different ways by different audiences – some would see racism where others saw none, for example – I was more interested in how my particular insights as a Samoan-born researcher who had inside knowledge of the RSE scheme might offer a different interpretation of meaning from a mainstream interpretation. This led me to choose a naturalistic, rather than positivist, approach to the data. I am interested in what meanings the mainstream audience might miss, rather than in what the journalists might have intended them to see.

The naturalistic paradigm contends that there are multiple realities and foregrounds the relationship of the researcher to that which is being researched. The nature of this study called for a framework that would allow for the many perspectives and multiple realities. I was influenced by Crotty's (1998) research design elements coupled with the interpretive nature of the naturalistic inquiry in that I have the ability to construct my own realities and do so based on my own personal ontology and epistemology while also trying to see the situation from the point of view of those who are being studied, by providing my own personal interpretation of the situation. Naturalistic inquiry allowed for this approach and facilitated the capturing of the various realities that occurred in this study.

4.4 Choice of Research Methods: Paths not taken

The following methodologies were considered in my search to provide tools that would give a better understanding of what media portrayal is, the way messages are composed and how news is presented to readers. Ultimately, I did not choose to specifically follow either of the methods below, but they have influenced my research pathway nonetheless. By examining these approaches, by looking at their strengths and weaknesses, it is easy to see the difference in the way perspectives are presented and the impact of portrayal of events on readers. I also consider other methods to the requirements of this research for analysing text that I may find useful. The central focus here is on interpretive thematic

analysis as a means of data analysis in which the words or phrases are illustrated in themes and classified into theme categories, theme frequencies and co-occurrences. Other possible theoretical approaches I consider that could be used to answer my research questions are content analysis, frame analysis, computer assisted discourse analysis, among others. I assess these briefly both because they have influenced thematic textual analytical approaches, and by way of explaining my ultimate decision to use thematic analysis.

4.4.1 Content Analysis

Content analysis is defined by Hsieh and Shannon (2005) as “a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns” (p. 1278). The content analysis method provides an overview to the interpretive approach. Riffe, Lacy and Fico (2005) argued that content analysis is a method of research defined as “the systematic assignment of communication content to categories according to rules, and the analysis of relationships involving those categories using statistical methods” (p. 3). Kerlinger (1964) suggested that content analysis is characterised as a method of “studying and analysing communication in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables” (p. 544).

Content analysis methodology is best defined by Berger (2013) as a “research technique for the systematic classification and description of communication content” (p. 232). Berger outlined a number of advantages to content analysis “that it is unobtrusive, relatively inexpensive, can be made up of topics of current interest, uses material that is relatively easy to obtain and work with and yields data which can be quantified” (p. 239). However, there is much more to content analysis than what this methodology provides. One downfall of this methodology is that the analysis of content cannot prove the effect the material being studied has on audiences. “Content analysis tells us what is in the material being studied, not how it affects people exposed to this material” (Berger, 2013, p. 233). As Brennen (2013) explains in her book *Qualitative Research Methods for Media Studies*, “we all have certain expectations when we read the newspaper” (p. 204) and effects researchers need to study those expectations to understand the persuasive aspects of texts. Brennen claims that this methodology considered repetition an important measure of value insisting that the more times a word, concept or idea is repeated, the greater significance there was to the evidence. This is in contrast with Kracauer’s (1952) belief that repetition is less important than the consideration of texts in their entirety. Moreover, the analysis of text is not just superficial but also often cannot capture the underlying meaning. Meanings and the underlying intentions of the text are crucial to my research questions, prompting me to look beyond potential meanings of individual units of text to look for more holistic approaches to the data. In a sense, I am looking at content when I analyse themes in newspaper coverage, and I did use

an approach that allows for capture of frequency of content. However, my insider perspective enabled me to go beyond that content in understanding the wider political, cultural and social context in which it is situated, and so I would not describe my approach as ‘classic’ content analysis in the way that term is sometimes strictly applied, but as a thematic interpretation of content.

4.4.2 Frame Analysis

I have also considered looking at frame analysis especially the relationships between a text, headline, positionality in the newspaper, and accompanying images and captions. Framing analysis looks at message content in order to ascertain how the media represent a certain topic. Entman (1993) identifies the frames as communicating text or message to promote certain facets of a ‘perceived reality’. McQuail (1994) agreed that mass media constructs social reality by framing images of reality. On the contrary, Cissel (2012) claimed that while framing news is almost impossible to avoid, it is the motive behind the frames that warrants further research. The question is how readers can better comprehend how and why framing occurs in the media. Besides, formal framing analysis is not essential to finding patterns to methodically evaluate themes in news media, yet allows for the comparison of possible matters in each source media. Framing works in conjunction with agenda-setting by assessing who it is that decides the framework of each story or agenda of each news source. This could be the underlying framework to gauge how this perspective affects how news is portrayed to its readers. While in a sense my investigation looks at how different features of the media coverage influence its representation, I decided not to use a strict or formal frame analysis approach for this study as in its most quantified format it is not a method that benefits from my insider knowledge or cultural lens or enables me to use my expert insider judgement, which are all valuable lenses.

4.4.3 Computer Assisted Discourse Analysis

It is difficult to imagine organising and analysing qualitative data without a tool. Stubbs (2001) argued that computer assisted discourse analysis helps to “compare what occurs in individual texts with what frequently occurs in large numbers of texts of different kinds” (p. 304). Content analysis researchers also use computers to analyse data. Riffe, Lacy and Fico (1998) believed that “using computers to identify content, access content, and even to code content has increased as database creation has become easier and software development continues” (p. 180). Although computers can identify appropriate content, there is always a chance of misidentifying irrelevant content. “Some content analysis projects save time and money with programs that actually categorise content, doing work traditionally done by human coders” (p. 183).

I chose not to use automated CADA software to analyse my data because, as noted above, one of the valuable things I bring to the research process is my personal cultural and professional experiences,

which enable me to interpret the data outside a mainstream discursive view. However, I still wanted to be systematic in my approach to the data, and so I used a software programme that assists, but does not replace, the human coder: HyperResearch.

With HyperResearch software, researchers manually code the data, but the tool helps researchers organise, record, group and report their codes clearly. HyperResearch is able to categorise text into files and create maps of data to show connections and the relationships among codes. This allows for quick data coding to create themes and build theory. This is why I chose the HyperResearch software for my data analysis in order to facilitate reliable and efficient coding, cross referencing and the iterative reading and re-reading of texts. This software has assisted in grouping the data based on the themes that emerged out of the different articles. This data analysis software is more manageable and a perfect fit for my study. This research is, however, still strictly a manual, not computerised, discourse analysis. HyperResearch helps with managing the display and recording of the researcher's coding decisions, but it does not automate coding: it was me as the insider researcher who made all the coding decisions and interpreted the text, not the software.

4.5 Data Collection

The population of the study is composed of all issues of the *Bay of Plenty Times*, *Hawkes Bay Today*, *Nelson Mail*, *Marlborough Express* and *The Southland Times*, published between 2007 and 2012 in the period November to March for each calendar year. The newspaper searches include only the articles about Pacific RSE seasonal workers. These newspapers were selected because of the large number of RSE Pacific Island workers in these regions. Newspaper articles were collected for evaluation from the five studied regions and were scrutinised. I also explored any duplication issues in the early stages of the analysis. In the interests of accuracy, during sampling, the newspaper archive database was examined twice in an attempt to limit the duplication but maintain completeness.

In an attempt to determine the emerging themes, print news contents were examined for the first five years of the scheme's existence. The analysis is limited to news articles originating from five media outlets operating in the five RSE regions that employ mostly overseas seasonal workers. The regional data illuminates the dominant themes in each region, and theme trends across all the regions over time. Separately, several case studies were selected from daily metropolitan newspaper, *NZ Herald*. These case studies were purposively sampled and were intended to use only to show 'what is missing' from the regional data. They provide a comparison of discursive breadth and variety, illuminating what range of discourse about the scheme is possible even within the limits of media news values. They do not represent anything generalisable. At the time of data collection, I did not find available samples of newspaper articles for the *Otago Daily Times* through either Massey University or National Library

databases. The only relevant source found with text files available on file for that region was *The Southland Times*. Sampling often has to be rethought until it works. A close examination of challenges with the data selection will be discussed in detail in section 4.8 Issues with the data. As Table 4.1 shows, the five regional newspapers chosen for this study had a combined circulation of nearly 69,000 daily copies at the time of analysis.

Table 4.1: Average Circulation of the Selected New Zealand Newspapers from calendar years 2007 – 2012

Region	Newspaper	Ownership	Frequency	Average Net Circulation	Readership
<i>Bay of Plenty</i>	Bay of Plenty Times	APN News & Media	Daily (except Sunday)	13,642	31,000
<i>Hawkes Bay</i>	Hawkes Bay Today	APN News & Media	Daily (except Sunday)	18,789	48,000
<i>Nelson</i>	The Nelson Mail	Fairfax New Zealand	Daily (except Sunday)	10,306	25,000
<i>Marlborough</i>	The Marlborough Express	Fairfax New Zealand Ltd	Monday – Friday Saturday Edition is called Saturday Express.	5,929	19,000
<i>Otago</i>	The Southland Times	Fairfax New Zealand Ltd	Daily (except Sunday)	20,176	47,000

Articles were identified on the basis of a search for keywords that mentioned “Pacific Island(s)” or “seasonal worker(s),” “temporary worker(s),” “foreign worker(s),” “temporary” fruit pick(ing/er/s) and “RSE”. The articles were then checked to ensure that they did refer specifically to the RSE and not to other schemes or issues. The selected stories were then screened to avoid duplication. There were instances where very similar articles occurred in different regions, probably because they had been inspired by the same media releases, but where an exact duplicate was identified in the database in the same newspaper on the same day, this was eliminated. Thus, the regional seasonal sample constitutes 115 unique articles, each of which occurred in a region where RSE workers were living at the time of publication. For comparison, six articles were purposively selected from a non-regional, non-seasonal media outlet, to illuminate contrasting styles of reportage on and discourse about the scheme.

4.5.1 Selection of the Media and Sample

The term ‘media’ covers a wide range of communication channels from radio, television, magazines, social media and newspapers. In selecting the media to be analysed in a particular study, the researcher must make a choice of what channel ultimately enhances the design and outcome of the research (Savin-Baden & Mayor, 2013). A number of considerations are taken into account such as the outcome

predictions, accessibility and availability of data, geographical location, study group and the content characteristics of the media (Hansen et al., 1998). Hansel et al., suggest that most researchers will put a cap to the analysis of one or two types of medium. This research limits itself to the analysis of six New Zealand newspapers, five regional newspapers and one metropolitan daily. The one metropolitan daily, the *New Zealand Herald*, was selected because it has the highest circulation of all newspapers in New Zealand, covering both the North and South Islands. They were also chosen as a major source of news and information to extract at least one major event that impacts on the RSE scheme in each calendar year from 2007 to 2012. This created a strong source of comparison between regional news and other coverage – not for the purposes of drawing generalisable conclusions about national coverage, but as a way of identifying possible alternative discourses that were missing from the regional coverage.

Due to the media's proximity to public discourse, I chose to analyse the New Zealand print media to investigate the representation of Pacific RSE workers by using an interpretative analysis technique. Neuendorf (2002, p. 6) argued that this technique of analysis is derived from observation of messages and the researcher's interpretations of those messages as a competent observer. Interpretative analysis often focuses on the key themes, cultural labels and print media content. I concentrated on the print media narratives and themes presented in newspaper stories. Examples of media content from the selected publications will be included in the research as evidence of how RSE workers were depicted. Examining the complex relationship between the text, who gets voice and themes of the article is imperative to this research. The articles will be analysed based on three categories: subject, share of voice and themes. Each line of each article will be coded by:

(1) Subject. This is the issue or matter of the text. This information will be collected to ascertain what stories about the Pacific workers the newspapers chose to tell. This, in turn, will help reveal how the newspapers chose to depict them.

(2) Share of Voice. This is the expression of content via a spokesperson, i.e. individual(s) or organisation(s) quoted in the text. This information will be collected to determine whether it was primarily members of the dominant culture who told the stories and whether Pacific peoples themselves had a voice.

(3) Themes. The overarching key themes from articles will be recorded. This information will be collected to help determine the overall key themes the newspapers chose to portray. The results of the content analysis will be reported by themes and time period.

More detail of the coding is given in a section on coding and themes, below.

I also counted the number of articles in each region and season, so as to indicate if there were peak periods of media interest in the scheme, what the peak periods were, and whether they correspond with any other significant issues in the media that portray Pacific people or foreign workers. The analysis

concentrated on regional print newspapers that are electronically accessible through the web-search engines from *Factiva*, *Newztext*, *Library Press Source*, *Google Scholar*, *Discover* and *EBSCO* databases from the Massey University Library and the National Library of New Zealand’s online database for print and online news clips. The sample covered the period from 01 November 2007 to 31 March 2012 (using only the November to March articles each time). Many sampling approaches were tried, but this period from November to March matched my research question as to the discourses in the community while Pacific RSE workers were living there. This seasonal sampling was centred around the Pacific workers when they were living in those communities from November to March which is the peak period for horticulture and viticulture industry. This table depicts the sample profile.

Table 4.2. Number of articles identified in each newspaper in each season

	2007-2008	2008-2009	2009-2010	2010-2011	2011-2012	<i>TOTAL</i>
Bay of Plenty Times	5	8	0	5	3	21
Hawkes Bay Today	9	6	4	3	2	24
Nelson Mail	8	4	8	7	2	29
Marlborough Express	5	2	10	4	2	23
The Southland Times	12	4	2	0	0	18
<i>TOTAL</i>	39	24	24	19	9	115

4.5.2 Selecting the Dates

The selection of the sample for analysis can be made either on the basis of a calendar year or on the basis of particular peak period when most RSE workers are in New Zealand. In terms of this research the period from November to March only in each calendar year from 2007 – 2012 was chosen for analysis. This is the period when most RSE workers are in New Zealand for harvesting and pruning. I was interested in what discourses the Pacific RSE workers and their surrounding community were exposed to during their time in the community. The five years analysis of the RSE scheme from a print media perspective is crucial and therefore the dates selected included the period when the first cohort of RSE workers migrated to New Zealand under the RSE scheme in 2007 and the nature of media coverage after 2007. Bryman (2016) argues the decision about dates is more or less dictated by the occurrence of a phenomenon, though there may be an important consideration in deciding at what point the content analysis should cease. In this case, the key dates for this research are 2007 to 2012 from November to March only in each calendar year, enabling exploration of the first five years of the scheme, at the peak times when workers were in New Zealand (see **Appendix One**).

4.5.3 Choosing Relevant Case Studies

In examining the ways RSE workers are portrayed in New Zealand print media between the calendar years 2007 to 2012, the combination of news thematic analysis and the case studies selected for each calendar year are used to illustrate how the interaction between the texts using the thematic analysis approach and the writer's sense of what each selected article represents, to help answer the research questions. The case studies are offered to show 'what is missing' from the regional discourse and are not generalisable. The cases were purposefully selected, not randomly but deliberately to show examples of 'what is missing' by way of contrast with the discourse in the regional news. These case studies are in no way representative of all national coverage. They are just selected cases to demonstrate that there were wider discourses in other media that were missing from the regional coverage.

Savin-Baden and Mayor (2013) argue that the researcher can rely on intuition and sensing, rather than being bound by hard and fast rules of analysis. Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest that the process of recovering the themes is based on a pre-existing philosophical stance which works best to reflect reality, and to unpick or unravel the surface of reality. However, it is important that the case study's position is made clear and carries with it a number of assumptions about the nature of the article, what they represent in terms of 'national view' and a general sense of portrayal that stirs national interest. What distinguishes a case study is that the researcher is usually concerned to reveal the unique features of the case (Bryman, 2016). For this study, a number of cases were drawn from the *NZ Herald* for national coverage to illustrate the themes that were not captured in the regional media (**Appendices Five to Nine**).

Constant comparison is an analytical method that researchers use to develop themes and ultimately generate theory (Savin-Baden & Mayor, 2013). While the thematic research limits itself to regional newspapers only, the *NZ Herald* was chosen as a source of case studies of major RSE news stories that sparked national interest. Braun (2016) argues that a case study entails a detailed and intensive analysis of a single case. As this thesis observes, the most popular matter in the RSE scheme in each calendar year will be examined as a case analysis based on its complexity and particular nature. The associated case study will be compared to how regional newspapers report on the nature of the case. The same point can often be made about news articles from the studied regional newspapers to determine whether a regional news item reported in a single location will spark a national interest. Each case study drawn from each studied year represents a matter of national interest and has greater significance in understanding considerable detail to provide an in-depth examination of the national portrayal of Pacific Islands seasonal workers by the media. Distinctions will be made based on a national and regional level guided by specific research questions: Do the discourses develop in similar or different ways in the regions studied? Does the regional media discourse on Pacific Island seasonal workers appear to have

similar discursive parameters to some of the more widely discussed national media stories about the RSE scheme, or are the discourses different?

The manner in which the thematic analysis and my interpretivist approach as a writer/researcher were employed to answer these questions is discussed in the next chapters. Importantly for this research, case analysis is a useful method to identify the themes and sub-themes within a selected group of print media articles. Braun (2016, p. 62) suggests that cases are often chosen not because they are extreme or unusual in some way but because either they epitomise a broader category of cases or they will provide a suitable context for certain research questions to be answered. In choosing cases, I analyse and denote patterns or themes that emerge out of these articles and case studies. Each story was read in an interpretive manner. Further, as Bryman (2016) has argued case studies are often used to support findings and provide an illustration of real difference over time periods or of other factors of the initial study itself.

Interpreting a case study requires care and understanding. Hodkinson and Hodkinson (2001) claim that researchers need to choose their case study carefully, and care needs to be taken when attempting to generalise from the findings. As they put it, case studies have the potential, when applied successfully, to “retain more of the noise of real life than many other types of research.” (p. 3). They also argue that the researcher should never let the case study data speak for itself. The role of the researcher is to describe the social phenomena and also to explain and interpret the data. Without interpretation the research findings lack meaningful arguments i.e. a case study presenting itself as fact when of course the reality of ‘facts’ is one of the reasons why such research is carried out.

McLeod (2008) argues that a case study is not itself a research method, but researchers select methods of data collection and analysis that will generate material suitable for case studies. For this research, case studies were collected based on reporting descriptive information about a particular event which is of significance in order to produce a fairly detailed and comprehensive interpretation of data. It allows a researcher to investigate a topic in far more detail. Interpreting the information means the researcher decides what to include or leave out. A good case study should always make clear which information is factual description and which is an inference or the opinion of the researcher (McLeod, 2008).

Although case studies can be discussed in terms of their relative strengths, they also have their limitations. Yin (1984) argued that case studies are often blamed as lacking rigour which allowed equivocal evidence or biased views to influence the direction of the findings and conclusions. Another reason pointed out by Yin is limited sampling of cases. A case study can be dependent on a single case which makes it difficult to reach a generalising conclusion. Despite these shortcomings, Zainal (2009) suggest that a case study method enables a researcher to closely examine the data within a specific

context. It offers a means of investigating complex social units consisting of multiple variables of potential importance in understanding the phenomenon. Anchored in real-life situations, the case study results in a rich and holistic account of a phenomenon (Reis, 2009). It offers insights and illuminates meanings that expand readers' experiences. Unlike quantitative analysis which observes patterns in data at the macro level on the basis of the frequency of occurrence of the phenomena being observed, case studies observe the data at the micro level (Zainal, 2007). In my case the case studies were a complementary method of the study rather than the sole method. I did a broad thematic analysis of regional community news across five years then, as a complementary investigation, compared the results from that analysis with the results of the same method of analysis applied to the selected national case studies. The intent was to compare and contrast between some purposively sampled national themes and the regional themes, in order to illustrate whether different discursive parameters were possible.

4.6 System for Data Collection

The Massey University Library provides a complete inventory of electronic databases of newspaper articles from *Bay of Plenty Times*, *Hawkes Bay Today*, *Nelson Mail*, *Marlborough Express* and *The Southland Times* for the years of 2007 to 2012. A search of the *Newztext* and *Bay of Plenty Times*, *Hawkes Bay Today*, *Nelson Mail*, *Marlborough Express* and the *Otago Daily Times* databases was conducted to find relevant articles within the sampling frame. Onwuegbuzie and Collins (2007) argue that sampling is an important step in the research process because it helps to inform the quality of inferences made by the researcher that stem from the underlying findings. While stories began to appear sporadically for a constructed weekly sampling in 2007 to 2012, relevant material for all newspapers was not available for analysis and, therefore *Otago Daily Times* was replaced with *The Southland Times* for the Otago region. The chosen months were from 1 November to 31 March for seasonal period when most Pacific RSE workers are in New Zealand.

Selecting the right method for media analysis is crucial to ensure that such content is relevant. It is the interest of this thesis to analyse the media coverage of Pacific Island RSE workers by the selected newspapers with regard to what themes were reported and the type of voices represented in the articles. Hence the search of the *Newztext* newspapers and the thematic interpretive analysis of all RSE related articles published by each newspaper during the comparison years. The *Newztext* newspapers database gives the full text of the chosen newspapers from 2007 to 2012. However, a search of the *NZ Herald* database was also conducted for the same period as part of the data collection. All the necessary articles were printed and coded manually on paper before being transferred into the HyperResearch software for analysis.

Complete sections for the selected years were available through the Massey University Library. The databases for the Alexander Turnbull Library and the National Archives, Wellington, were also explored for accuracy and reliable sources of information. Each article was reviewed using the period November to March only for each calendar year. The number of articles reviewed totalled 115. Prior to the software analysis, I reviewed all articles selected on paper as a practice test and to ascertain if research bias existed when a second sweep of coding was conducted via the HyperResearch software. The reviewed articles from each newspaper outlet in the five studied regions were checked against key research questions. The information retrieved was checked by supervisors. I work closely with supervisors to establish consensus whenever any disagreement occurs. The process will provide clarity for the study on the differences between classifications.

All printed electronic newspaper articles were accessed and downloaded from the Massey University Wellington Library of New Zealand's online database for online news clips. For New Zealand newspapers, all articles from the survey period that mention keywords such as "Pacific" or "seasonal workers," "temporary workers," "foreign workers," and "RSE" were obtained and coded. The RSE Pacific worker-related stories were divided into certain categories. Within each category articles were then classified and coded. The resulting items included editorial pieces, columns, features and news stories. This sample was reduced further to analyse only hard news stories as the thesis was concerned with the portrayal of Pacific RSE workers by the New Zealand print media and more specifically how the content of the stories was represented. Given this focus, editorials, opinion pieces and columns were eliminated as they cannot be considered news items per se, nor can be regarded as informed sources in the normal sense of portrayals by the newspaper reporters. Kuypers (2002) argues that editorials, opinion pieces and columns do not adhere very strongly to the journalistic ideals of balance; rather these articles put their opinions forcefully and with little room for viewpoints (Ashwell, 2009). In terms of this thesis a relevant sample was used to ensure that all Pacific RSE-related articles selected from 1 November to 30 March for each season from 2007 to 2012 in the five regional newspapers would be selected, and that therefore the sample was representative. The selection of newspapers was determined on the basis of availability; all were held at Massey University Wellington library in electronic format.

4.7 Issues with the Data

This research used data from newspaper stories in all issues of *Bay of Plenty Times*, *Hawkes Bay Today*, *Nelson Mail*, *Marlborough Express* and *The Southland Times* for the years of 2007 to 2012 (November to March only). The first step involved drawing all news items relating to Pacific RSE workers using constructed weekly sampling. According to Riffe, Aust and Lacy (1993, p. 133) the researcher's goal is to sample enough issues to achieve an acceptable estimate of unknown parameters, while maximising efficiency of time and effort. Selecting too few issues may produce unreliable data and invalid results;

selecting too many may be a wasteful misuse of coding resources. In the case of this thesis, articles were first analysed using a constructed week sampling, a type of stratified random sampling technique popular in media studies (Luke, Caburnay & Cohen, 2011). Articles were randomly selected representing sample sizes ranging from days of the week (7 days) for each month which will be totalled to twelve constructed weeks (84 days) in a year for five years and compared for their ability to accurately represent five years of content. Sample selection was random to have a fair representation of the collective articles. Constructed week samples involve the identification and groupings of all Mondays, and randomly selecting one Monday for each month, then identifying all Tuesdays, and randomly selecting one Tuesday for each month, and so on with the remaining days of the week over the five years, to construct a week that ensures that for each source of cyclic variation, each day of the week is fairly represented. The reasons for choosing this sampling approach are consistent with previous research focussing on traditional media, as cited by Hebster and Dougall (2007) as the most efficient as compared to random sampling or consecutive day sampling. This method was chosen as it offered a logical, structured approach to analysing the newspaper articles collected for this study. However, after constructing a sample using this method, it was found that too few articles had been captured to facilitate meaningful analysis.

Next, a seasonal sampling method was considered. Lacy, Riffe et al. (2001) argue that seeking the most efficient constructed week sample size for use across an extended timeframe, such as a five-year period, is needed to adequately represent the population during a particular period in time, not just a single year but a number of years. Content analysts conducting studies that seek trends across time must often wrestle with the question of how much data to collect to represent such timeframes reliably and with optimal use of resources. The problem with Newztext was that it did not represent the sample very well and I needed all the articles represented in the time frame 2007-2012 for the research to be robust. Also, neither Newztext nor Factiva included the *Otago Daily Times* articles. I contacted the *Otago Daily Times* newspaper directly to find out if they have an in-house tool or database and what is the best way to get samples of articles from 2007 to 2012. The adjustments were made to use the articles by *The Southland Times* newspaper as it is well represented in Newztext and would be efficient and representative. The question this research sought to answer is whether all the articles in the months from November to March in each calendar year drawn would be equally effective as a good sample. 115 articles were found between November 1 and March 31 in each calendar year 2007 to 2012. Using all news stories related to Pacific RSE workers in the studied period (rather than only constructed weeks) proved the most appropriate way to provide a valid sample of the content to be analysed over the scheme's five-year period. Using only those articles published while workers were living in the regions enabled the sample to cover the discourses that would be circulating in their host communities while they lived there.

The theme categories were developed using the selection of 115 articles. The process of developing theme and sub-theme categories and their descriptions took a period of six months. The recording of these theme categories went through a number of iterations. The set of 115 articles was read, analysed and coded to ascertain emerging and common themes that correspond with these articles. A number of common themes were identified and discussed in depth with supervisors before agreeing on final theme categories. During the process of coding, I remained open to other possible sub-themes being identified. A more in-depth description of these themes and a number of central and sub-themes will be discussed in the next chapter. Themes were read, identified and coded according to my observations and judgment. Each story was read in an interpretive manner to ascertain identifiable themes, then reread and checked multiple times as the themes were refined and confirmed.

I used an interpretive thematic analysis framework to understand how media were conveying information about particular RSE issues to the general public. My aim was to reveal patterns and trends in media reporting in the studied RSE regions and to uncover whether the nature of the portrayal of Pacific immigrants had changed over the years, investigate whether local media perceptions shift in particular regions as time passes and the relationship between workers and host communities matures. I was also interested in assessing whether the characterisation of Pacific RSE workers by the New Zealand media carries stigmatising discourses, and if so, what forms these take. Finally, I took into consideration that the range of the studied articles is from November to March only in each calendar year and this sample may not reflect wider issues in the RSE scheme outside of this period. By extension, the *NZ Herald* newspaper would allow reliable estimates on the national issues of interest relating to the RSE scheme. A sampling of national news stories for each calendar year was adopted as a case study to support and extend the findings with an additional purpose of distinguishing the regional news from national news and to further demonstrate whether the discourses develop in similar or different ways in the regions studied by way of reportage. With a case study, the case is an object of interest in its own right, and the researcher aims to provide an in-depth examination of it (Bryman, 2016).

4.8 Coding and Theme Categories

According to Bryman (2016) coding is a crucial stage in the process of thematic analysis, defining the categories and the construction of themes and sub-themes. I also examined the number of news sources as a further indication as to the importance given to particular voices. The coding began by recording a case-file number for each newspaper article, and noting specific characteristics such as the headline, the authorship of the story, word length, season and the newspaper in which it was published. However, it was the text of the articles (including the headlines) in each region each season that was the focus for the thematic and share-of-voice coding. HyperResearch enabled this to be performed across the entire

corpus of text of the 115 articles as a full data set. The full text corpus was read and coded multiple times, first several times for themes until the theme categories were stable, then, in a second phase, for voice. HyperResearch enables layered coding on the same piece of text for different categories of code. Then, after the coding had been conducted, refined and checked, HyperResearch enables grouping of the codes by characteristics that have been noted for each article. To answer my research questions about discourse in the regions while RSE workers were living there, I grouped first by region, then by season, then by region and season. In some regions I could also have grouped by journalist byline but this would not have addressed my research questions which are about the presence or absence of discourse not its conditions of production, so was not part of the final coding.

Coding to determine themes used grammatical clauses (phrases within the data that have a subject and predicate) as the unit of analysis. Each clause in the data received either no code (if it did not relate to the RSE scheme) or a discrete thematic code relating to its discussion of the scheme. I used a corpus analysis for each region and each season, so I looked at the total data pool of RSE stories for each region and each season, then whenever a verbal clause within that season and region's coverage identified a particular theme mentioning the scheme, I coded it as such. I did multiple sweeps of the data. The verbal clause is a well-established unit of textual analysis. For example, Neuendorf, in *The Content Analysis Guidebook* states that:

Gottschalk (1995) and colleagues have found the verbal clause to be the best unit of data collection – the one which is assessed for the presence or absence of many key markers in their psychologically based coding scheme. Their rejected alternatives include the word, the sentence, the paragraph, and the message as a whole. In their case, using the clause was found to be the smallest identifiable unit for which they could reliably code for their desired variables (Neuendorf, 2002, p. 72).

Guest, MacQueen and Namey (2012) assert codes represent a greater level of abstraction than themes, and a single theme can engender multiple codes. This research followed an analysis step where articles were read two to three times and coding was guided by the observed meanings in the text which were then systematically sorted into categories, types and relationships of meaning. Coding was constructed into categories of themes and meanings either in batches or when new insights were gained according to the patterns of relationship among the instances of meaning in the text. As noted above, my unit for coding was the verbal clause. Sometimes, a sentence would contain multiple verbal clauses, each with a different theme. If this happened, I coded a theme each time it occurred, even if multiple times within a sentence, paragraph or article. This was because I was taking a corpus approach to the data by season and region, that is, I wanted to identify the total number of times a reader of that newspaper was exposed to each particular theme. This shows that if there was a lengthy and repeated discussion on a particular

theme (either in one article or across the whole sample of all the articles published in that region in that time), that would be accurately captured in the data. This sampling captured both the brief passing mentions and the repeated mentions in longer articles and combined them to create the total number of mentions in the region in the season. This reflected my interest in the discursive environment the RSE workers were surrounded by in terms of not just the type of discourse but its repetition or frequency. If a long article repeatedly mentioned a theme, I wanted that to be able to be recognised in the data as having more weight than a short article mentioning the theme once. Again, this is consistent with Gottschalk's method in which repetition of an idea adds to its meaning and the number of times a theme is repeated is therefore considered an important variable to capture (Gottschalk, 2013).

As earlier stated, the theme categories were managed using computerised thematic analysis software, HyperResearch, to record the key themes used in a collection of articles and calculate the frequency of their appearance and make comparisons; however, this software does not automate the coding. It was useful in highlighting words and context and categorising them, but as the interpretive researcher bringing my cultural and professional background to the analysis, I interpreted the meaning, devised the themes, and made the theme allocations.

A similar approach was used to classify topics and meanings. The HyperResearch software is a data management tool to assist in the analysis, not handing over the analysis to an algorithm. Texts were read and coded by me, using this software to record my decisions. This academic software package is generally accepted as one of the most efficient for this sort of study. It helps with the analysis as it focuses largely on descriptive data to provide details of trends in the nature of the media coverage. The software was also helpful in creating reports on the emerging themes, and comparing the trends of topics over time. These interim reports or coding memos helped determine which themes were worth the effort of systematically tagging, defining and coding (Guest, MacQueen & Namey, 2012, p. 65).

Bryman (2016) suggests that coding must be done in a consistent manner. First, each story in the sample was read twice before the coding started. The first coding started with an open process whereby I coded the data generally with no set of expectations. This is part of my first wave of analysis. A table was created to record early findings. During this process, I undertook an inductive approach, by observing the data for patterns, proposing reasons based on my observations and generating theory. Inductive reasoning is when the researcher uses observations to build an abstraction or to describe a picture of the phenomenon that is being studied (Lodico, Spaulding & Voegtle, 2010). A deductive approach is concerned with developing a hypothesis based on existing theory, and then designing a research strategy to test the hypothesis (Wilson, 2010, p. 7). Using inductive reasoning for my initial exploration of data allowed me to use my research questions to narrow the scope of the study. This approach necessitates

the researcher beginning with a completely open mind without any preconceived ideas of what will be found (Gabriel, 2013).

The second phase of analysis had oriented me in a detailed and more specific way to sensitising data. I used the idea of sensitising concepts to guide my analyses. A sensitising concept is a starting point in thinking about a class of data of which the social researcher has no definite idea and provides an initial guide to the research (Hoonard, 1997, p. 2). This resonates with a general sense of reference and guidance in approaching empirical instances. Hoonard (1997) asserts that a sensitising concept also is a “second-order” concept that is one more step removed from the data, by using, as much as warranted, as a deliberate ploy to generate theory. Hoonard believe that sensitising concepts are constructed for analytical purposes. Hoonard’s view is supported by Middleton and Baartman (2013, p. 57) that sensitising concepts provide directions on how to look at the data, as opposed to definite concepts that exactly prescribe what to see. In such an approach, theoretical ideas emerge as the research moves forward. My sensitising concepts were drawn from my literature review and my professional knowledge of the scheme. Interestingly, as will be discussed in the findings, some of the concepts I was sensitised to look for were not present – but the inductive approach to the research allowed me to be open to all possibilities in the data, not just limited only to sensitising concepts.

Next the share of voice was identified including source citations and unsourced content. Voices represented in each article were coded according to the theme and sub-theme/s to which they referred. The main themes were measured simply as a count of their occurrence and reoccurrence in news stories, with the process being continually refined. The themes in a story were identified and coded based on my interpretation of the article towards the representation of Pacific RSE workers. I fully controlled all the interpretations of my research.

As noted, the process of developing the themes and sub-theme categories and their descriptions took a period of approximately six months. The development of these categories went through a number of iterations. Using Riffe and Lacy’s (1993) research on sampling standards as a guide, articles were downloaded and read to ascertain the range of themes. Coding categories included news source, article length, topic and the voices represented in the articles. Most frequent themes were identified in Table 4.3 below. Each account of the most frequent themes and sub-themes and their descriptions was discussed with my supervisors and I revisited the data until the categories shown in Table 4.3 were stable. During the process of coding I remained open to other possibilities of emerging themes and sub-themes, but apart from some streamlining of small codes into larger themes no changes were made to the original codes established. All coding was recorded in a research diary, and HyperResearch was used to hold the codebook record of final, stable definitions. The findings chapter will provide a more

in-depth description of each theme and sub-themes that were most prevalent in the newspaper coverage, while also showing the differential between regions and time periods.

Table 4.3: Most frequent themes by Region and Time Period from November 1, 2007 – 31 March 31, 2012

	2007-2008	2008-2009	2009-2010	2010-2011	2011-2012
<i>Bay of Plenty Times</i>	Labour shortage	New Zealanders first	-	New Zealanders first	RSE policy
<i>Hawkes Bay Today</i>	Labour shortage	RSE praise	Economic benefit	RSE praise	RSE cap
<i>Nelson Mail</i>	RSE policy	Pastoral care	NZ unemployment rising	New Zealanders first	RSE praise
<i>Marlborough Express</i>	RSE policy	RSE praise	RSE incidents	RSE praise	RSE incidents
<i>The Southland Times</i>	Labour shortage	Labour shortage	Economic benefit	-	-

Savin-Baden and Major (2013) argue that when researchers engage with their data, they generally begin to notice things that stand out in the data set, such as behaviours, events, activities, strategies, state of mind, meanings, patterns, relationships, interactions and consequences (p. 421). The other parts of the coding are the voice(s) represented in each article i.e. the source's full name, affiliation where possible, and also their job title. These voices often attract a descriptive label that captures the meaning of each source. Sources for example are industry spokespeople and government officials. Therefore, the research explored the pattern of quoted sources used in the studied newspaper articles. Of particular interest was whether or not the presence of an RSE worker's voice is captured in a pattern of sources quoted. A pattern of source use is important to answer the question of whose voices are dominantly represented in the media. As shown in Table 4.4 below, certain source types frequently appeared in the sample of 115 articles examined.

Table 4.4: Number of Source Citations Used in the Study (describes the most frequently cited source in the print media coverage from 2007 – 2012)

Source	Explanation of those included	Frequency of occurrence	Region	Time period
Industry spokespeople	Horticulture and viticulture spokespersons	146	Bay of Plenty Hawkes Bay Marlborough Nelson Otago	2007 2008 2009 2010 2011
Unaffiliated individuals	Unidentified sources without affiliation to any of the labelled sources	37	Bay of Plenty Hawkes Bay Marlborough	2007 2008 2009 2010

			Nelson	
Government official	Spokespeople and officials representing the Government agencies	28	Bay of Plenty Marlborough Nelson Otago	2007 2008 2009 2010 2011
Member of Parliament	A politician	19	Nelson Otago	2007 2009
City Council	An elected executive individual with the city council	14	Nelson Otago	2007 2008
RSE worker	A seasonal worker	13	Bay of Plenty Hawkes Bay Nelson	2007 2008 2009 2010 2011
Researcher	Sources attributed to or labelled as a researcher	2	Hawkes Bay	2010

The information recorded in the above table describes the most frequently cited news source types in the studied newspaper articles.

As noted above, iterative interpretation through a research journal is also vital especially during the data collection process. I kept track of my progress by recording my thoughts, reflections, successes and challenges in parallel through analytic memos. Memos recorded my actions during and after the course of data collection and analysis. I feel it is important to keep track of my personal thoughts especially my interpretations when I fleshed out the themes and patterns from the data. For instance, analytic memos provided reflection to myself why such sections or statements stand out. Essentially, it provides extra narrative that, while not included in my final report, tracks the system used to develop the coding. Gibbs (2005) claimed that qualitative analysis involves interpretation and the use of a research diary or memos to record personal thoughts or comments and that this is critical to a researcher as a reminder why such decisions have been made and why it is important during the coding process, which will be helpful for writing up final reports. The code description field of HyperResearch served as my coding book and recorded the definitions of themes so that the research remained stable over the six-month period of data analysis, and could be replicated in future.

4.8.1 Themes

Once codes and categories had been developed, these were converted into themes (see **Appendix Two**). Savin-Baden and Major (2013) argue that a theme is a unifying or dominant idea in the data and finding themes is the heart of the data analysis process. Guest, MacQueen and Namey (2012) suggest themes are not mysterious and as such you know you have found a theme when you can answer the question then go on to talk about the breadth of themes. “The process taps into a human tendency to look for

patterns, storylines, plots, causality and relationships” (p. 66). Research questions will help as a guide to prioritise which themes to develop in the analysis. Themes identify what the unit of data is all about. However, as Guest, MacQueen and Namey (2012) suggest, not everyone will perceive exactly the same themes in the same way from a given snippet of data. “Breadth and depth of knowledge and experience with the research setting and topic will influence what the reader perceives” (p. 70). In this research, I, as the researcher exercise my judgement on narrowing and refinement of potential themes based on textual data that facilitates common discovery of themes. As Guest, MacQueen and Namey (2012) simply put, themes can be antithetical or complementary to other themes or subsumed within larger themes.

Potential themes are broad and link in specific kinds of interpretations. Guest, MacQueen and Namey (2012) argue, just because something is noticeable does not mean it is noteworthy. “There are always ideas, phrases and expressions that catch a coder’s attention on an initial reading of the text that turn out to be oddities and distractions” (p. 68). They further argue that if themes are not relevant to the objectives of the study, there is not much point in expending significant effort to code it. Research questions and analytic objectives of a study will keep a researcher focused and help prioritise which themes to develop in the analysis. For this study, some themes were fairly obvious and others required further reading and digging a little further for a deeper understanding of what the article was all about, to discern some possible, and very interesting themes.

The relevance of some themes is not immediately apparent during the analysis process. Guest, MacQueen and Namey (2012) suggest a good rule of thumb is that if you are uncertain about the importance of a potential theme, you can tag the text for a later review. The HyperResearch software provides options for doing this, to tag and record my observations of an interesting text or section. This software keeps track of my coding decisions. Articles were coded accordingly during the process depending on the theme. Another technique used to tag potential themes was the creation of generic unique code to apply to a text of some importance, but the researcher cannot determine its significance to fit within the bigger analytic picture. After a preliminary round of theme identification, the aggregation of all unique codes to determine themes and sub-themes were further developed based on its relevance, patterns and meaning. Reports were created to determine the frequency of each code.

There is a lot more to coding than just deciding which sections of text belong in which theme. It is a repetitive, iterative and time-consuming process. This is where the HyperResearch, as a qualitative data analysis computer aided programme came in handy. Hesse-Biber, Dupuis and Kinder (1991) state that a central part of qualitative data analysis involves extracting meanings from collected textual materials. Before the HyperResearch application was introduced most qualitative researchers analysed pages of text by cutting, pasting, and filing using scissors and a typewriter or word processor to arrange the

material physically into coded groups of paper (p. 292). This process of manually retrieving the codes is eliminated with the use of HyperResearch. Using this software for qualitative analysis is well regarded for academic studies to analyse a large amount of data. The use of this software as a methodological tool supports the reliability and systematic analysis of data for this study.

4.8.2 Data Analysis

The data were analysed using a computer software programme tool, HyperResearch, as it is argued that that the use of such academic software package is the most relevant for this study in analysing large amounts of information data. This academic software package is generally accepted as one of the most efficient of its kind for this sort of study. Texts were read and coded using HyperResearch tool that assists with data analysis. The software merely records the choices made by myself as the researcher. It also helps to focus on news themes to provide details of trends in the nature of the media coverage and is flexible in its possibilities of reviewing unexpected trends in the data. The flexibility of analysis is an advantage and this aids in coding the key themes used in a collection of articles, calculating the frequency of their appearance and making comparisons. However, this software does not automate the coding. It was useful in highlighting words and contexts and categorising them, but I as the interpretive researcher brought in my cultural and professional background to the analysis when interpreting the meaning and making theme allocations, classifying topics and meanings. Multiple sweeps of the themes were conducted using my Pacific lens. The analysis was also systematic in order to make it replicable and consistent. Using this software to record my decisions helps with the analysis as it focuses largely on descriptive data to provide details of trends in the nature of the media coverage. The HyperResearch software was also helpful in creating reports on the emerging themes, and comparing the trends of topics over time. It also revealed the possibilities afforded by unexpected trends occurring in the data.

4.9 Validation

The validity of findings or data is traditionally understood to refer to the ‘correctness’ or ‘precision’ of a research reading (Ritchie et al., 2014). Validity is about the extent to which the data is supported by explanatory evidence and the capability for drawing wider inferences represented by a range of different realities. “Whether it helps people to develop more sophisticated understandings, whether it can be shown to have helped people appreciate other viewpoints, whether it stimulated action and whether it empowers people to act to change their social circumstances” (p. 357). It has also been argued that others may use the data to assess its credibility and wider applicability. Ritchie et al. further argued that the concept of validity captures one of the key strengths of qualitative research in its ability to describe a phenomenon in rich and authentic detail and in ways that reflect the language and meanings found.

In this research, I adopted the Ritchie et al., (2014) framework as a guide to data analysis. Relevant questions help assess the credibility of drawing wider inferences such as: Was the analysis carried out systematically and comprehensively? Are the interpretations well-supported by the data? Has the interpretation developed appropriate analytical constructs? Furthermore, are the findings corroborated by any other sources? These questions were crucial in assessing reliability and validity throughout the research process. All 115 articles were coded twice, with a time lag in between, to check that the categories were stable and to ensure that I have been thorough and careful in my validation to determine a level of agreement. The five articles used as case studies were also coded in the same manner for consistency and as a further step to ensure the reliability and validity of the study. Research findings were checked against the research questions with supervisors cross-examining the validity of research findings. With my research framework explained and methods explored, the next chapter will present the findings of the data interpretation and analysis.

4.10 Chapter summary

In this chapter, a detailed description of research design, from epistemological approach to methods, was provided. This chapter discusses and justifies the most fitting research method for this thesis, which is interpretive thematic analysis. The whole process of data collection, which includes the study sample, coverage and selection was comprehensively discussed. This chapter has addressed the limitations of thematic analysis and has described how the technique and process is used in this research, outlining the different theme categories and how were they formulated. Furthermore, other methodologies considered for this study were also described. The methods of analysis used for this research were described and discussed along with limitations on each method. The coding and theme categories were presented with a basic understanding of the terms and how they have been applied with key references to the importance of validation when assessing data credibility. Finally, the chapter has outlined thematic analysis as the most suitable methodology for this research and identifies that it is therefore an appropriate technique for this research to develop themes and sub-themes and their descriptions over the study period of approximately five years. The development of these theme categories went through a number of iterations. Therefore, all themes and sources found in the final sample were recorded and are subsequently analysed in detail in the following chapter.

PART 4: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

“Like Māori, Pasifika weren’t visible in any good way. We were overstayers, violent criminals and bludgers. Poor, sick, pathetic, hopeless people who couldn’t cope outside our small islands. What’s arguably worse today is the tendency of mainstream media to highlight our communities’ problems and erase its successes.”

- Tapu Misa

CHAPTER 5: Aggregation: Collating the Key Themes from Newspaper Analysis 2007 – 2012

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents results from the thematic analysis described in Chapter 4, Methodology. The findings’ implications will be discussed in the subsequent chapter. First, this chapter sets out how the portrayal of Pacific seasonal workers under the Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) scheme was reported in the newspaper coverage in five New Zealand regional newspapers between 2007 and 2012 in the period November to March for each season. In particular, I present the major themes, illustrating the patterns and trends in media reporting in the studied RSE regions and over time, and the types of sources most frequently cited. Second, the chapter presents case studies drawn from each season covering the themes. These case studies drill down into contextualised examples of whose voices were represented in the newspaper coverage and explore whether the regional media discourse on Pacific Island seasonal workers appears to correlate with national media reportage about the RSE scheme. These case studies were deliberately sampled to provide a deeper context for the kinds of themes and discourses that structure print media depictions of RSE Pacific seasonal workers and to ask the question of what is missing. A brief conclusion to this chapter draws together the major findings from both the regional newspapers coverage and the case studies to illustrate key shifts in portrayals and summarise how the Pacific RSE workers were depicted regionally and nationally.

5.2 Print Media Analysis Results

My thesis was conducted with a qualitative focus. My findings were obtained by analysing newspapers produced by the targeted five regions of New Zealand RSE scheme using an interpretive lens. The primary sample included all articles published in these newspapers about the RSE scheme during its first five work seasons.

Figure 5.1 below illustrates the studied newspapers produced by the targeted five regions of the New Zealand RSE scheme. The newspapers are: *Bay of Plenty Times*, *Hawkes Bay Today*, *Nelson Mail*, *Marlborough Express* and *The Southland Times*.



5.3 Number of RSE-related articles

As a result of the seasonal sampling, 115 newspaper articles were analysed for the period 1 November to 31 March from 2007 to 2012. Table 4.2 in the previous chapter showed the articles per news outlet in each sampled season: this information is repeated here as Table 5.1 for ease of quick reference as I talk about aspects of the sample that are meaningful in themselves.

More than 15 articles were identified from each region for all five years, with the highest number being 29 articles published by the *Nelson Mail*. There were no articles about RSE found in November 2009 to March 2010 in the *Bay of Plenty Times* and the same with November 2010 to March 2011 and November 2011 to March 2012 for *The Southland Times*. (See **Appendix Three** for a breakdown of articles per newspaper per season.)

In the first season of the RSE, 2007-2008, 39 articles were published by the five regional newspapers. 2008-2009 and 2009-2010 found 24 articles for each season. The number of articles found in 2010-

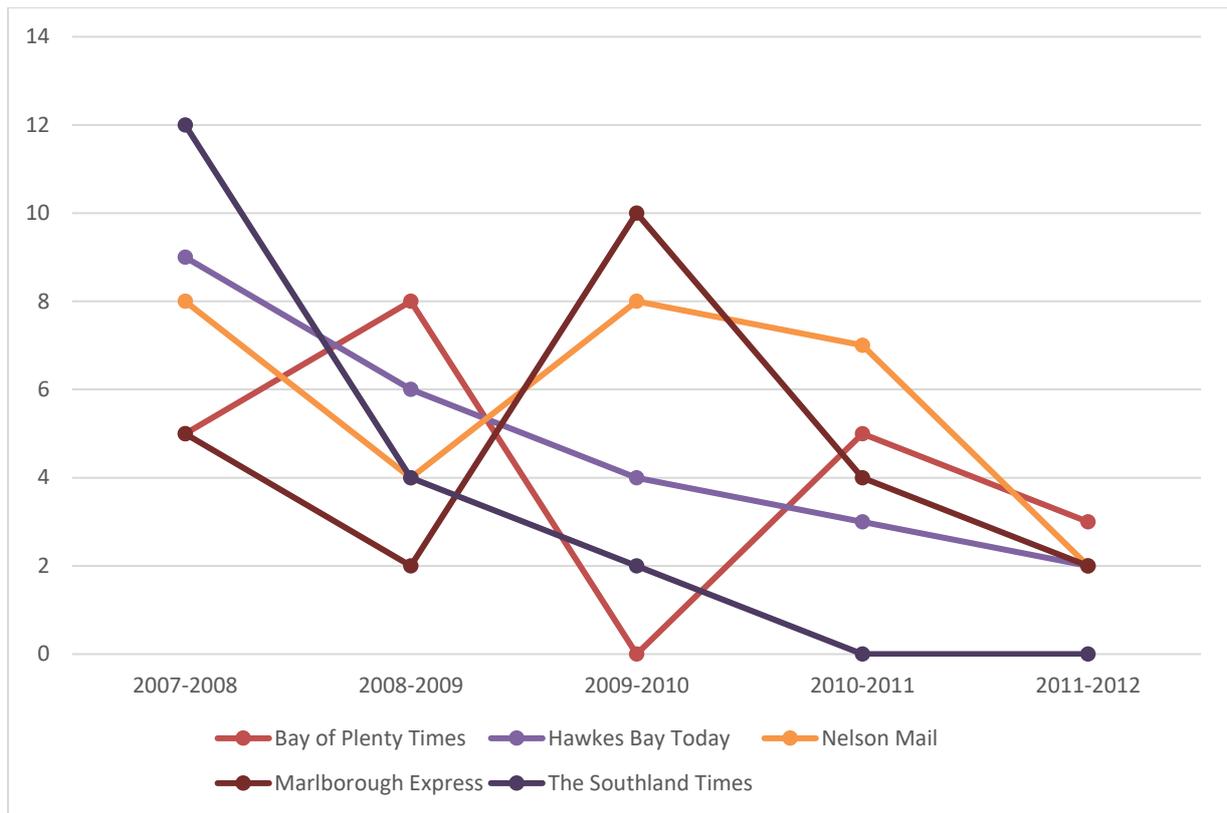
2011 decreased to 19 and dramatically dropped in 2011-2012 to 9 articles. The fluctuation in numbers is linked to a number of key changes and triggers and these are briefly outlined here but will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

Table 5.1: Distribution of Articles and Volume by Newspapers 1 November 2007 – 31 March 2012

	2007-2008	2008-2009	2009-2010	2010-2011	2011-2012	Total
<i>Bay of Plenty Times</i>	5	8	0	5	3	21
<i>Hawkes Bay Today</i>	9	6	4	3	2	24
<i>Nelson Mail</i>	8	4	8	7	2	29
<i>Marlborough Express</i>	5	2	10	4	2	23
<i>The Southland Times</i>	12	4	2	0	0	18
Totals (115)	39	24	24	19	9	115

Viewing the above table as a line chart, below, clearly illustrates the steady coverage decrease over time in all regions, with the exception of a spike in coverage in Nelson and Marlborough in 2009/10 and 2010/11. Possible reasons for this spike may include the rise of local unemployment and the increasing number of reported incidents involving RSE workers. This is explored in more detail in the discussion chapter. Total media content decreased over the first five years of the scheme, from 39 articles in the 2007/08 season to less than a quarter of that number in the 2011/12 season. This is despite the fact that, over the same period, the number of confirmed immigration arrivals of workers under the scheme had risen from 4486 in 2007, to 7009 in 2012 (New Zealand Immigration, 2019). The number of workers living in communities negatively correlated with the number of stories about them by those communities' newspapers: although there were more workers, they became considered less 'newsworthy' over time. In the first year of the scheme, all regional newspapers in communities hosting RSE workers were reporting regularly on the scheme, but particularly in Southland. *The Southland Times* recorded the highest number of published articles at 12. The highest coverage may have been driven by articles that discussed the first group of RSE workers from Vanuatu being employed in Central Otago, which may have caused media interest.

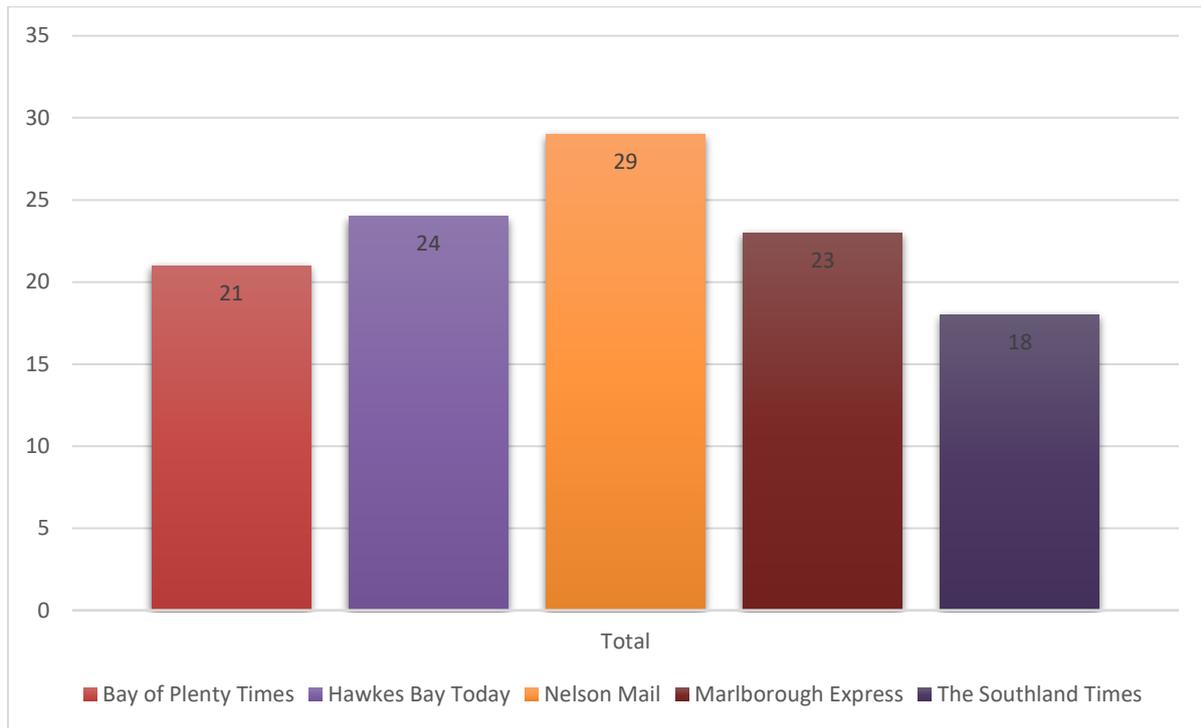
Figure 5.2: Number of RSE articles per newspaper per season



The overall analysis of all articles published in each season, 2007 – 2012, between the periods 1 November to 31 March shows a steady downward trend for *Hawkes Bay Today* and *The Southland Times* over the years. However, *Bay of Plenty*, *Nelson Mail* and *Marlborough Express* show fluctuations in reporting over the seasons. This may be a result of the global financial crisis which led to loss of local jobs which in turn gave pressure to the RSE scheme to prioritise New Zealand workers.

The bar graph below shows the sample by newspaper. Of the 115 newspaper articles published 1 November to 31 March from 2007 to 2012 (see **Appendix Four** for a full list of all articles that were included), the majority were published by the *Nelson Mail* (29) which had the highest volume of reporting in the studied period. This was followed by *Hawkes Bay Today* (24), *Marlborough Express* (23), *Bay of Plenty Times* (21) and the *Southland Times* (18).

Figure 5.3: Total number of RSE articles published per newspaper from 2007 to 2012



5.4 Key Themes by Time Period and Region

Themes identified in the interpretive analysis of the discourse of Pacific RSE workers' portrayal by these five newspapers were: labour shortage, RSE policy, New Zealanders first, Economic benefits, Pastoral care, RSE praise, RSE cap and RSE incidents. These were the common themes, but across all 115 articles there were also occasional mentions of issues to do with technology, natural disasters and other less frequent themes, which were amalgamated into the overarching themes during the data analysis. Table 5.2 lists the initial sub-themes and gives the summary description that was used in coding to define and illustrate each theme. The sub themes were then further grouped to form the dominant themes (See **Appendix Two** for the grouping of sub-themes into key themes, including sample quotes to help define and illustrate each key theme).

Table 5.2: Themes and sub-themes in the print media coverage from 2007 – 2012

Themes	Description
Godsend	<i>RSE workers being referred to as a blessing</i>
Wages benefit islands	<i>RSE earnings are remitted to home villages and families. Scheme has transformed village life in the Pacific sending countries</i>
Overstaying	<i>Had no or low rate of overstaying problems or serious breach of visa conditions</i>

Reliable workers	<i>RSE workers in high demand for their reliability. Positive views on RSE workers performance</i>
RSE policy	<i>RSE scheme proved its worth as a good investment</i>
Pastoral care	<i>Employers pastoral care responsibilities including accommodation, transportation, social activities are being met</i>
Community in action	<i>Contribution of RSE workers in local community activities</i>
RSE praise	<i>RSE solving difficulty getting enough labourers to fill job shortage especially during peak periods</i>
Natural disasters	<i>Generally positive views on how the RSE policy assist RSE workers and their homelands at times of natural disasters</i>
Industry concerns	<i>Supplement labour needs. Preference was to hire New Zealanders first, Pacific Island workers as second choice</i>
Research	<i>Study shows mixed effect of RSE contribution to individual, host country and sending country</i>
Economic benefit	<i>Positive economic impact. Scheme had been a tremendous success for all parties involved</i>
Policy change	<i>Employment conditions and movement of workers between employers</i>
Technology	<i>Introducing the use of machines to assist workers during the picking, pruning and harvesting of crops</i>
RSE cap	<i>Decision on the level of the cap for RSE workers and the number of RSE workers in NZ each year</i>
Labour crisis	<i>Fruit growers' fears that there will not be enough local workers to fill the jobs available and the projected numbers for each season is not enough</i>
Worker shortage	<i>RSE workers brought improved productivity and efficiency to the industry</i>
New Zealanders first	<i>First choice is the employment of New Zealanders. Increased number of RSE workers in spite of the growth in local unemployment. Employers still recruit from the Pacific Islands while many kiwis are left jobless</i>
Unemployment	<i>Continued hiring of RSE workers while many New Zealanders are jobless</i>
Incident	<i>Behaviour and problems involving RSE workers as a result of drink driving or other incidents</i>

When these sub-themes were merged into nine key themes; Labour shortage, RSE policy, New Zealanders first, Pastoral care, Economic benefits, New Zealand unemployment, RSE cap, RSE praises and RSE issues (see **Appendix Two**), RSE policy and Labour shortage were the most dominant topic themes in the start of the RSE scheme in 2007-2008. A season later, in 2008-2009, other themes emerged, such as New Zealanders First, Pastoral Care and RSE worker contribution. These dominated the reportage in the second season of the RSE scheme. The predominant themes changed again in the 2009-2010 season, to Economic Benefits for the industry by employing overseas workers and the rise of New Zealand Unemployment. The issue of RSE incidents also appears as a theme. The theme of

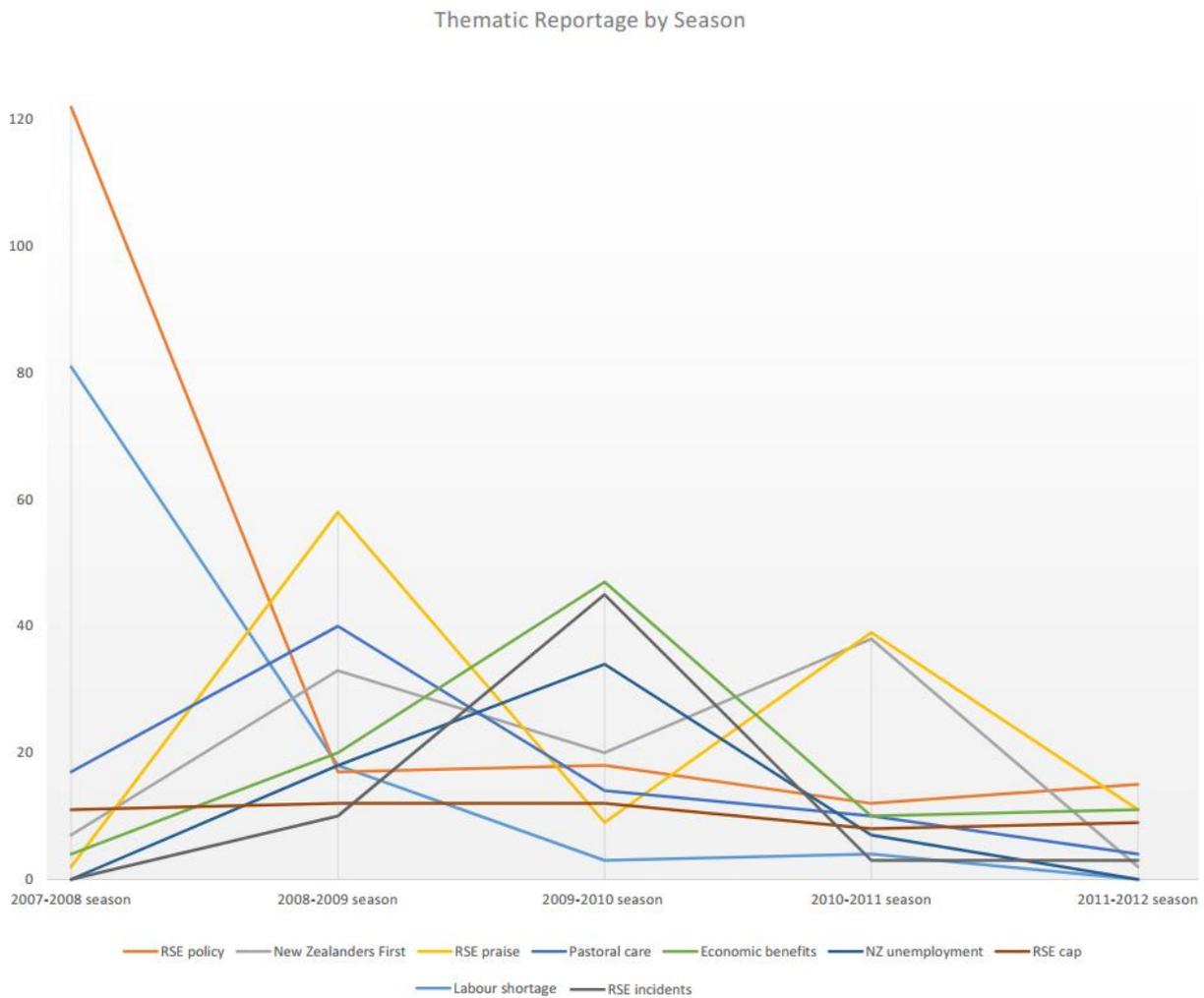
New Zealanders First carried on to the fourth season in 2010-2011 and praises of the scheme started to emerge. The fifth season 2011-2012 strongly focused on revisiting the RSE Policy, examining the RSE Cap and to some extent the issue of RSE Incidents contrary to the RSE Accolades and Praises. Table 4.3, in the previous chapter, noted the most frequent themes by newspaper and over the time period examined.

The themes were initially quite similar between the regions. For instance, in the first season 2007 to 2008 most news articles mentioned labour shortage and RSE policy. In 2008 to 2009 themes were not the same between regions. In the season 2009 to 2010 *Hawkes Bay Today* and *The Southland Times* were found to focus more on economic benefits for the horticulture and viticulture industries. However, a few stories mentioned New Zealand unemployment in *Nelson Mail* and RSE incidents in the Marlborough newspaper. In 2010 to 2011 New Zealanders First emerged as the key theme for both *Bay of Plenty Times* and the *Nelson Mail*. The fifth season of the RSE scheme presented themes on the RSE policy, the cap on RSE numbers, praise of the scheme and Pacific Island workers' incidents. *The Southland Times* had stopped any in-season reporting on the scheme by this point.

The themes shifted after 2-3 years of the scheme and then again when it reached the 4-5` year seasons. The themes across the regions indicate the significance of challenges and opportunities of the scheme to the specified regions and this will be discussed in the next chapter.

The themes were then analysed based on each season (Figure 5.4). As mentioned above, the dominant themes were identified in terms of their frequency in the newspaper stories across the regions over time. The three main themes of Labour Shortage, New Zealanders First and RSE Policy featured widely in the seasons and across regions. The themes of Economic benefits and RSE praise also featured largely by region across time. The RSE Incidents theme featured prominently in some seasons as it typically links to a particular event involving RSE workers. RSE incidents will be discussed in the following chapter. The RSE Cap as a theme emerged at a later stage of the scheme and will be examined further in the next chapter. The other themes were categorised as being minimal or low in their frequency of occurrence and reoccurrence.

Figure 5.4: Overall themes of representation by season in the 2007-2012 seasons



The overall themes of representation show theme by theme data points over time. Next, I look at these themes in each newspaper in each season, beginning with 2007-08 (Table 5.3).

Table 5.3: Themes by newspaper in the 2007-2008 season

Newspapers	Labour shortage	RSE policy	New Zealanders First	RSE praise	Pastoral care	Economic benefits	New Zealand unemployment	RSE cap	RSE incidents
<i>Bay of Plenty Times</i>	13	9	5	1	9	0	0	1	0
<i>Hawkes Bay Today</i>	16	10	1	1	4	1	0	1	0
<i>Nelson Mail</i>	12	38	1	0	1	2	0	3	0
<i>Marlborough Express</i>	3	30	0	0	1	0	0	4	0
<i>The Southland Times</i>	37	35	0	0	2	1	0	2	0

TOTAL	81	122	7	2	17	4	0	11	0
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In 2007-08, the first season of the scheme, among the regional newspapers, articles from the *Bay of Plenty Times* and *The Southland Times* were more likely to advocate for labour shortage and broad government responses, including policy changes. *Nelson Mail*, *Marlborough Express* and *Hawkes Bay Today* newspapers were more likely to present a mixture of perspectives. A notable difference in the balance of included themes existed between newspapers including articles on the RSE policy, the contribution of RSE workers, pastoral care, the rise of unemployment in New Zealand, the cap in RSE numbers, the New Zealander first approach and the positive contribution of the RSE policy (see Figure 5.5). These findings help inform the discussion of themes in each regional newspaper in the following chapter.

Figure 5.5: Theme Occurrence per Newspaper - Season 2007-2008

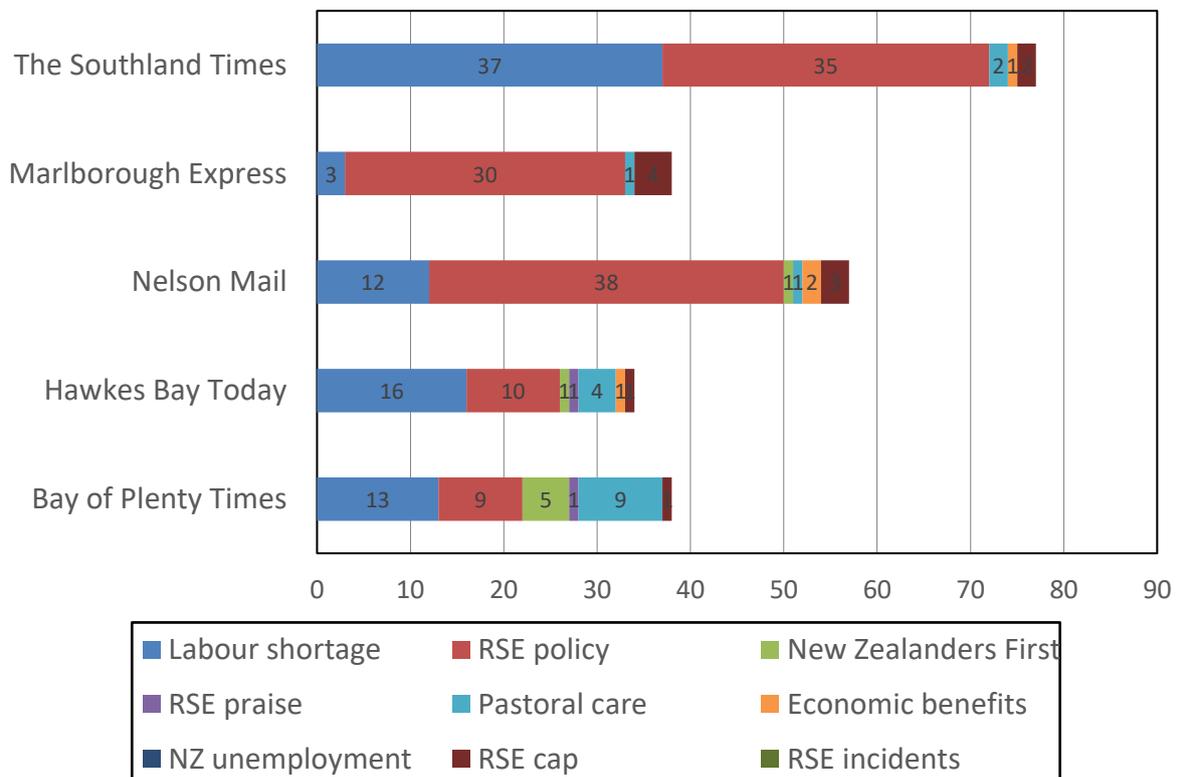


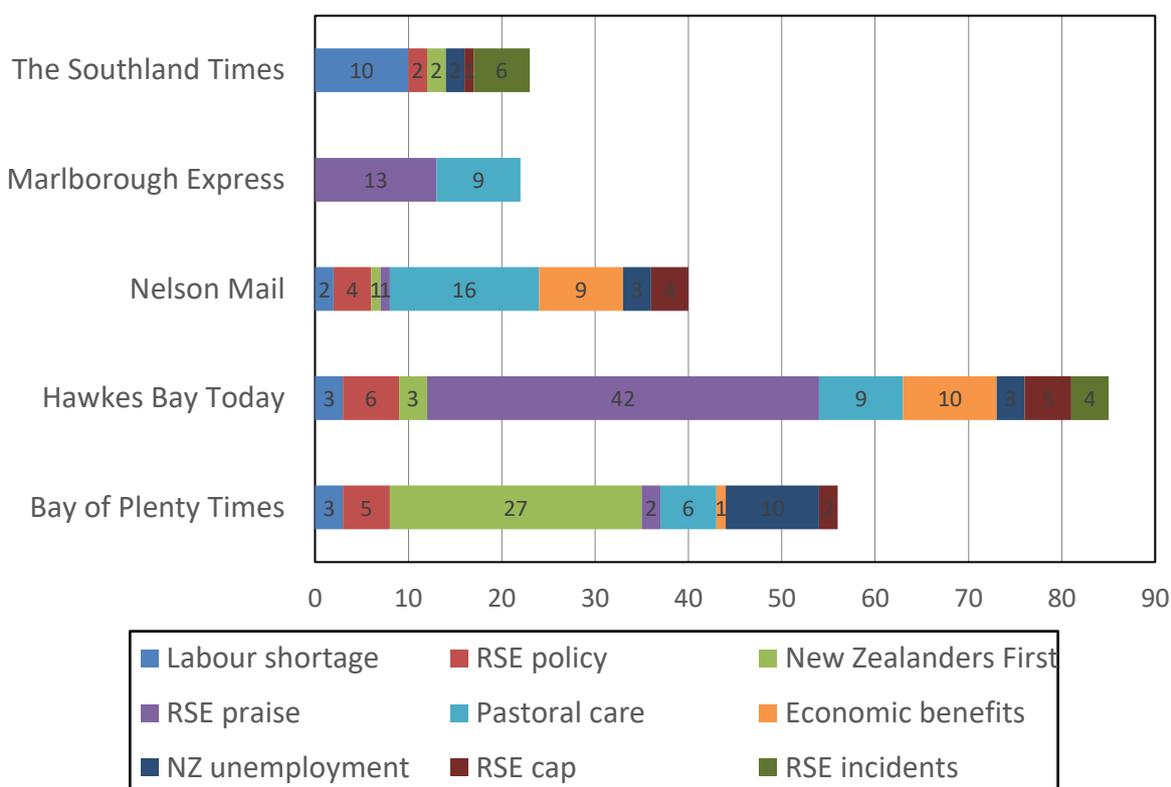
Figure 5.5 above indicates that discussion of RSE policy and labour shortages in New Zealand dominated media coverage overall during the 2007-2008 season, with very little discussion of anything else, and there was not a single story about negative RSE incidents. *The Southland Times* was the most vocal media outlet on the RSE topic as a whole, publishing 12 articles; having a high count on labour shortage (37) and RSE policy (35), with nearly all articles addressing these two key themes, constituting the highest number of stories in any region during this season. In other regions, such as Bay of Plenty

in particular, coverage was less frequent and incorporated a wider range of themes. *Nelson Mail* published eight articles, with a high count of 38 on RSE policy. *Marlborough Express* published five articles with a strong focus on RSE policy with 30 mentions. Overall, RSE policy had the highest count of 122 mentions in 39 articles across the regions, followed by labour shortage with 81 counts and pastoral care with 17 mentions. A total of 34 articles was published in all regions during the first season. *Bay of Plenty Times*, *Hawkes Bay Today* and *The Southland Times* had strong coverage on labour shortage, whereas *Nelson Mail* and *Marlborough Express* had a strong focus on the RSE policy.

Table 5.4: Themes by newspaper in the 2008-2009 season

Newspapers	Labour shortage	RSE policy	New Zealanders First	RSE praise	Pastoral care	Economic benefits	New Zealand unemployment	RSE cap	RSE incidents
<i>Bay of Plenty Times</i>	3	5	27	2	6	1	10	2	0
<i>Hawkes Bay Today</i>	3	6	3	42	9	10	3	5	4
<i>Nelson Mail</i>	2	4	1	1	16	9	3	4	0
<i>Marlborough Express</i>	0	0	0	13	9	0	0	0	0
<i>The Southland Times</i>	10	2	2	0	0	0	2	1	6
TOTAL	18	17	33	58	40	20	18	12	10

Figure 5.6: Theme Occurrence per Newspaper - Season 2008-2009



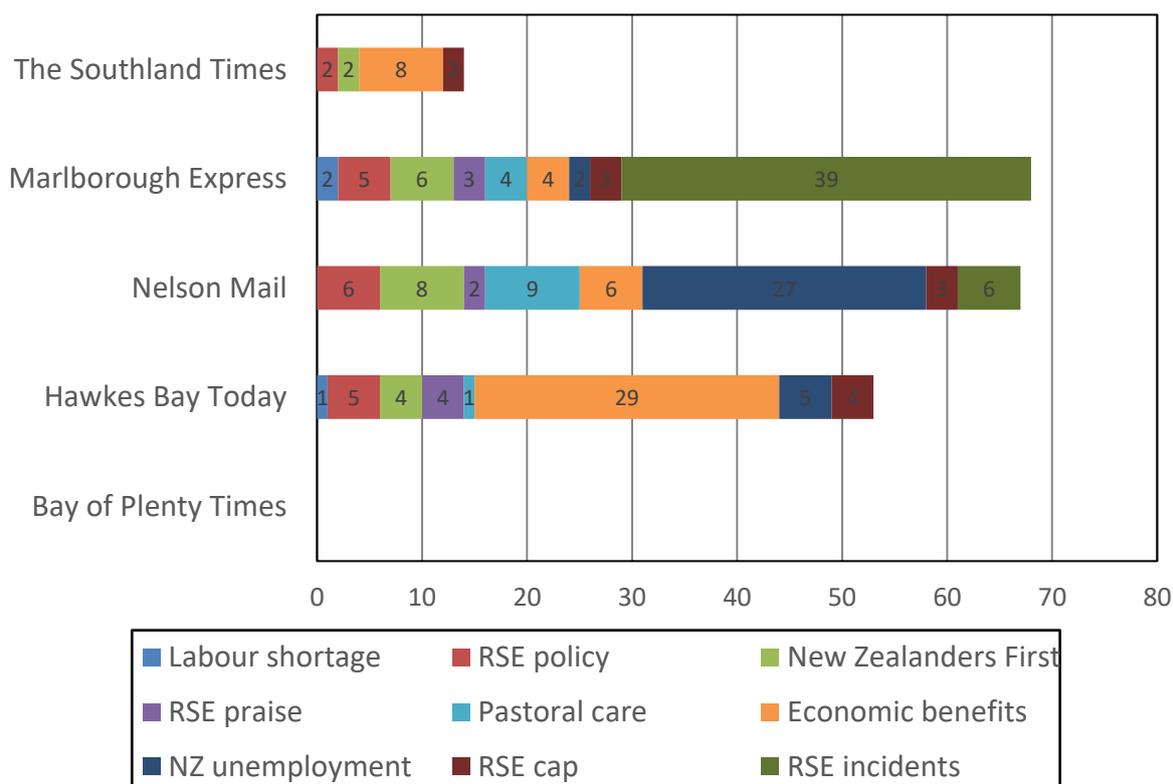
In the 2008-2009 season, as shown earlier in Table 5.4, coverage in *The Southland Times* dropped significantly in frequency compared with the previous season. It published only four articles, less than a third of its 12 articles published in the previous season. The articles they published in this season were dominated by a continued focus on labour shortages; however, RSE incidents now made a strong entry into the mix in Southland. The only other region to mention any RSE incidents was Hawkes Bay, with *Hawkes Bay Today* publishing six articles with four mentioning incidents. These were part of a diverse season of coverage by that paper, with 89 mentions of different themes, the most in the country. Almost half of these were RSE praise, along with a strong emphasis on economic benefits. Overall, across all the regions during this season, the thematic emphasis had shifted from RSE policy and labour shortages, to focus foremost on RSE praise, followed by pastoral care, and New Zealanders first. A total of 24 articles were published by the five regions in this second season. Across these 24 articles, there were 202 different themes represented, distributed as above (Table 5.4).

Table 5.5: Themes by newspaper in the 2009-2010 season

Newspapers	Labour shortage	RSE policy	New Zealanders First	RSE praise	Pastoral care	Economic benefits	New Zealand unemployment	RSE cap	RSE incidents
<i>Bay of Plenty Times</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

<i>Hawkes Bay Today</i>	1	5	4	4	1	29	5	4	0
<i>Nelson Mail</i>	0	6	8	2	9	6	27	3	6
<i>Marlborough Express</i>	2	5	6	3	4	4	2	3	39
<i>The Southland Times</i>	0	2	2	0	0	8	0	2	0
TOTAL	3	18	20	9	14	47	34	12	45

Figure 5.7: Theme Occurrence per Newspaper - Season 2009-2010



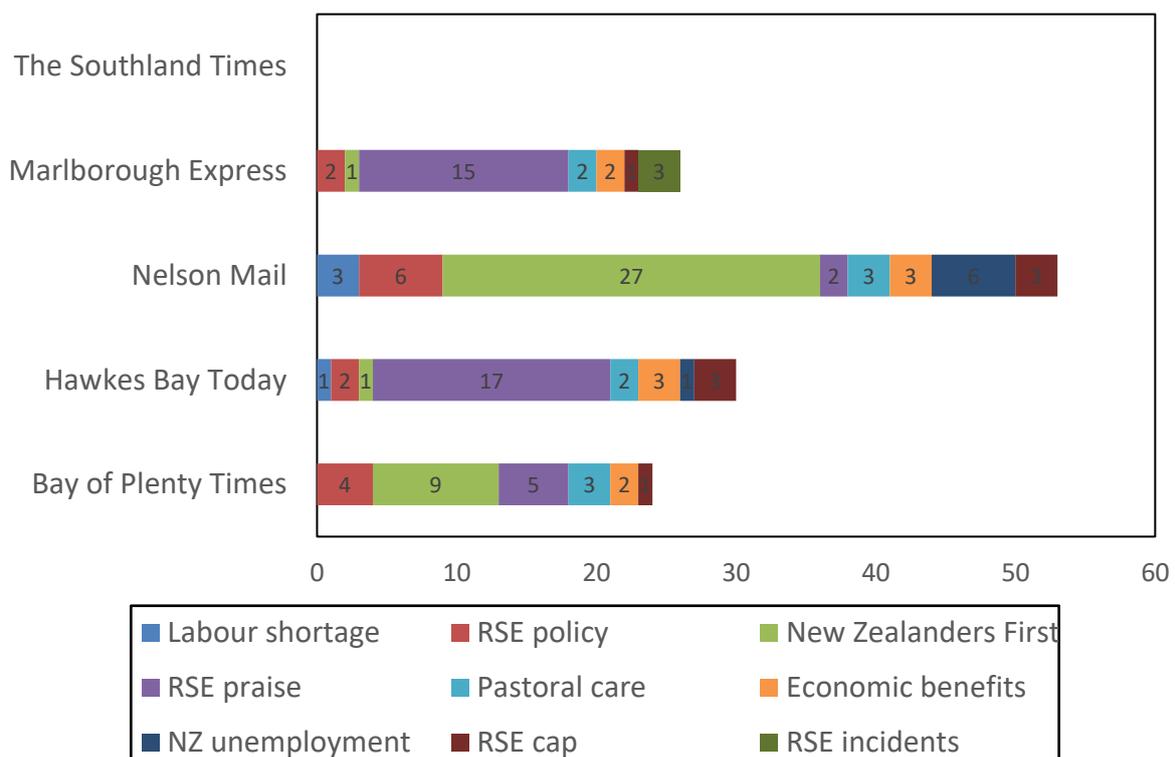
In the 2009-2010 season, as shown earlier in Table 5.5, coverage in the *Bay of Plenty Times* drops out, publishing no articles at all that are directly addressing the RSE scheme while the workers are living there. *The Southland Times* also reduced its reporting frequency, with the number of articles dropping from 12 in the first season to 4 in the second season and 2 articles in the third. The *Marlborough Express* published the most articles in this third season, and these were dominated by a strong focus on RSE incidents. *Nelson Mail* also made mention of incidents, along with New Zealand Unemployment and pastoral care. The New Zealand unemployment theme was the highest count for the eight articles published by *Nelson Mail*, a shift from their predominant coverage of the pastoral care theme in the previous season. Economic benefits as a theme dominated *Hawkes Bay Today* coverage, with 29 mentions of this theme in the four articles they published. This season saw a strong emphasis on

economic benefits with 47 counts in total, followed by RSE incidents (45), and New Zealand unemployment (34). Overall, the Hawkes Bay and Southland regions had a strong focus on economic benefits, with Nelson’s thematic emphasis based on New Zealand unemployment, and Marlborough’s on RSE incidents. This marks a shift from RSE policy and labour shortages, to a mixture of focus in different regions based on the RSE agenda. A similar number of total articles (24) were published by the five regions in the third season.

Table 5.6: Themes by newspaper in the 2010-2011 season

Newspapers	Labour shortage	RSE policy	New Zealanders First	RSE praise	Pastoral care	Economic benefits	New Zealand unemployment	RSE cap	RSE incidents
<i>Bay of Plenty Times</i>	0	4	9	5	3	2	0	1	0
<i>Hawkes Bay Today</i>	1	2	1	17	2	3	1	3	0
<i>Nelson Mail</i>	3	6	27	2	3	3	6	3	0
<i>Marlborough Express</i>	0	2	1	15	2	2	0	1	3
<i>The Southland Times</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	4	12	38	39	10	10	7	8	3

Figure 5.8: Theme Occurrence per Newspaper - Season 2010-2011

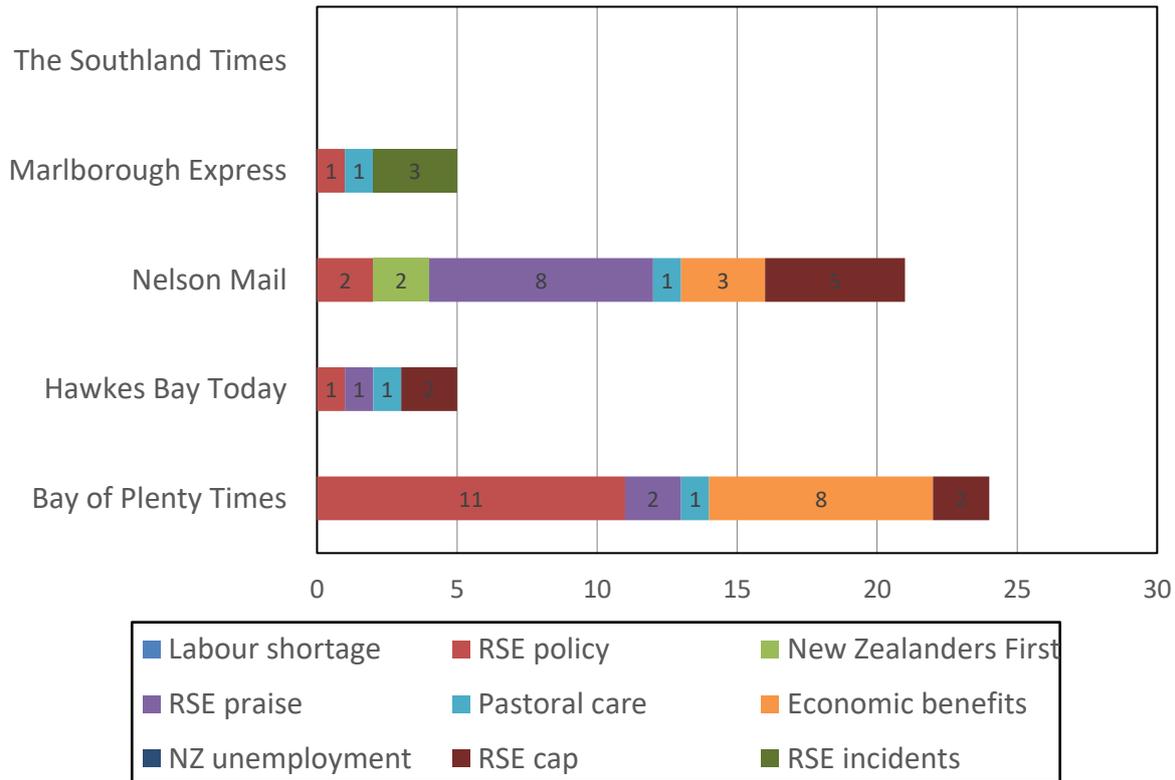


In the 2010-2011 seasons, as shown earlier in Table 5.6, there was zero coverage of the RSE scheme in *The Southland Times*. The *Bay of Plenty Times* published three articles, based predominantly on the New Zealanders First theme (see Figure 5.8). *Hawkes Bay Today* published two articles, with a strong focus on RSE praise. *Nelson Mail* had the highest number of articles published, with seven articles and the New Zealanders First theme as a strong focus. The *Marlborough Express* only published two articles, compared to the ten articles they published in the last season, focussing this season primarily on RSE praise. A total of 19 articles was published in all regions in the fourth season. The New Zealanders First theme dominated reporting in the Bay of Plenty, with nine counts, and in the Nelson region with 27 mentions of this theme. The RSE praise theme dominated coverage in the Hawkes Bay region, with 17 counts, and in the Marlborough region, with 15 counts. *Bay of Plenty Times* continued to have the New Zealanders First theme as a strong focus in their articles in two seasons; 2008-09 and 2010-11, and the same can be said about *Hawkes Bay Today* in its strong focus on RSE praise, which dominated their reporting in 2008-09 and 2010-11. *Nelson Mail* had a mixture of themes in different seasons, with the New Zealanders First theme being the strong focus for the fourth season. The *Marlborough Express* also had a mixture of coverage in different seasons, with RSE praise being the strong focus for this season. There were no articles on the RSE in *The Southland Times* for this season.

Table 5.7: Themes by newspaper in the 2011-2012 season

Newspapers	Labour shortage	RSE policy	New Zealanders First	RSE praise	Pastoral care	Economic benefits	New Zealand unemployment	RSE cap	RSE incidents
<i>Bay of Plenty Times</i>	0	11	0	2	1	8	0	2	0
<i>Hawkes Bay Today</i>	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	2	0
<i>Nelson Mail</i>	0	2	2	8	1	3	0	5	0
<i>Marlborough Express</i>	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	3
<i>The Southland Times</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	0	15	2	11	4	11	0	9	3

Figure 5.9: Theme Occurrence per Newspaper - Season 2011-2012



In the 2011-2012 season, as shown earlier in Table 5.7, the RSE scheme again had no coverage in *The Southland Times* and only nine articles published across the remaining four regions. The number of articles published in all other regions also dropped. *Bay of Plenty Times* published three articles and had a strong focus on RSE policy. *Hawkes Bay Today*, *Nelson Mail* and *Marlborough Express* published two articles each. *Hawkes Bay Today* had a strong focus on the RSE cap, with *Nelson Mail* concentrating more on RSE praise and *Marlborough Express* on RSE incidents. This saw a mixture of themes for the fifth season. In total, RSE policy dominated media coverage with 15 mentions, followed by RSE praise and economic benefits, each having total of 11 mentions, with the RSE cap getting 9 mentions (Table 5.7).

The thematic analysis process applied to the coding of the articles elicited the key themes that are tabulated above. These themes illustrate the frequency of different discourses from the five regional newspapers. These themes came about through my interpretation of the articles and how each article from different studied regions represented different aspects of the scheme. While this is not a quantitative study, because the initial theming is interpretive, counting frequency of the themes as I identified them nonetheless gives some insights into the patterns and distribution overall in the sample of the themes that I identified. Using numbers in this way in qualitative analysis is supported by a range of qualitative methods specialists including Sandelowski (2001, p. 231), who points out that “The

meaning qualitative researchers seek depends, in part, on numbers” and that “counting is integral to the analysis process, especially to the recognition of patterns in data and deviations from those patterns, and to making analytic or idiographic generalizations from data.”

The results detailed above highlight some important findings on the portrayal of Pacific Island seasonal workers. It was clear that the themes overlap in some regions. However, it also appears evident that some of the themes occurred in isolation. Further examination of the results on a theme-by-theme basis, below, will explore the potential reasons behind such representation. First, though, I turn in the next section to look at share of voice in the 115 sampled regional articles.

5.5 Source citations

In addition to identifying themes, I analysed the regional media coverage for share of voice and sources of opinion in stories about the RSE scheme. The analysis first examined whose voice or source citation featured in each article, the frequency of occurrence and then compared these findings in the regions studied. Source citation refers to the implied or specified source of opinion or information included in the article. Citation diversity or otherwise helps answer to one of the research questions concerning how the ‘share of voice’ was allocated in stories and which types of sources frequently appeared or dominated the coverage. Source and voice analysis can suggest the breadth as well as depth of an article.

Most articles in the sample cited representatives of the horticulture and viticulture industries. The table below illustrates that the industry-affiliated individuals were the most frequent source for all articles. Second most quoted were unidentified sources mostly from unspecified New Zealand citizens, where newspapers used the term ‘a source’ to attribute an anonymous quote an article. The rest of the content was predominantly sourced from government officials, city council representatives or politicians. The two least quoted sources were RSE workers followed by researchers.

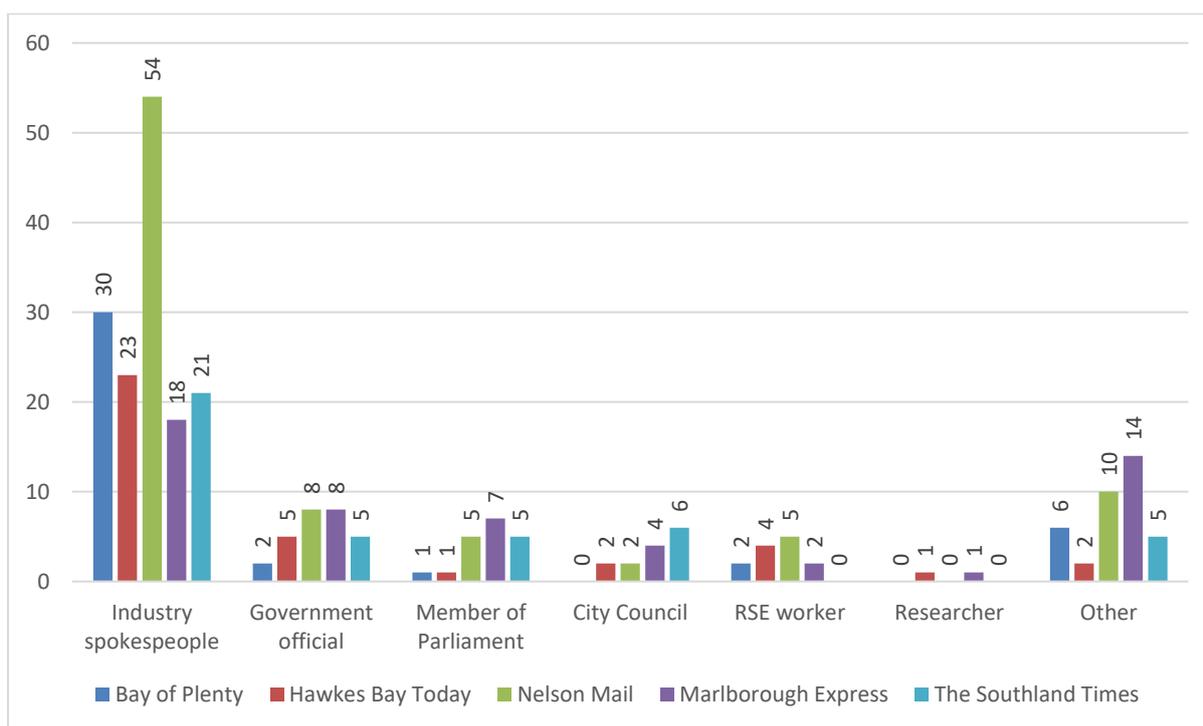
Table 5.8: Source Citations and frequency of occurrence in each newspaper coverage from 2007 – 2012

Source	Explanation of those included	Frequency of occurrence	Regions	Time period
Industry spokespeople	Horticulture and viticulture spokespersons	146	Bay of Plenty Hawkes Bay Marlborough Nelson Otago	2007 2008 2009 2010 2011
Unaffiliated individuals	Unidentified sources without affiliation to any of the labelled sources	37	Bay of Plenty Hawkes Bay Marlborough Nelson	2007 2008 2009 2010

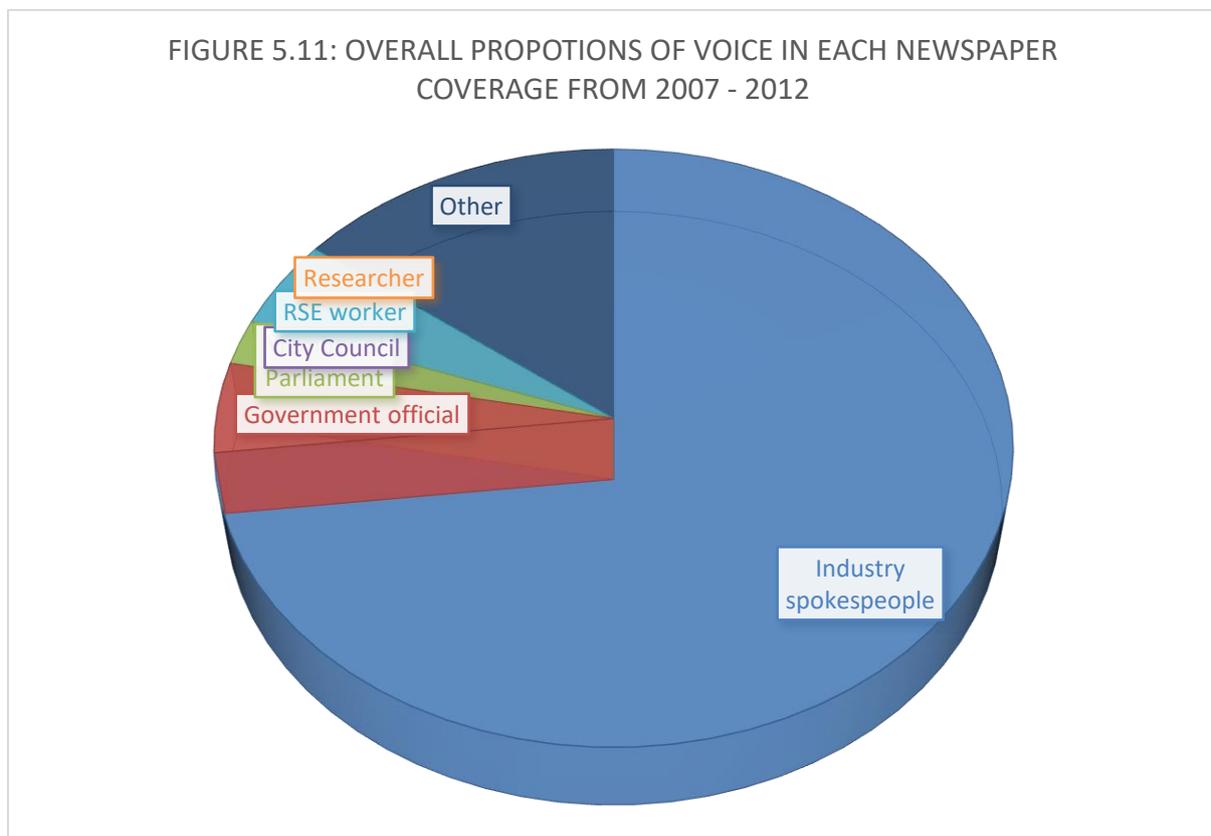
Government official	Spokespeople and officials representing the Government agencies	28	Bay of Plenty Plenty Marlborough Nelson Otago	2007 2008 2009 2010 2011
Member of Parliament	A politician	19	Nelson Otago	2007 2009
City Council	An elected executive individual with the city council	14	Nelson Otago	2007 2008
RSE worker	A seasonal worker	13	Bay of Plenty Plenty Hawkes Bay Nelson	2007 2008 2009 2010 2011
Researcher	Sources attributed to or labelled as published research or a researcher	2	Hawkes Bay	2010

The analysis of the source citations and reasons why most or fewer voices are captured in articles will be explored in the next chapter. The total number of source citations for each season is illustrated in Figure 5.10 below.

Figure 5.10: Source citations in each newspaper from 2007 – 2012



The pie chart below shows the overall proportions of voice in the entire regional news sample, which is also important for illustrating the issues in a visual way.



Further analysis of the source citations found all five newspapers quote industry representatives more than any other source throughout the five-year period.

Table 5.9: Total number of source citations per newspaper 2007-2012

	Bay of Plenty	Hawkes Bay Today	Nelson Mail	Marlborough Express	The Southland Times	Total
<i>Industry spokespeople</i>	30	23	54	18	21	146
<i>Unofficial spokespeople</i>	6	2	10	14	5	37
<i>Government official</i>	2	5	8	8	5	28
<i>Member of Parliament</i>	1	1	5	7	5	19
<i>City Council</i>	0	2	2	4	6	14
<i>RSE worker</i>	2	4	5	2	0	13

<i>Researcher</i>	0	1	0	1	0	2
Totals	41	35	84	54	42	

The *Nelson Mail* was notably high in quoting industry representatives (54) compared to its other sources and compared with the other four newspapers (Table 5.9). This was primarily driven by articles discussing New Zealand unemployment rising in 2009-10 which subsequently lead on to heavy reportage of the New Zealanders First theme in the following year (2010-11).

Marlborough Express and *Nelson Mail* both quoted a large number of unofficial sources, followed by government officials (28) in which again *Marlborough Express* and *Nelson Mail* shared the same results particularly in season 2009-10 where most articles by *Marlborough Express* were around incidents involving RSE workers and *Nelson Mail* reported on New Zealand unemployment rising. *Nelson Mail* had the most source citations involving a Member of Parliament with *The Southland Times* quoting representatives from the City Council more than the other newspapers. There was an absence of RSE workers' voice in all five seasons in *The Southland Times* with very little in *Bay of Plenty Times* and *Marlborough Express*. *Nelson Mail* had the highest count of RSE workers' voice in their articles for all five seasons. *Bay of Plenty Times*, *Nelson Mail* and *the Southland Times* had zero references to researchers.

Examining what types of sources dominated the five years of the RSE reporting shows that the major newspaper sources in terms of dominant citations were industry representatives, unofficial sources, government officials, City Council representatives and Members of Parliament. RSE workers were notably less quoted and *The Southland Times* did not quote a single RSE worker during the entire first five seasons of the scheme. Researchers were the lowest source citations – this despite the fact that, as noted in the literature review, there are a number of researchers working specifically on the New Zealand scheme, and there is also a body of international knowledge. The implications of dominant voice in news source will be further discussed in the next chapter.

5.6 Case Analysis

The 115 stories from 2007 to 2012 published in five regional newspapers give good insights into the representation of RSE workers in the communities they inhabited, during the time they were there. This is important, as it captures the media discourse context in which they lived and worked. However, my analysis of the regional seasonal coverage did not find any mention of some storylines about the scheme that I had observed were being discussed in national media originating outside the regions, and at other times during the calendar year. In particular, the regional media had not covered some particularly

controversial topics that erupted in the national media outside of the regional study period. To compare and contrast the regional sample with these other, national, themes, I therefore employed a purposive case study approach. The use of the case studies is complementary, and for comparison purposes: they are intended to provide a sense of the wider discourses that were possible and illuminate discourses that are missing in the regional newspapers, but they are not generalisable to any conclusions about the portrayal of Pacific Island seasonal workers by the New Zealand media more broadly.

To provide some snapshot insight into any other themes that may have occurred in wider media and outside the work season, I examined the *NZ Herald* for national coverage to identify any themes that had generated a particularly prominent number of stories (see copies of these stories in **Appendices Five to Nine**). Table 5.10 below shows each case study illustrating the key themes that sparked national media attention in each season. It was interesting to note that the themes in the most prominent national media stories were different from the community stories. The national case studies were identified by selecting issues that were discussed in multiple national media outlets in each season and for which repeated media coverage had spanned a number of days. The *NZ Herald* articles were purposively selected to illustrate one example of each issue and how it was presented in New Zealand’s most read metropolitan newspaper. The case studies will be examined in greater depth in the following chapter.

Table 5.10: Case Studies illustrating the Key Themes in National Media for calendar year 2007 – 2012

Seasons	2007-2008	2008-2009	2009-2010	2010-2011	2011-2012
<i>Case Study</i>	Lured by broken promise	Baby born on the plane	Jobless Kiwis reap seasonal work	RSE scheme a triple win	Human trafficking and RSE

As Table 5.10 illustrates, there was a different media theme in each case study. The results illustrate the major RSE agenda outside of the studied period and also indicate the focus of some selected national media coverage.

Case Study	Description
Lured by broken promise	About the vulnerability of workers coming to NZ under the RSE scheme. This case talks about a Tongan worker raising concerns of being underpaid, poor employment and accommodation conditions and claims of labour abuse. This early case sparked media coverage of moral and ethical issues about the RSE scheme.
Baby born on the plane	This issue sparked national media interest when a 29-year-old Samoan RSE worker gave birth on a flight from Apia to Auckland and her baby was abandoned after the birth.

Jobless Kiwis reap seasonal work	This case talks about the severe shortage of workers to harvest fruit with plentiful supply utilising overseas workers, mainly from the Pacific but the horticulture industry insists it is putting jobless New Zealanders first. The case sparked national interest as to why more overseas workers are recruited while there is a high number of unemployed New Zealanders.
RSE scheme a triple win	This case talks about the RSE scheme as a triple win situation sparked from an evaluation by John Gibson of Waikato Management School and Dr David McKenzie of the World Bank. Their research coined the term “triple win” for the scheme when they argued it was good for local horticulture and viticulture industries, good for the seasonal workers and good for the economic development of the workers’ home economies.
Human trafficking and RSE	This coverage discussed a US State Department Trafficking in Persons Report which claimed Asian and Pacific Island workers brought to New Zealand to work in agriculture, horticulture and hospitality sectors were subject to forced labour. Allegations of human trafficking generated national interest in labour standards and protecting trafficking victims.

These case studies illustrate prominent national media themes in each calendar year. These topics were used as case studies to elaborate high-profile issues reported outside of the studies regional media and periods. A case was selected if it had generated national interest and created communal discord, as illustrated by a large volume of coverage in a short space of time. The case study articles were purposively sampled to illustrate these issues. Thus, part of the research notes themes were prominent outside of the studied period that sparked public debate on the situation of RSE workers by other, non-regional print media. The implications of these case studies will be discussed in Chapter 6.

5.7 Chapter summary

Overall, the findings illustrate a falling off in regional coverage over time, a shift over time in the themes from labour shortage and RSE policy to New Zealanders first, RSE praise into RSE incidents, and the predominance of industry voices in all seasons. Themes dominating the *Bay of Plenty Times* and *The Southland Times* were more likely to advocate for labour shortage and broad government responses, including policy changes. *Nelson Mail*, *Marlborough Express* and *Hawkes Bay Today* newspapers presented a mixture of themes in their reporting around economic benefits, praising the RSE scheme, RSE incidents, New Zealand unemployment rising and New Zealanders first.

The themes were quite similar between the regions and time period. RSE policy was recorded as the second most common theme by region and time period, with Labour Shortage the most common. The prevalence of both themes declines throughout the period examined. RSE policy as a theme resurfaced

as the dominant theme for *Bay of Plenty Times* in the fifth year of the scheme. Themes such as Pastoral care and Economic benefits emerged in the second and third seasons of the scheme, reduced in the fourth seasons by each particular newspaper. The New Zealanders first theme is high in the second and fourth seasons, although the theme was not as strong in the fifth season. RSE praise as a theme was also the most common in the second, fourth and fifth seasons with *Hawkes Bay Today* and *Marlborough Express* continuing to report frequently on positive stories about the scheme. Articles in the *Marlborough Express* reported frequently on RSE incidents while the *Nelson Mail* focused on New Zealand unemployment rising and *Hawkes Bay Today* addressed challenges in meeting labour demand. Overall, themes of Labour Shortage, New Zealanders First and RSE Policy featured widely in the seasons and across regions. The themes of Economic benefits and RSE praise also featured largely by region across time. The RSE Incidents theme featured prominently in some regions as it typically links to a particular event and was connected to a number of incidents involving RSE workers.

Representatives of the horticulture and viticulture industry were quoted most frequently in articles across the five seasons. Most of the articles cited industry affiliated individuals as the most frequent source for all articles. The second most quoted are unidentified sources mostly from unidentified New Zealand citizens in which newspapers used the word ‘source’ to attribute an unofficial quote in an article. This is followed by various sources from government officials to city council representative or politicians. The least quoted sources were RSE workers and researchers.

The case study articles drawn from *NZ Herald*, a national metropolitan newspaper, show the existence of some illustrative national media items that generated public attention and debate. As will be discussed in the next chapter, these had different topics from those which dominated the regional newspapers and suggested a broader discursive spread was possible than that provided by the regional news. The next chapter looks at the results in more detail and discusses their implications, along with methodological limitations that may have affected the results. The issue of isolated controversial issue coverage also will be explored using the *NZ Herald* articles as case analysis.

CHAPTER 6: Discussion

“The Pacific matters deeply to New Zealand. Our prosperity and security is interwoven, with many cultural, historical links as the islands are our Ancestral lands and economic linkages...we need to quantify the value we contribute to the national workforce in terms of labour participation at all levels, including the night economy. I like to think that one of our competitive advantages is that much of our economic contribution is community driven. But I also want to know what else is uniquely ours?”

- Hon Aupito Tofae Su’a William Sio

6.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the results of the interpretive analysis presented in Chapter 5 from newspapers produced in the targeted five regions of the New Zealand RSE scheme. This discussion is based on a theme by theme structure. Each theme is discussed and reintegrated with the wider scholarly literature examining the representation of Pacific peoples by the New Zealand media and with reference to the previous research on the RSE scheme and print media reporting. The newspaper thematic analysis concentrates on dominant themes and the discourses the selected print media have been producing, showing the patterns of media reporting in RSE regions during the scheme’s first five years of operation in New Zealand, from 2007-2012.

This chapter is based on the research questions established in Chapter 1, and aims to discuss the findings concerning these questions. First, I look at what each theme does over time, their coverage during different seasons, and what aspects of the main theme topic are focused upon. Second, I examine the frequency of occurrence of themes in particular newspapers. Third, I illuminate how the themes compare and contrast with the insights covered in the earlier literature review chapter regarding representation of Pacific peoples broadly. Fourth, I explore how the themes compare and contrast with earlier literature reviews of representation of temporary seasonal workers in other countries employing RSE type schemes. Lastly, the case studies drawn from national media foci in each studied year provide a deeper context and background of the possible discursive spread in newspaper coverage of the scheme. A brief conclusion draws together findings from the portrayal of Pacific seasonal workers in regional New Zealand and the general representation of Pacific people in New Zealand by the media. Findings were collated to give an overall discursive picture of scheme coverage, and also compared and contrasted across regions and over time to identify temporal and regional specificity.

6.2 Themes of Representation

The media have documented the scheme, assessing whether the movement of foreign workers to meet the temporary seasonal needs of New Zealand agricultural producers during the peak harvesting, planting and pruning seasons has been successful. However, while the media have been scrutinising the scheme via their own discursive worldviews, until this research there has been no scrutiny whatsoever

of the media. Scrutiny of the media coverage is essential to understanding the localised discursive reception of seasonal employment. It is important to understand how foreign workers' experience, seasonal outcomes and impacts (economic, social and cultural) on receiving and sending countries, and the implications for local communities have been portrayed. What sort of picture has been painted in the media, and what is missing from that picture?

The results reveal a set of complex and dynamic representations of Pacific RSE workers in New Zealand. Newspaper discourse represents these workers not only as a 'godsend' and an important source of labour, but also as labour that competes with locals for jobs, or as a threat to local culture. The analysis below presents these themes in detail and interprets the regional newspapers' reporting, to paint a picture of how Pacific seasonal workers are depicted. The themes are presented below in order from most frequent to least.

6.2.1 Theme 1: Labour shortage

This theme encompasses instances when the newspaper coverage suggests that a shortage of workers in the agricultural sector in New Zealand and a lack of local workers has resulted in labour shortages for many horticulture and viticulture industries. Gibson and McKenzie (2010) claim the RSE scheme has gone a long way towards solving long-standing problems the industries have had in meeting their seasonal labour needs and boosting economic growth and productivity, while contributing to New Zealand's broad development objectives in the Pacific region (p. 4). Thus, they argue that local labour shortage led to (is the cause of) demand for temporary seasonal workers. This theme was most prominent in the early stages of the scheme in 2007 to 2008. Articles published by the *Bay of Plenty Times*, *Hawkes Bay Today* and *The Southland Times* featured this theme conspicuously.

The theme over time

This was by far the dominant theme in the first season of the scheme, appearing in all five regional newspapers, with *Bay of Plenty*, *Hawkes Bay* and *The Southland Times* reporting it as their most dominant theme, usually concerning varying degrees of meeting the labour needs by utilising overseas workers. Other articles drew attention to the displacement of New Zealanders but no references were found in this period concerning worker exploitation or risks of overstaying. Most of the articles focused on a perceived short supply of local labour 'crippling' the industries financially through loss of crops and productivity. They also discussed growers struggling to find workers, having to train new workers every season, and not having a dependable workforce available for consecutive seasons.

The scheme officially aimed to provide a steady labour source to fill the gaps within these industries. It appears that the official policy has been represented in media coverage with little or no critique or problematisation. Entman (2000) argues that media stories “promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (p. 391). That structure can readily be seen to apply here: the problem is set up as a ‘crippled’ industry sector, and the cause is attributed to a labour shortage, with the moral evaluation that local labour is ‘unreliable’. The recommended solution is the RSE scheme. With this theme being so prominent throughout the coverage, it obscures the possibility that the ‘problem’ and ‘cause’ are able to be defined in multiple other ways.

The RSE scheme was represented favourably as a way of solving the industries’ long-standing seasonal labour problems. Most articles focussed heavily on New Zealand labour shortages but not what the scheme meant for the workers themselves. I argue these workers were migrating into a community in which they had been already articulated as ‘labour’ to fill a ‘shortage’. This may make the community see them as filling a need, but it is also a one-dimensional representation of them as ‘labour’, and not as ‘human beings who can provide labour’. What this means is that these workers are being defined by the media in ways that are central to the class system of capitalism. Capitalism shapes broad patterns of inequality as the outcome of power. Comprehending power, capitalism is producing the conditions of exploitation that drive economic interests. Recruiting overseas labour had for so long been shaped by capitalist economic policy, that it becomes an effort to recognise that the RSE scheme could also have been represented by media not as a triple win serving the interests of the dominant capitalist class. In this sense, the capitalist class are usually the white employers who own and control the means of production. The media has referred to seasonal workers as ‘a godsend’, ‘reliable’ and constantly praised them for their work ethic and positive contribution. This suggests other critical discourses about capitalism, labour power, and social differentiation are forced out of the picture by the predominance of the labour shortage theme and its particular way of defining the problem, cause and solution.

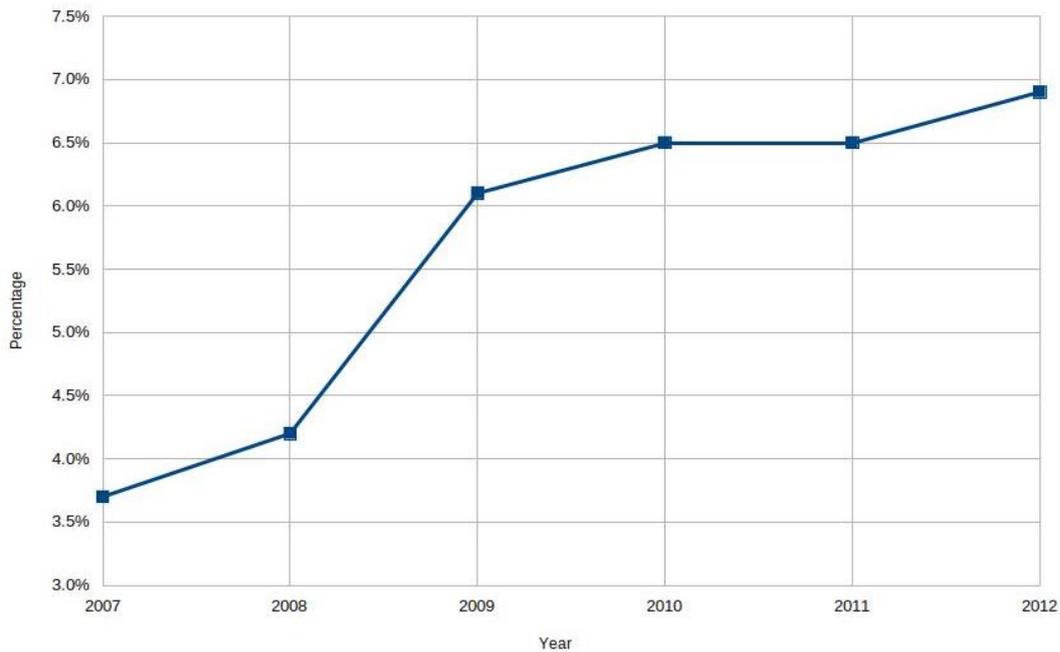
Thomas (2016) argues that racialisation stems from class relations of capitalism. “The labour power of the working class is treated as a commodity through the system of wage labour and how the capitalist class holds the capacity to extract surplus value through this system” (p. 122). What this means is media discourse designating seasonal workers as an essential means to production. Descriptions in the media of Pacific RSE workers as ‘desirable’, ‘blessing’ and ‘reliable’ disguise racialisation that is deeply embedded in the heart of the RSE scheme. Pacific workers are considered well suited to seasonal work that most New Zealanders are unwilling to do because it is very physically demanding, with long hours, gruelling weather conditions and low pay. But because of racist conceptions of New Zealand citizenship, these workers are socially constructed as ‘temporary workers’ and unfit to be future citizens.

The media discourse repeated, but did not question, the policy that requires them to return to their home country before their temporary visa expires and once the harvesting and pruning seasons are over.

Just one of many alternative definitions of the problem could have been to show that the historical global economic system creates an imbalance in the first place. One country's growers are so wealthy that they can afford to pay to import workers from another country, pay their food, lodging and wages and then send them home again, while workers in the other country are so desperate for work that they will leave their families and go to another country to do very arduous labour for low pay. Outsourcing labour across national borders only happens when there is economic disparity between the countries. There is inequality there, yet the media coverage almost exclusively focuses on the benefit – that is, it sees the story from the capitalist lens, through the eyes of the landowning horticulturalists and viticulturalists and the benefit to their profit margins. The unasked questions include, why is temporary immigration seen as a solution to a worker shortage by employers here? Why can Pacific workers not earn enough at home to stay there? Why is it assumed appropriate that their labour for the benefit of New Zealand not accrue them any New Zealand citizenship (a particularly pertinent question in the light of climate change rapidly rendering large parts of the Pacific uninhabitable)? Yet none of these possible problem definitions or causes are discussed by the regional media alongside the dominant 'labour shortage' problem construction.

As the scheme matured, the theme of labour shortage reduced. As noted in the 2011-2012 table of theme occurrence and reoccurrence, labour shortage was not reported at all by this season, and newspapers concentrated on other themes based on the policy's multiple aims. This reduced attention to demand for labour correlates with rising New Zealand unemployment between 2007 to 2012, as shown in Figure 6.1. The dramatic increase in New Zealand unemployment rate raises the question of why the industries continued to bring in seasonal workers from overseas if New Zealanders were struggling to find jobs? The onus of the scheme is to give first preference to locals before they look elsewhere for labour but the number of workers brought in increased each year while but local unemployment also increased. However, this question does not occur in the sampled media coverage: during this time the scheme was still being discursively constructed by the regional media as responding to a labour shortage. Despite this, as the scheme progressed, labour shortage as a theme lessened in coverage for all newspapers in all the regions. The result is not surprising because as the scheme matured, there was a reduction of labour demand as the industry learned from previous seasons and was able to forecast the numbers of workers available for each season.

Figure 6.1: New Zealand annual unemployment 2007 – 2012



The theme in different newspapers

Labour shortage was the dominant theme in the *Bay of Plenty Times*, *Hawkes Bay Today* and *The Southland Times* in the first season (2007-2008) of the RSE scheme. The *Nelson Mail* and *Marlborough Express* both focused their reporting on the RSE policy. There were some concerns in other newspapers from local New Zealanders about bringing in overseas workers but the articles balanced that by quoting the frustrations of New Zealand employers who said they were not able to find enough people who were willing or able to do this kind of work. Quoted employer sources noted the work itself (physically demanding) as the only barrier to attracting workers, and did not mention rates of pay or conditions of employment such as the standard of housing provided – these latter could be considered missing discourses.

The *Bay of Plenty* articles in the first season of the scheme 2007-2008 declared a labour shortage in the Western Bay region. Other themes also emerged such as the requirement that jobs be offered to New Zealanders first, employers being required to meet standards relating to wages, accommodation and overall support, and the introduction of the RSE policy. The following years showed a thematic shift from labour shortages to lessons learned from the previous season, and needing to address the problem of more workers being needed during the peak period. The same trend occurred in the *Hawkes Bay Today* and *The Southland Times* where the beginning of the scheme showed that labour shortage was a hot topic in these regions. The labour shortage theme continued to feature in *The Southland Times* in the following season 2008-2009 as illustrated in Table 5.4 above, where the articles continue to feature the need of the local horticulture and viticulture industries to get the workers they wanted. Most of the

articles were centred on Central Otago orchards and vineyard owners and managers ‘struggling’ to fill seasonal work vacancies. Not one of the articles mentioned the kinds of struggles that workers may experience, either as motivation for joining the scheme or while part of the scheme: the needs of industry were the focus.

The *Nelson Mail* and the *Marlborough Express* were not inclined to focus more on labour shortages than the RSE policy of meeting the needs of the horticulture and viticulture industries. For instance, the *Nelson Mail* article on 23 January 2008 quoted orchardist Ian Palmer saying about 5000 workers were needed for the apple and pear harvests in the Nelson region each season. Mr Palmer claimed a labour shortage was often declared in the Nelson region, as Work and Income had no suitable labour force available to pick fruit, meaning workers needed to be brought in from overseas under the RSE scheme. We can note how the discourse is limited and shaped by particular interests and forces, if we ask what the difference would be if instead of ‘no workers available’ the terminology was ‘no workers willing to do this work for the offered pay and conditions’, which opens up the possibility that it is the actions of the employer that can change the ‘shortage’ if they wished. The same can be said about the *Marlborough Express*, in which references to labour shortage were particularly apparent when the region ‘struggled’ to find local workers, and so instead turned to recruiting Pacific workers, using the scheme to ‘battle’ against the shortage. Again, the media discourse sets up a ‘shortage’ as the obstacle to be ‘battled’ rather than the nature of the work as an obstacle to be addressed.

The narrow focus of the coverage on particular New Zealand industry-based viewpoints and needs, leads me to point to important questions that the regional media do not seem to be asking. Questions based around the actual underlying causes of domestic workers’ unwillingness to be ‘available’ despite growing unemployment, challenging the policy issues related to international labour migration from temporary to permanent, human rights protection, access to union membership and representation, access to rights under employment laws that apply to New Zealand citizens and permanent residents, access to training, apprenticeships or education, social and cultural integration, and the rights of temporary workers to become high skilled, permanent citizens. The RSE scheme works as a tool that contributes to easing seasonal labour shortages whenever horticulture and viticulture industry employers have difficulty sourcing a local workforce at the minimal piecework rates they are willing to pay. As a short-term solution, temporary visas are issued to offshore labourers, mainly from the Pacific Islands, to produce positive benefits for New Zealand industries. The media stories do not question whether any of those benefits accrue in any significant way to the workers or to their Pacific communities in anything other than a very short term and temporary way. The media do not investigate, for example, whether the return of RSE workers to their home communities has led to increasing evidence of upskilling and opportunity such as through subsequent greater establishment of horticulture industries in their home countries. None of the articles ask, for example, whether, if New Zealand’s

Pacific neighbours were populated by a majority white, European descended population, those people would still be imported to New Zealand under these 'labour only' conditions, corralled in segregated housing, and denied access to training and advancement pathways in the industry they were servicing. These are questions that the regional media chose not to investigate.

It could be argued that rising global competition and persistent economic inequality between countries has given rise to a scheme that is a model of privileging capitalism and whiteness. However, the media I sampled were only reporting discourses of skills transfer, cultural exchange, economic benefits and strong indications that employers put more into the scheme than the workers take out. This is evident in the articles based around creating more jobs, not displacing local workers, pastoral care, and contributing immensely to the development of trade and creating opportunities for Pacific countries. The discourse of a 'triple gain' – benefitting the host, the receiving country, and the workers themselves – has gained momentum in the media with articles about the benefits of hiring offshore workers from the voices of industry representatives becoming widespread. None of the media challenge the claim that this paradigm of a 'triple gain' benefits seasonal workers. None of the media point out issues that occur to me when I view the data through my Pacific cultural lens, such as that seasonal workers lack adequate voice, have limited rights, and are mostly bound into their cultural values of respect, humility and communal approach, which makes them the ideal workers for the scheme as it is hard for them to complain or stand up to their employers. This makes it easy to place them in a class of foreign, low skilled temporary workers that the media can choose to ignore and represent only within a racially structured hierarchy of the white privileged landowners' views and interests.

Considering the interests of sending and receiving countries, the demand for labour also aligns with a desire to limit permanent immigration. Receiving countries usually have no intention to fully integrate seasonal workers into their communities. Sending countries want their workers to take on seasonal jobs, send remittances, adhere to the rules and regulations of the host country and return home with the skills they acquire. Stimulating demands and contribution of offshore workers gives the media a powerful platform to depict Pacific seasonal workers in a frame that suits the dominant culture, all couched under a guise of a 'triple win' scheme. In this light, temporary work becomes a norm of a temporary status which has seen a long-standing tradition for the purposes of capital gain and not a foreign ideology in white supremacist capitalist societies. The temporary nature of the RSE scheme hugely benefits employers in the capitalist economy, who are in favour of a powerful controlling host country and temporary Pacific workers on the other hand always play the 'reliable' foreign workers role, that of an outsider to be used in times of labour shortage for the gains of capitalist white supremacy. Chowdhury (2016) argues that giving temporary status to foreign workers serves to limit access to social rights and services, only deepening their levels of exploitation. These are critical and alternative perspectives that are missing from the sampled media. A symptom of a global trend is that the media pay significantly

more attention to the workers' positive experiences, address the capitalists' viewpoint of labour shortages, emphasise how the RSE scheme came in to play for the benefit of the horticultural and viticulture industry, and represent it as a significant contribution to the New Zealand economy.

New Zealand has built itself on the labour of migrants whenever there is a shortage. Pacific peoples have contributed enormously in the New Zealand labour market at times of labour shortage (Gregory, 2007). Without citizenship, a Pacific worker will always be in a position that does not recognise their right to belong. The historical reality has painted a sad story of New Zealand's perception of Pacific peoples as low skilled employees. As Chowdhury (2016) suggests, this resulted in a "racialised labour force with distinct groups of workers: 'whites' in higher-paid and 'safe' occupations, and 'foreigners' in lower-paid and dangerous jobs" (p. 180). Through this rampant racialised seasonal labour force, it could have been argued that the RSE scheme is structured so that Pacific Island workers can be managed and subjugated legally by New Zealand policies, with no place in New Zealand society other than their classification as only 'temporarily' useful. With this consideration in mind, Pacific Island workers' inclusion into the RSE scheme are always under the microscope with a general perception that they come to New Zealand with limited or low skills, some with no formal education or qualifications and often no basic understanding of the English language, being permitted entry under the conditions that they behave and are free of any medical conditions. This creates a class of temporary workers with no right to citizenship. "If, upon their entry into the country, they know that they are temporary and are legally classified as such, then they know that their right to build community, form relationships, or grow attached to the land is restricted" (Chowdhury, 2016, p. 180). Employment is conditional on workers having to leave New Zealand before the expiry date of their visa and to reapply for subsequent entry.

I grapple here with the absence of these kinds of critical inquiries that might enable the media to hold the scheme to account versus the dominance of the theme of Labour Shortage with similar reporting by the regional newspapers in early stages of the scheme that unproblematically offer it as a solution to address the seasonal labour needs of horticulture and viticulture employers that could not be met by New Zealanders. The reporting has less focus on earning opportunity by a Pacific worker, nor does it cover a broader focus on the immigration policy that workers who would be returning to New Zealand to work in five or more consecutive seasons be given first choice to apply for permanent residency. Building a permanent workforce normalises the scheme and deepens the scope of seasonal work to ensure a pool of skilled migrants has access to a citizenship pathway. Instead, most articles were concentrated around the dominant culture and public debate in favour of white culture, which are arguably better understood in terms of white lenses rather than cultural difference.

Regional newspapers had a stronger preference for news and current affairs which appealed to the white community. I found most articles to be persistently structured from within a *palagi* media lens in articles about Pacific RSE workers' contribution. Their rights to citizenship, training and certification pathways, full access to work outside of peak seasons and not being limited to the cyclical nature of seasonal work, their right to apply where employers were hiring permanent staff, and the freedom for workers to choose a region to work, allowing them to exercise a preference to live in close proximity to their families for support were rarely mentioned and when articles talked about Pacific seasonal workers in the context of their contribution to the seasonal workers scheme, it was typically in relation to their contribution to New Zealand. This raises the question as to whether the construction of articles is embedded in the social and economic relations that can develop between a journalist and their sources, particularly (as noted in the literature review) in regional media. This study cannot address conditions of production such as journalistic independence, but it is clear in the data that the sources quoted at the early stages of the scheme were largely government officials or industry representatives. There was not much diversity of Pacific seasonal workers voices in the articles and it was largely impossible for these workers to gain an equal voice in the media. All of these questions are avoided by the media as they parrot the official line on labour shortage and RSE policy.

The theme and media coverage: Pacific migrant workers

The labour needs in post war New Zealand were to be partially filled by semi and unskilled labour from the Pacific in the 1950s (Spoonley & Bedford, 2012) and the inflow of Pacific migrants altered the New Zealand ethnic composition in dramatic ways. The same occurred in the mid-2000s where the agricultural sector required workers to be available at short notice for limited periods of employment. The difference is that those who migrated to New Zealand to work in the factories and manufacturing industries in the 1950s were prepared to leave their homelands and settle in New Zealand permanently, as opposed to those arriving under the RSE scheme, where they are legally obliged to be in New Zealand for a short period and have no option to live or work in New Zealand permanently. These workers have no right to stay, but we cannot know that they have no desire or intention to stay, because their viewpoints are almost never represented in the media coverage.

The early migrations of Pacific people to New Zealand featured heavily in the media. Pacific people were not only being criticised under the immigration laws, but encountered significant media cynicism about their presence in New Zealand. Spoonley and Bedford (2012) argue that the media creates prejudicial attitudes and can be explicitly racist. Fleras (2011) asserts that immigrant groups become visible in the media when they are considered to represent a problem. Although this was the case in the early migration of Pacific people to New Zealand, the media coverage tended to be different in the early migration of Pacific Islands' seasonal workers to New Zealand: I found that RSE workers were mostly

represented as a solution rather than a problem – but only in terms of their commodified labour. This may be because the typical housing segregation of temporary workers together in isolated farm based accommodation means they are almost invisible, therefore less likely to be considered a problem. Essentially, most RSE workers are ghettoised for their time in New Zealand, by contrast with the somewhat wider and more visible dispersal of earlier migrants into population centres. The RSE workers in the early days of the scheme were not a problem, but likewise neither were they visible. They are the missing factor in all the coverage, with only six citations in the first season in the *Hawkes Bay Today* and *Nelson Mail*.

RSE workers have always been in an extremely vulnerable position when dealing with the media. The power dynamics of such a relationship are inherently skewed, placing the voice of a dominant culture first before ‘others’. An evaluation of the RSE scheme by Rooda (2011) suggests employers described RSE workers in general as ‘shy’, ‘reticent to speak out’ and ‘hierarchical’. For these reasons, they suggested, workers tended to guard themselves from the media and often deferred to group leaders to engage with supervisors or employers. Workers may also have been afraid of reprisals or of not getting future work. Regional newspapers are, as suggested in the literature review, likely to be tightly linked to community citizens in mind or industry in power. Disempowerment of foreign workers’ views neglects their voice in highlighting problematic or challenging aspects of the scheme. Industry representatives often speak on the workers’ behalf, when responding to the workers’ needs and contribution. The absence of a voice in the media does little to remedy the marginalisation of workers who are systematically silenced where a language barrier is always an offered excuse for exclusion.

With regards to the regional media discourse about local labour shortages, Lovelock and Leopold (2008) raise questions about why locals are not prepared to take up seasonal work in these sectors and the ethics and economic implications of employing those from underdeveloped nations to take up work that locals are no longer prepared to do. The most obvious example of this in the data set was the declaring of the labour shortage crisis as reported by the *Bay of Plenty Times* in their article on the 7 February 2008. It stated growers needed to sign up to the RSE scheme to ensure a seasonal labour force. The article suggested that even if employers think they can get enough local labour, being registered with the RSE scheme is a backstop. An article in *The Southland Times* dated 13 February 2008 stated that a labour shortage had been stressful for most growers. It is interesting that none of the media coverage about employers’ ‘needs’ noted that the horticulture and viticulture industries are doing well. The wine industry for example is booming and making profits. For example, Winter (2016) highlighted the 2016 report *New Zealand Wine Industry: Full Bodied Growth* which states that, “Wine sector earnings have doubled over the past 10 years. Yearly growth has averaged 8.4%. Total sales are now around \$2 billion per annum.” (ANZ Bank, 2016, p. 1.)

A concern that is voiced by employers in the media sample is locals refusing to take up seasonal jobs, and if they do, they do not stay long. Basok (2002) argues that local labourers who did turn up to work lacked discipline and commitment to their employers, and some eventually just quit their jobs without giving notice (p. 47). Rather than try to explore why the local workers might not want to stay in the work, this was reported only from the employer perspective – as leaving many employers in a vulnerable position and struggling to obtain a steady pool of workers. Ball (2010) argues that New Zealand estimates of seasonal fluctuations in demand for workers in horticulture and viticulture can be as high as 20,000 to 30,000. The media represents employers' interests as the only interests and portrays them as struggling and vulnerable, yet they completely ignore the struggles and vulnerability of the workers. That cannot be considered balanced coverage, but a pro-capitalist bias. This suggests that the media do not realise the implications their coverage has for how readers make meaning of the scheme.

What I need to point out is that the stress for the workers is not mentioned in any of the media coverage. On the rare occasions they were given a voice, it was an opportunity for the workers to give thanks for the scheme and the people behind it. The media discourse would imply that there were no frustrations, everything is hunky dory and they must work hard for their families left behind. What the media failed to focus their attention on is that the workers are often working for less than minimum wage and living below the poverty line in their home country. I am surprised that the media failed to discuss other solutions to the labour shortage in addition to importing what basically amounts to offshore 'slave labour'. What I expected to read in the early days of the scheme is the media discussing founding cooperatives to solve the problem, where the workers own a share of the company rather than being paid an exploitative low wage, and everybody dividing the profits equally. It seems that the journalism style here is in line with world patterns of economic inequality. Nobody is thinking outside the capitalist model – there is discursive closure around the assumption that capitalism as a system is fine, and it is the labour shortage that is the problem. The media's watchdog role is to ask a wide range of questions, including to question whether it is capitalism itself that is part of the problem, but that watchdog role was not apparent in the sampled media.

Of course, the media are themselves capitalist so, as Hermann and Chomsky (1988) point out, they do not often criticise capitalism because they are capitalism. The propaganda model suggests the news media will consistently produce and reproduce news content that serves the interests of established power. The underpinning ideological assumptions, omissions and limitations of media coverage that just keeps talking about 'labour shortage' suggest it goes without question that this is the issue. Therefore, any other issues have been omitted. There are filters within the media. The news content received by the public is filtered to generate support for the elites. In this case, the horticulture and the viticulture industries, who as advertisers and local businesses will potentially have a lot of influence over the news in their regions (Lewis, Williams & Franklin, 2008). In this study I am not examining

whether there is direct or indirect source influence on the media as a platform for political discourse to control and manipulate public opinion, but we can certainly see that the range of discourse represented in the studied media is limited and partial, and prioritises elite interests.

Despite the local labour shortages, I was surprised that there was no coverage of the risk of overstaying during the peak season. The issue of 'Pacific overstayers' dominated media in the early migration of Pacific people in New Zealand. They marked a critical reaction by the media which sparked public interest through negative reporting of Pacific peoples during this period. Conversely, Gibson and McKenzie's (2010) research found that the RSE scheme paid careful attention to previous experience with seasonal worker programs around the world, especially to overstaying. They found almost all workers returned to their home country, with overstayer rates of about 1% in both the first second seasons (p. 6). The fact that workers can return in the next season for further employment is believed to have resulted in the low rate of overstaying (Ball, 2010). With low rates of overstaying, the media only reported on it when there was a specific issue.

The theme and media coverage: migrant workers in other countries

Existing literature from other regions in the world such as in Basok (2000, 2002, 2003) assesses Canada's Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (SAWP), where overseas workers from Mexico and the Caribbean were brought in to reduce seasonal domestic labour shortages in Canada's fruit and vegetable farms since the Second World War. Basok (2000) also discusses guest worker programmes in the United States. Bedford (2013) argues that each seasonal work scheme is not entirely unique, with parallels and comparisons able to be drawn based on workers and the host country experience. Across the five-year period investigated, the New Zealand RSE scheme has been closely modelled on the Canadian SAWP and, in turn, the Australian Seasonal Worker Programme is modelled on New Zealand's experience, with designing seasonal work policies for fulfilling labour shortage as one of their particular outcomes to be attained.

Seasonal migration problems can arise out of the failure in development in administering seasonal work policies. Hughes and Sodhi (2006) claim that temporary migration is subject to the host country selection criteria and temporary seasonal programmes are usually selected according to criteria set by the home countries. There are however, complex elements associated with temporary programmes. Fears of exploitation, overstaying and threat to law and order are taken into consideration by the host country before they employ offshore seasonal workers. Gibson and McKenzie (2010) argue that the RSE scheme provides credible evidence of the development impact of seasonal migration in easing labour shortages in New Zealand horticulture and viticulture industries, and at the same time aids economic development in the Pacific Islands. They assert that the RSE policy was developed taking

account of lessons learned from previous seasonal worker programs elsewhere and is viewed as a possible model for other countries to adopt. This positivity around the RSE scheme certainly comes through in the sampled media coverage, with a clear theme of RSE praise.

However, another way of looking at it could be that the whole concept of national borders is the problem. Gahman and Hjalmarson (2019, p. 107) point out “the inextricable links borders have with Western neo(liberal) worldviews, settler colonialism, and white supremacy”. There are a wide range of questions that the media might have asked, including whether, in the future, because climate change is a global problem that does not recognise national borders, we may have to move to a planetary system, where everything is shared equally without divisions based on nations and people can move freely between regions. The sampled media unquestioning represented a world that assumes its functioning based on national divisions.

Immigration is a system that is tied to nation-based capitalism, and the sampled regional media coverage of the RSE is using discourse that sits squarely inside that nation-based capitalism paradigm. Missing from the media discourse are any alternative ideas whatsoever. For example, Gahman and Hjalmarson (2019, p. 107) argue that:

the world is not so much experiencing catastrophes related to migrants and refugees as it is to borders. Borders, at once a cause, symptom, and consequence of violent deracination, division, and dehumanization, serve as a justification for and by product of imposed imperialist will and forced uprooting—carved into the ground and onto bodies. Although arbitrary, borders signal to us who ought to matter versus who ought not; who is from a ‘great’ place versus who is from a ‘shithole’ and who is human versus who is ‘animal’.

Migration has always been high on the agenda of the ruling classes, particularly in the core capitalist economies, as they have sought to balance the need for migrant workers to fuel expansionary periods of capitalism against picking up the bill for reproducing and maintaining these workers (Hardy, 2009). Valiani (2014) argues that temporary migrant labour is a “strategy of employers and states to shift power away from workers and unions”, which is borne out by recent calls in the wider New Zealand media for RSE workers to be unionised (no such calls occurred in the regional sample under study). Unions are pushing for industry-wide labour standards in the horticulture and viticulture sectors to combat worker exploitation and heavy deductions on wages. According to recent claims in the broader media (Blades, 2019), RSE workers have often been discouraged from joining a union by agents or brokers from their

own countries, or employers themselves. These kinds of research-based sources and critical inquiries were missing from the sampled regional media.⁴

There are a number of scholarly viewpoints a well-resourced, critical-inquiry-focussed media could draw upon to raise pertinent questions about the increased use of temporary migrant labour as a recurring phenomenon for the capitalist economy. Valiani's (2014) work, for example, notes that temporary workers in a foreign land are bound to their employers who control to their advantage the migrant workers' terms of employment in ways they cannot for non-migrant workers (Valiani, 2014). Temporary workers cannot vote in the host country, for example, although they may spend more of each year in the host country than in their home country. The legal status of temporary labour is attached to particular employers who typically hold the power of wealth and community status, and who have the potential to control to some extent their workers through their actions. Temporary labour is on the basis of limited rights, including limits to full protection rights, the right to live and work in a location or region of their choice, the right to family reunification, a path to citizenship, education and voting rights. These other viewpoints, and the absence of any mention of them in the media, illuminate just how narrow the media discourse in the RSE regions actually is. It is a blinkered capitalist discourse presented as 'objective' reality. There could be a very different set of discourses included if we think about labour, and human trafficking in labour, differently, such as, for example, as a symptom of a diseased global economic system that creates inequalities so profound that people have to leave their family and country to find work picking, pruning and harvesting in the horticulture and viticulture industries of another country. This would offer a more balanced viewpoint of the RSE scheme not as something inherently benign administered by well-meaning paternalistic policies, but as open to critique.

No critical reporting was found in the regions in the first years of the RSE scheme. I found this very interesting considering issues around the exploitation of migrant labour, why the RSE scheme was born, and several related discourses that the international literature pointed to, including free and unfree

⁴ It is beyond the scope of this study but it is worth noting by way of contextual update that the New Zealand government introduced its Employment Relations Amendment Bill in February 2018, which is set to provide better access to unions for RSE workers. However, the Bill requires that employers pass on information about unions in the workplace to prospective employees, along with a form for the employee to indicate whether they want to be a member. Disseminating and translating the information for seasonal workers to fully understand a way to deal with disputes or grievances in the workplaces still lies in the controlling hands of the employers. Lack of access to information and workers' isolation from their families and their communities makes them vulnerable and the perfect powerless targets not to challenge or negotiate their work conditions. These issues continue to be overlooked by most recent media coverage, suggesting that there are ongoing gaps in the critical thinking/watchdog role of scheme media coverage.

precarious labour within global capitalism. If coverage were to be balanced, the way these discourses relate should have been picked up by the media based historically on seasonal programmes elsewhere prior to the establishment of the RSE scheme in New Zealand.

Basok (2000) argued that the US guest worker programmes lacked structural procedures to guarantee workers returning home, which resulted in many workers choosing to stay in the US indefinitely instead of returning home at the end of the season. Basok claims that the US Government exercised very little control over working and living conditions experienced by workers under the Bracero Program. As a result, the workers were paid less than the minimum wage and lived in dismal conditions. By contrast, the Canadian programme is shaped not only by growers' interests, but also by the Canadian Government who have strict control of visas, preventing "unwanted" immigrants from overstaying. This implies that the labour is essential to the nation, but the immigrants are 'unwanted' other than for their labour. They have no rights. The growers' compliance with requirements for minimum working and living standards assures the 'success' of the policy. What is not questioned is success for whom? The same can be said about media coverage of the RSE scheme. This is proven by not hearing the workers' voices on these issues in the early days of the scheme.

Summary

Labour shortage as a theme was heavily reported by the *Bay of Plenty Times*, *Hawkes Bay Today* and *The Southland Times* along with *Nelson Mail* and the *Marlborough Express*, constituting the highest theme in the first period of the RSE scheme (2007-2008). As time progressed, labour shortage as a theme declined in all regions, with other themes emerging as the scheme matured.

With the annual New Zealand unemployment rate falling to a low of 3.7% in 2007, the RSE scheme would be in a perfect position to bring in foreign workers needed for the horticulture and viticulture industry. However economic growth declined throughout 2008 and the first half of 2009 in which unemployment rose to 4.2% in 2008 and rising dramatically from there to 6.9% in 2012 (Statistics NZ, 2016). I am curious to find out why the media did not question whether the scheme should pause or stop in consideration of the rise in unemployment rates for New Zealanders. Did the scheme continue because it does not just serve a labour shortage, it serves a 'cheap' labour shortage? This is a question not asked by the regional media: not one article questioned whether employers were motivated to continue using the cheapest possible source of labour, even with rising New Zealand unemployment, so they can make the biggest possible profits. Not one article asked whether it was ethical that a system that makes that possible is based on wealth differences between nations. Not one regional media article posed the question whether, if the Pacific nations were equally as wealthy as New Zealand, Pacific workers would be coming to be on an RSE scheme. It is inequality that makes this possible, yet none

of the media articles asked why that inequality exists. None of the media articles addressed the history of colonial exploitation of Pacific Islands' natural resources and oppression of the people of the Pacific from New Zealand's brutal role in colonialism that put New Zealand in this dominant and controlling position in regard to transnational labour flows. The media reported the scheme in a historical vacuum. The prior history of business and political control lies underneath the notion of developing the Pacific regions in the interests of capitalism. The sampled media contributed to driving the agenda about a much-touted labour shortage and discussing the RSE policy as a 'win win', cueing readers to expect and support capitalist farming as the norm. The employers and the agriculture industry are rulers of production and this involved influence and control and to an extent a subtle form of imperialism in the wider Pacific region.

The media did however report that the design of the RSE pays careful attention to previous experiences of seasonal worker programs around the world, and the resulting policy contains many of the features that are believed to be best practice for ensuring success of seasonal worker schemes, and mitigate the risks of overstaying, displacement of New Zealand workers, and worker exploitation (Gibson & McKenzie, 2010, p. 4) – separate themes that will be discussed in the following sections. However, the underpinning issue that remained unacknowledged in the sampled coverage is that the scheme is based on an unquestioned assumption of the rightness of cheap migrant labour within a capitalist worldview – and it is this worldview that is endorsed and naturalised by the dominance of 'labour shortage' as the top media theme.

6.2.2 Theme 2: RSE policy

This theme is closely related to economic development and granting preferential access to eligible Pacific countries, but also takes into consideration first employment opportunities for New Zealand nationals. The theme also branches off to talk about the benefit gained by migrant workers from their time spent in New Zealand and the new skills they gained.

The introduction of the RSE policy was extensively picked up by regional media who reported advantages to employers rather than for the workers. The media made no distinction to a description of slavery or historical connections by having the industry representatives, government officials and employers to talk about the RSE policy and labour conditions rather than taking time to look at the limitations of RSE policy or alternatives to it. Limitations include the inability of a worker to change jobs, pathways to training, qualifications and citizenship, and to an extent agreeing to take on dirty, difficult and dangerous jobs as worker-peasants that local workers will not do. The media coverage prioritises the RSE governmental policy discourse to the exclusion of exploring human rights or other discourses.

The prevalence of this theme suggests the role of discourse in masking the origins of dominant ideologies by naturalising ideas as ‘common sense’. Powerful groups use discourse in policies that are designed to shape the behaviours of people towards particular goals (Spratt, 2017). O’Sullivan et al. (1983) argued that, in mainstream media, top priority is given to stories about the economy, government and industry, and that within those stories, priority is given to elite viewpoints. This aligns with my findings that the industry employer perspective (of a labour shortage) and the governmental perspective (via iterations of RSE policy) dominated RSE media coverage.

The theme over time

The emergence and details of the RSE policy as a way to replace the (seen as) insufficient Supplementary Seasonal Employment (SSE) policy was the dominant theme in the *Nelson Mail* and the *Marlborough Express* in the 2007-08 seasons. Articles published by the *Bay of Plenty Times*, *Hawkes Bay Today* and *The Southland Times* also featured RSE policy statements frequently in the first year and continued in consecutive years, with the majority of stories based on the evolution of the RSE scheme as a positive policy within the broader context of easing labour shortages. The pattern of reportage on the RSE policy as a theme dominated the first season of the scheme in 2007-08 and again peaked in the fifth season of the scheme in 2011-12 (see Table 5.7).

With the introduction of the RSE policy to replace the Supplementary Seasonal Employment (SSE) policy, numerous articles centred on the new policy’s expedited efforts to fill the perceived labour shortage and more efficiently recruit workers from the Pacific. This theme complemented the first theme on labour shortages; it naturalised a capitalist worldview. The RSE scheme was represented as providing certainty to employers that workers would always be readily available to do the job. The *Marlborough Express* maintained a consistent line that the RSE policy would draw on migrant labour from the Pacific to meet the needs of the horticulture and viticulture industries. The articles also stated that extra workers were needed in the region for that particular season. Although articles in the *Bay of Plenty Times*, *Hawkes Bay Today* and *The Southland Times* concentrated on labour shortage, the RSE policy as a theme was also represented.

The RSE Policy theme was less frequent in the second to fourth seasons (although still present) but featured frequently again in the seasonal period 2011-12. This resurgence of media stating policy aims coincided with changes to RSE policy to include a new programme to increase the English literacy and numeracy skills of Pacific Island workers. The pilot education programme aimed to help workers increase their understanding of English and gain skills in financial and personal goal setting, budgeting, reading and interpreting a pay slip, and understanding their rights and responsibilities, including health

and life skills. These sorts of stories were newsworthy enough to generate a high profile of the RSE policy as a theme in the fifth season. My interpretation from my cultural and professional lens is that while it is somewhat beneficial for RSE workers that they can take home basic language and other learnings, such benefits are small compared to, say, making them actual partners in the venture or offering them an educational pathway towards diplomas and, eventually, degree qualifications in horticulture or viticulture. However, in the media stories, the ‘benefits’ were only reported in the context of uncritically repeating RSE policy and there was no investigation by the journalists at that time as to whether the policy services were actually supplied to any workers, and if so whether, from the workers’ perspective, they delivered the benefits that the policy claimed they would.

RSE policy was highlighted in articles that spoke about encouraging economic development, regional integration, and the Pacific nations being given preferential access under the policy. Other factors that led to the design and eventual implementation of the RSE policy stemmed from the Pacific Islands Forum Leaders meeting in 2005 and the ‘Pacific Plan’, as illustrated in Chapter 1, Section 1.4. The Pacific Plan aimed to develop economic growth, sustainable development, good governance and security within the region and many Pacific leaders have argued that labour access to New Zealand and Australia would help meet these goals (Bailey, 2009). Although, this level of detail was not clearly articulated in the studied articles, there were references in some articles about the considerable support of the New Zealand government, via the RSE policy, for Pacific Island Forum countries as a response to enhanced access to the New Zealand labour market. Furthermore, the RSE policy as a theme over time uncritically produced and reproduced discourse about the intended outcomes of the policy. Although the production-side reasons for the prevalence of this governmental discourse are beyond the scope of this study, it may be that regional media were inclined, as other studies summarised in the literature review suggested, to use governmental media releases with little to no alteration. That would be a matter for future research. Other themes, such as the employment of New Zealanders first and the level of pastoral care, including positive efforts and success stories of workers employed under the RSE scheme, emerged as the scheme progressed. These themes will be discussed in the following sections.

The RSE Policy theme in different newspapers

The *Nelson Mail* articles were consistent regarding the positive benefits stated in RSE policy of giving growers access to labour from Pacific Island countries. Some articles focused on the scheme having a dual effect, to relieve the lack of local workers in New Zealand and give employment opportunities to people from the Pacific, and so provide workers an opportunity to earn considerably more than they could in their homelands. However, there were no questions as to why Pacific seasonal workers cannot earn as much in their homelands, which begs a question about global inequality. The prospects of the new seasonal work scheme and RSE policy were reported in the Nelson region with, for example, a

Nelson Mail article on 28 January 2008 reporting Central Otago cherries left to rot due to absence of pickers, but stated that the RSE policy would in the future combat the problem by providing a good supply of seasonal workers.

A quick application of functional frame analysis (Tilley & Cokley, 2005) at this point helps reinforce my illustration of how such discourse is limited and skewed. Frames are the ways in which media articles “promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (Entman, 2002, p. 391). Tilley and Cokley (2005) suggest that a five-question process is helpful to identify the framing limitations of media discourse: Question 1: What is being set up as the problem here? Question 2: Who/what is being blamed for causing this problem? Question 3: What solution is proposed? Question 4: What type of frame is this? (factual, values, interest, or relational) and Question 5: Who’s missing? (What other voices and interpretations are possible?) In the *Nelson Mail* article, the problem is pinpointed as rotting fruit, the scapegoat is lack of willing workers, the proposed solution is the RSE scheme, the frame is interest-based (reporting one party’s “needs, desires and visions for how it ‘ought to be’ rather than factual data” (Tilley & Cokley, 2005, p. 80), and this closed, singular, problem-solution loop is so seamless that *no other voices or interpretations* are included or even seem possible to any reader who also sits within that dominant discursive loop and is conducting a passive rather than oppositional or critical reading of the media content. A watchdog media may have asked whether there were unemployed New Zealanders in the region, for example, and interviewed some of them to ask why they did not want to take up the picking work. A watchdog media may have asked whether there were other causes than labour shortage, and other solutions than the RSE scheme. No such questions were asked.

The *Marlborough Express* focused primarily on why the RSE scheme was needed and its objectives. Some articles highlighted the urgent need for speeding up processing of RSE accreditation applications for growers and contractors. However, there were no articles referring to the need to take time to ensure that growers understand their pastoral care responsibilities before being accredited. All media single-mindedly talked about the growers’ needs for faster processing not the workers’ needs for properly trained employers who will treat them right. I also find it interesting that none of the media articles talk about a cultural competency training for employers to understand the culture, language and identity of these workers they are bringing to a foreign land. Rockell (2015) claims several employers acknowledged that they had no knowledge of the islands from which their workers were sourced. Different understandings of culture lead to very different notions of the ‘reality’ of a socio-culturally constructed situation. This is a critical challenge for employers, yet none of the media picked up on the cultural differences in viewing the discourses attached to global capitalism. None of the media viewed the policy statements through, as I am now attempting to add to the discourse, a Pacific cultural lens.

The media inquiry does not delve into what those workers' needs may be and how they are addressed from the workers' perspective, only from the policy viewpoint.

It seems that official policy information sets the agenda for the media coverage in the regions. There is lots of repetition of policy discourse about the positive benefits of the scheme and very little questioning of the policy line. There is little or no representation of what alternative policies for organising our economic and labour systems either between New Zealand and Pacific countries, or globally, might look like. There is discursive 'closure' over the assumption that global capitalism is here to stay, and we can tinker with flows of labour within it but not overturn or greatly change it.

The theme and media coverage: Pacific migrant workers

The early media coverage in 2007 of Pacific workers migrating to New Zealand under the RSE scheme was not intense in its controversy, as compared to the decades in the 1950s and 60s when Pacific peoples migrated to New Zealand and, as noted in Chapter 3, were the focus of discriminatory campaigns as a result of general moral panic concerning their arrival and settlement. Spoonley and Bedford argue that Pacific peoples were portrayed as a threat to New Zealand particularly in relation to crime and the loss of employment for New Zealanders. However, in my study, the discourse had changed: now Pacific labour was positioned within a more tightly controlled system and, in the media, predominantly constructed as a convenient and safe solution to an economic problem, and not as a threat.

I found that the labelling of Pacific immigrants as a racial and economic threat was completely different in the RSE period media portrayal of Pacific seasonal workers. The media articles were overwhelmingly associated with issues such as labour shortage, productivity, economic benefits and pastoral care. Although there were a few articles talking about the displacement of New Zealand workers, risks of overstaying and worker exploitation, most articles in the regions highlighted the origins of the RSE policy and the government thinking behind its creation. Although overstayers had been the subject of much scrutiny of Pacific communities in the past, while it was raised briefly in articles at the start of the scheme as something that would be avoided, there were no specific references to RSE workers overstaying. The articles were angled at the employers' requirement to pay the costs associated with worker removal from New Zealand if workers overstayed their visa.

There were occasions when the media reported that Pacific RSE workers were targeted as visible 'others'. For instance, the *Nelson Mail* reported on 4 July 2012, which is just outside the studied period, that the Motueka community raised concerns about large groups of island workers congregating in the town's retail area. The local community feared criminal activity and malicious intent from the islanders, which the media reported as groundless as no Pacific RSE workers had been charged with any crime at

the time. This article suggests rearticulating of those old stereotypes; however, it is interesting to note that the media rebutted the stereotypes. The economic value of the workers trumped fear of their difference.

During the study period, the RSE workers are largely invisible in the sampled media other than as commodities (dehumanised labour), filling a shortage in someone else's economy, without rights of participation other than as indentured labour. So, while there is no overt negative racialisation of them as a threat, as occurred in the 1970s, there is also no humanisation of them. The discourse has shifted from one representation to another, but is it necessarily an improvement? One could argue that the media portrayal varied between temporary migration and permanent migration, as permanent New Zealand Pacific communities do continue to be stereotyped. Loto et al., (2006) claimed that Pacific people in the 20th century were still predominantly portrayed as unmotivated, unhealthy and criminals who are overly dependent on *palagi* support. This portrayal is contradicted by regional newspaper reporting on Pacific RSE workers, their contribution to New Zealand and the respect for their economic contribution as quoted by industry representatives. However, this is in the context that RSE workers will not be staying in the country. I found the regional media ignored the extent of social control of the schemes. The media did not extrapolate to the audiences the line between work control and social control. The degree of control exercised by the employers as evident in their dominant voice in the media and their restrictions on where the workers live, eat and congregate was defined as pastoral care by the media. This particular definition of caring deflects attention from the underpinning control by employers, who can insist that foreign workers need to abide by their rules and behave as good workers in a foreign environment, or they will be sent home or not hired again in future.

The theme and media coverage: migrant workers in other countries

New Zealand looked to Canada's Seasonal Agricultural Workers Programme that has operated for more than 40 years when developing the RSE. The SAWP has sourced workers from the Caribbean since 1966 and from Mexico since 1974 (Bailey, 2009). Basok (2000; 2002 & 2003) has researched extensively on the experiences of Mexican workers employed in the Canadian programme. Both schemes have policy aims to ease labour shortages and New Zealand's policy claims to mitigate the risks of overstaying and to make a significant contribution to the lives of workers. An International Labour Organisation (2012) report claims that the Canadian and New Zealand seasonal programmes were similar, in that both programmes had multiple aims and employed workers for up to eight months. Both programmes satisfy growers' seasonal demands for a steady supply of labour during the peak periods, especially when there is a relative shortage of local workers willing to work for the low pay that is offered. The financial gains made by the horticultural industry compared to the meagre wages paid to seasonal workers is not considered in media coverage of either scheme.

Pacific peoples have to compete with other less developed countries in the world to attract much-needed foreign income by accepting poor pay as foreign workers. But the result of that is that employers in wealthier countries do not have to bargain with local workers and can opt out of the employment contract whenever it suits them. With so many Pacific Islands which are part of the RSE scheme, the employers are not afraid to source from another island if the workers from a particular island start to demand better wages or living standards. Such a move will make those workers vulnerable and face the stark choice of putting up with dangerous conditions and minimum wage or losing employment altogether. The threat by employers that they will be seeking workers elsewhere keeps their current workers unquestioning and docile to the tremendous benefit of the sector. This underpins employer power in the RSE scheme. Lastly, both programmes facilitate the return of the workers to their country of origin at the end of their temporary employment. Again, the employers will have the power to choose where to source the workers from. These are all issues that could have been raised in regional media coverage of the RSE scheme when it was first introduced to New Zealand, but were not.

It was difficult to determine the media coverage of the Canadian seasonal programme. Bailey (2009) argued that the main differences between the New Zealand RSE and Canada's SAWP are that the Canadian growers cover all accommodation and medical costs and some growers also pay for the workers' return airfare. RSE workers' pay for their own accommodation, half of their airfares and pay for medical insurance while in New Zealand (p. 39). Gibson and McKenzie (2010) argue that the RSE policy took account of lessons learned from previous seasonal worker programs and is viewed as a possible model for other countries (p. 3). However, the International Labour Organisation [ILO] report (2012) states:

There are no overarching vocational skills development programmes in the home or host countries in the context of the RSE scheme – specific training is left up to individual employers and occurs on job rather than through training programmes. The skills that the workers develop are specific to their jobs and may not be applicable or transferable in their home countries. However, workers also acquire other skills such as English language, time management, and financial management which are transferable and there is the potential to build on these once workers return to their home countries. Within the New Zealand context there are two programmes underway that have the potential to be built on in order to aid the skills' development of workers. These are, a horticulture qualification that has been developed for Pasifika people and a literacy, numeracy and financial management programme that has been specifically developed for RSE workers (p. 4).

The policy aim for an educational programme supporting literacy and numeracy for RSE workers featured extensively in the media, especially in the *Bay of Plenty Times* in 2011-2012. Six years later, the horticulture qualification had not yet been offered (2018 media reports still talked about it as in the planning stages, e.g. Chalmers 2018) and in 2019 an extensive online search finds only planning documents for a Pasifika foundation horticulture course (NZHITO, 2011), not an offered course. The ILO report stated that the employers are actually not required to provide skills development in any regulated way, an issue never mentioned in the media coverage of scheme outcomes. This is another example of ‘missing content’ in the media coverage. The ILO report identifies both negative and positive aspects of the RSE scheme, compared to the media coverage that appears to report predominantly the positive. It is just as much a problem for media to be positively biased as it is to be negatively biased, as they have been in the past. As noted in my literature review, there has always been a tendency towards filtering and a lack of depth in reporting in New Zealand. Carrying their cultural biases and leniency towards the dominant culture goes uncontested partly because their viewpoint aligns with the dominant perspective of their region.

We still do not have a balanced media discussion of New Zealand-Pacific relationships considering immigration and labour that looks from a big picture perspective to identify an ideal relationship, and compares it to the existing relationship. None of the media ask whether a different system would be better, one that does not include the current ‘rules’ about immigration, capital ownership, power, and so-on, but is based on equality. None of the media ask whether a different kind of New Zealand-Pacific relationship would allow both employers and workers to bargain for a better deal. None of the media consult the existing researchers who have critically examined schemes overseas, even though much of this research was already published when the RSE scheme began in New Zealand. A more critical and exploratory stance might have led the media to ask whether the end of temporary labour and capital rendering employees powerless would result in a more rapid improvement to conditions for Pacific peoples than the claimed outcomes of the new RSE policy.

Summary

The RSE policy was the dominant theme reported by the *Nelson Mail* and the *Marlborough Express* in the 2007-2008 seasons, with the *Bay of Plenty Times* reporting most about the policy in the 2011-12 seasons. We can only speculate as to causes, but the New Zealand horticulture and viticulture industries’ demands for reliable labour emphasised by each employer in different regions at different times may have influenced how much the media wanted to be seen to be supporting the RSE, as might issues with under-resourcing of regional journalism, making it reliant upon media subsidies such as government media releases and easy access to official sources.

There is a subtle but important comparison between regions on reliability and compliance. The pressure of the harvesting and pruning season cited reliability as the reason for seeing offshore labour. Local labour was represented as unavailable and uninterested in seasonal work. Agitating for better pay and work conditions may be considered unreliable by the media in this sense to support the quest by employers for Pacific RSE workers to be brought in and considered to be saviours for the harvest season. This guaranteed labour supply from the Pacific, which has been explicitly cited as ‘consistent labour’ useful in filling gaps in the labour market season by season. Yet this reliable pool of workers is on season by season temporary contracts. It manifests in employer power in a high degree of control over work hours, workers’ lives and dehumanisation of workers who lack citizenship and a voice, all issues missing from the sampled media discourse.

6.2.3 Theme 3: New Zealanders First

The RSE policy is centred on New Zealanders being given priority for jobs, meaning employers can apply under the RSE scheme to recruit overseas workers only when there are no suitable New Zealanders available to do the work. The 2010 Department of Labour report suggests that the principle of ‘New Zealanders First’ in the RSE policy helps to ensure access to seasonal employment opportunities is protected for New Zealand workers (which includes those from New Zealand-based Pacific communities and Māori communities).

Labour and race are often intertwined factors in policies about immigration and work. New Zealand’s working holiday scheme, for example, which is another source from which viticulturists and horticulturalists can draw seasonal labour, prioritises English-speaking, mainly white, higher socio-economic status European countries (see Immigration New Zealand: Working Holiday Visas). It excludes India, all African countries and, from the Middle East, only includes Israel. It also gives near-double visa length to people from Canada and the United Kingdom (23 months versus 12 months for all other permitted country groups). Combined with the ‘New Zealanders first’ RSE policy, this creates a partially geographical and partially racialised hierarchy that not only privileges and valorises those already living in New Zealand or included on the ‘available working holiday visa schemes’ country list (just 45 countries of the world’s 195 countries) but downgrades the value of Pacific immigrants to be considered only secondarily to preferred local, or specially selected locally-holidaying, workers.

When presented by the media, however, the ‘New Zealanders First’ theme is presented as an inevitable and natural (not ideologically constructed) requirement for the scheme. It is the ‘New Zealanders first’ aspect of the RSE policy which naturalises the return of RSE workers to the Islands at the completion of their employment. This is presented dispassionately in the sampled media as ensuring compliance and mitigating risks of the displacement of New Zealand workers outside peak times. This is also the

principal discursive means of ensuring the RSE workers are viewed only as second-class, temporary manual labour not as potential citizens with more to offer than just their commodified physical bodies. None of the sampled media explore questions such as whether regions with, for example, high rates of Māori jobseekers, could investigate other ways of growing and harvesting produce, such as through cooperative business arrangements with iwi.⁵ These kinds of innovative critical thinking approaches to the nature of the problem and its possible solutions are outside the range of media discourse that focusses on reassuring readers that there is no threat to ‘New Zealand jobs’.

The theme over time

New Zealanders First was the common theme in the *Bay of Plenty Times* articles over the period of 2008-2009 as illustrated in Table 5.4, and again in 2010-2011 with the *Nelson Mail* in the same season. Aside from low levels of unemployment, very few New Zealanders want to work in the horticulture and viticulture industries (Bailey, 2009). Bailey claims that growers relied on foreign backpackers under the working holiday visa scheme for seasonal work. However, most of the growers found the backpackers, like many New Zealand workers, were unreliable and rarely stayed for the whole season. This is partly due to most industries being located in rural areas. It is also possible that employers may keep wages systemically low, and that the conditions are difficult, dirty and dangerous, and that this is why backpackers do not stay (no backpackers were asked about this in the sampled media, though). So while the pay may appear to be competitive to those coming from the Pacific RSE countries, it appears to be not attractive for locals or those from the 45 working holiday countries, which are all comparatively well-off nations. Poor working conditions, intensifying isolated environments, and limited services are not appealing to a privileged workforce accustomed to higher standards of wages and living. To those living in rural communities in the Pacific, however, this work can be perceived as providing opportunities and opening up new types of success narratives for taking up a job in a foreign land.

In a *Bay of Plenty Times* article on 3 February 2009 Asher Nikora from the Department of Labour said employers must give preference to New Zealand unemployed before taking on seasonal staff. Mike Chapman, Chief Executive Officer of New Zealand Kiwifruit Growers, said in an article in the *Bay of Plenty Times* on 18 March 2009 that a significant number of Kiwis are employed for harvesting as the industry is committed to employing Kiwis first. The ‘shortfall’ is then partially met by RSE labour. The

⁵ While beyond the scope of this thesis, it is worth noting here that Indigenous models may offer ways of doing things differently. One example might be the Federation of Māori Authorities, which has agricultural operations in some of the same regions as studied in this research. However, rather than using a capitalist model in which only a few own the land, and landowners’ profit and the wages they pay out are competing factors, Federation farms are collectively owned and run for the economic development of all their Māori members.

Hawkes Bay Today article published 25 February 2010 noted that although the industry generally prefers to use New Zealanders, it recognises that there are not enough New Zealanders willing to do seasonal work. A missing discourse not explored, is the possibility that New Zealand citizens have more options and choices available to them because they have better social welfare support to fall back on and so are privileged compared with Pacific Island workers who are forced to choose the RSE scheme, often without full awareness of what to expect.

RSE workers, in my professional and cultural experience, are unlikely to be fully aware of the exact nature of the work and amenities available in their destination community before they arrive. However, they have to stay for a whole season, as they sign a contract with penalties if they do not. They are essentially captives once they get to New Zealand, as they must wait for their employer to organise their travel home. The media describes hiring overseas workers as an important component to draw on a more stable pool of workers for employers. I argue that rather than being “stable”, the media ignores that it is simply a more desperate, and sometimes not properly informed, pool.

Agricultural work was viewed as an unattractive sector for New Zealanders until the global recession hit hard in the period 2008-2009, which resulted in the rise in New Zealand unemployment. Regardless of unemployment increases, I argue that if seasonal work is not good enough for New Zealanders, why is it considered acceptable to expect Pacific peoples to take on these jobs? Isn't this basically considering Pacific peoples as lesser people, and not deserving of the same working conditions that resident New Zealanders will accept? Rockell (2005) claims that employers control the lives of the migrant workers far more than they would control the lives of New Zealand workers. This is implied in what is contained in the ‘take it or leave it’ employment contracts whereby employers use the New Zealand government’s requirement to uphold New Zealand law which ensures standard minimum labour rights have limited application to short fixed term contracts (p. 216).

The New Zealanders First theme was not the dominant theme in *Hawkes Bay Today*, *Marlborough Express* and *The Southland Times*, but was an underlying theme within the dominant theme. For instance, a *Hawkes Bay Today* article published 19 March 2009 focussed on the introduction of gold kiwifruit and how this boosted the Bay of Plenty’s economy. However, the article also mentioned a significant number of Kiwis employed for the harvest and stated that the industry was committed to employing Kiwis first. The same can be seen in *The Southland Times* article published 18 March 2009, where the dominant theme was labour shortage and Central Otago orchards and vineyards struggling to fill seasonal work vacancies. Although the article was primarily based on labour demand, an underlying theme was New Zealanders first. The article concluded that growers needed to use “surplus Kiwis” before hiring workers from overseas.

At the inception of the RSE scheme, the notion was that many New Zealand employers had previously turned a blind eye to employing locals first. Bedford (2013) argued that checks had always been done in collaboration between the Ministry of Social Development (MSD), who forecast seasonal labour requirements, and the Department of Labour, who managed the RSE scheme, to prove that there was a clear New Zealanders First dimension to the policy. I argue that terms such as ‘Kiwis First’ or ‘New Zealanders First’ are connected to economic power and class and to an extent whiteness, which is probably least understood by those it privileges. Most white people seem blind to its existence, while most non-white people are not. Pack, Tuffin and Lyons (2016) claim that throughout history, racism has resulted in slavery, extinction, and marginalisation, particularly of indigenous peoples, and been justified by a belief in the superiority of the dominant race. While the ‘New Zealanders first’ category does include locals of Pacific background, as well as Māori, this diversity seems to be erased in the media discussion of ‘Kiwis’ as a single group, appealing to a nationalistic sense of New Zealanders as a homogenous people. This obscures the complexity of who is available or unavailable for what work, and why.

Bedford (2013) suggests that seasonal work requires workers to be available at short notice and for a limited period. This makes it unattractive to many local workers. Fruitpackers manager Chris Dillon told the *Hawkes Bay Today*, in an article published 26 February 2009, that the industry had suffered for a long time from not always being able to find sufficient labour to ensure that fruit was harvested and packed on time. Despite this, *The Southland Times* published an article on 28 March 2009 in which the then Minister of Immigration Jonathan Coleman said New Zealanders would always be given preference for jobs over RSE workers. Although his priority as a Minister was making sure that the horticulture and viticulture industry got the workers they needed, he stated that with the recession and unemployment rising, growers needed to use New Zealand workers before hiring overseas workers.

However, the balance of employing locals and importing overseas workers has always been subject to debate. The RSE scheme, on one hand, is expected to supply a reliable labour force to fill the labour shortages in these industries, while on the other hand locals are not taking up these jobs despite the priority available to them. Moreover, Basok (2002) argues of local labourers that “those who do come to work lack discipline and commitment to their employers, and some eventually quit their jobs without notice” (p. 47). The media coverage did not go into specifics about why those local workers chose to quit. RSE workers do not really have the option to quit, so it may not be that RSE workers are more committed but that once in New Zealand they do not have other options. Bailey (2009) claims that Vanuatu workers were depicted as being indecisive and unaware of how to live and act appropriately during their time in New Zealand, and that it was the employer’s responsibility to tell them how it was

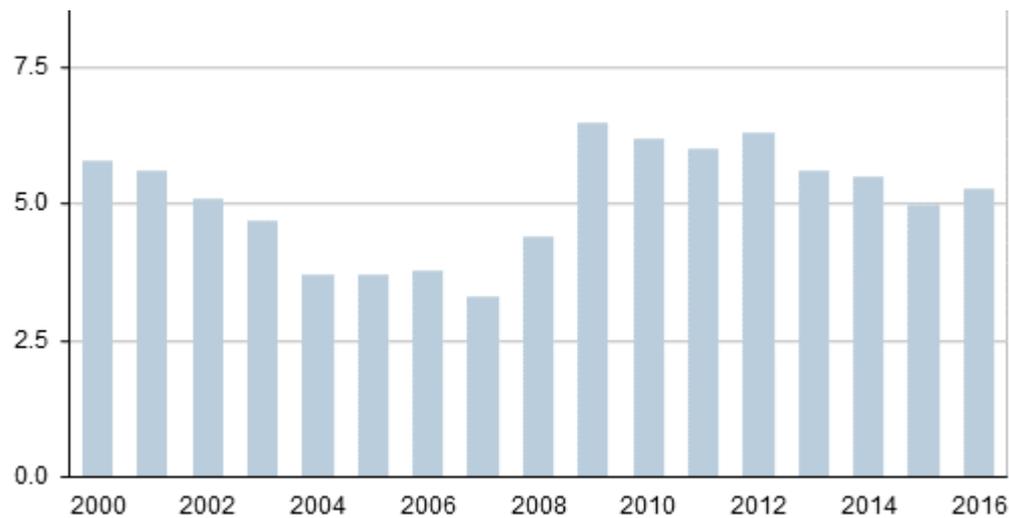
to be done. “Informing the men how to live was a form of control by the company and not following the rules of the company would result in the men being sent home. Therefore, the men are constrained in what they can and cannot do through the practices that make the men unfree labourers” (p. 70).

The theme in different newspapers

The New Zealanders First theme was apparent in the second season of the RSE, 2008-2009 in the *Bay of Plenty Times* articles when the effects of the recession were felt in the Bay of Plenty region and there was a sudden rise in more New Zealand workers’ availability. It was estimated 1,000 additional New Zealanders were employed in the kiwifruit industry in the Bay of Plenty (Department of Labour, 2010). The second season also provided a higher number of New Zealand workers looking for work in the horticulture and viticulture industries. The *Bay of Plenty Times* article published 28 March 2009 focussed on locals losing their (other kinds of) jobs and subsequently seeking any form of work. In the article John Carson who ran the Birchhouse Packhouse in Katikati said, “We have an all Kiwi staff”. Although the company had the right to recruit RSE workers New Zealanders were available to fill seasonal jobs and were the company’s first choice, which put some pressure on the RSE scheme.

The New Zealanders First theme featured heavily again in the *Bay of Plenty Times* in the 2010-11 season, where most articles focussed on the reduction in numbers of RSE workers as a result of New Zealand unemployment. The articles focussed on the risk of displacement of New Zealand workers, stating that first choice needed to go to New Zealanders before employers attempted to recruit offshore. The *Nelson Mail*, in the 2010-11, reported most employers adopted the Kiwis First approach. A *Nelson Mail* article published 6 January 2011 stated that the RSE scheme had a New Zealanders First policy and employers had to demonstrate their commitment to recruiting and training New Zealanders when applying for permission to recruit RSE workers. As illustrated in Table 2.2 the RSE numbers went down slightly in 2009-2010 to 6216 from 6821 in 2008-09 due to the impact of the recession associated with the global financial crisis that caused higher unemployment in New Zealand. RSE numbers then increased, reaching 7,009 arrivals in the 2011-2012 season. As noted in the introduction, RSE numbers continued to increase in the years after the scope of this study, reaching 11,078 in the 2017-18 season (Immigration New Zealand, 2019). The impact of the recession on RSE arrivals was short-lived, even though the impact on unemployment in New Zealand was much more sustained (see Figure 6.2, below).

Figure 6.2: New Zealand Unemployment (per cent of employable population)



Source: Statistics New Zealand and Focus Economics calculations.

The rise in New Zealand unemployment in the 2009 and subsequent seasons featured extensively in the media with reminders that positions would only be offered to overseas workers if no New Zealanders were available. A *Nelson Mail* article, published 6 January 2011, quoted the unemployment figure for the Nelson, Tasman, Marlborough and West Coast regions increasing from 3.4 to 4.1 per cent and stated that this was a reminder of how important it was for employers to make a concerted effort to recruit more local workers. The *Bay of Plenty Times* stated in an article published 16 March 2011, that priority was always given to employing Kiwis and there were a number looking for work, as many had lost their fulltime jobs elsewhere. Despite the tightening of the labour market across New Zealand, employers were still represented as being dependent on offshore workers. The *Marlborough Express* article published 28 January 2011 quoted Waikato nurseryman Andy McGrath as saying, “you always hear they’re (RSE workers) here taking Kiwis jobs but we can’t get Kiwis to do these jobs”. This implies that RSE workers are enabling the growers to depress wages and conditions by being willing to accept lower wages and conditions than are acceptable to Kiwis. Again, the missing discourse is about inequality between the countries and the impact of wages and conditions on employment. The sampled media discourse tends to blame Kiwi workers for being ‘unavailable’ and RSE workers for being ‘willing’ rather than looking at the nature of the employment on offer and the systemic contexts in which the workers are making these decisions.

The theme and historical media coverage: Pacific migrant workers

Reporting of the New Zealanders First theme was subtle in the 1970s as the media reported on overstaying and so contributed to racialisation of immigration. Monitoring and compliance were taken into consideration in media reports about the issue of overstaying and the RSE. Bailey (2009) claims

that the New Zealand government invested a lot of money and resources into assuring issues surrounding overstaying and any forms of exploitation within the scheme were taken seriously, with harsh penalties for infringements. “Overstaying is taken by the New Zealand government to be an indicator of the success or failure of the scheme, therefore there is a need to have workers that will be compliant and return home for it to be a success” (p. 42).

Although the regional media did not have strongly negative stories about Pacific RSE workers, given typically the workers were strongly viewed through an economic resource discourse rather than through racialisation of crime, there was some media reaction to the phenomenon of ‘overstayers’ under conditions of economic recession and increasing unemployment in stories published during the 2007-08 season. Although the media did not, I will here unpack ‘overstayers’, particularly in the sense of the RSE scheme where there is no viable route for an RSE worker to attain permanent residency or citizenship in New Zealand. I argue that immigrants are at times described as a threat because of their work ethic rather than being a burden to the host country if they overstay their visa. The presence of Pacific peoples in New Zealand as threat discourse in the 1960s and 70s resulted from the infamous Dawn Raids and newspaper discourse portraying Pacific peoples as an influx of migrants who posed significant threat to the livelihood of the locals.

Historically, the terms ‘Pacific migrants’ and ‘overstayer’ are symbiotic and often represented in the New Zealand media as synonymous. The stigma of Pacific peoples overstaying their visas has never disappeared. Saying someone cannot stay in a place where their work is contributing to the local economy can only happen if we have rules that divide the world by national borders that establish hierarchies and prohibit free movement. Bailey (2009) claims that the threat of deportation and blacklisting with no chance of being able to return to the program is a control mechanism used by governments and employers in the RSE scheme to prevent overstaying, as well as impose other controls. “These control mechanisms do create a compliant and available workforce that is fearful of refusing employers requests and of questioning their employment conditions” (p. 14). We have to remind ourselves that it is not workers who emigrate but people. The theme of New Zealanders First foregrounds the term ‘Kiwi’, which the media seem to be using uncritically in the ‘Kiwis First’ discourse – inferring we should know what a Kiwi is and that a Pacific person is not one. None of the media question the moral or racial underpinnings of this theme and whether it brings back shades of the Dawn Raids where the images of a white New Zealand resonate and the stereotypes that arose out of this time linger.

The theme and media coverage: migrant workers in other countries

Having first employment choice offered to locals of a host country is not a new policy. Knowles (1997) argues that the Canadian Government's policy is based on the principle of Canadians First and so similar to the RSE. Knowles further claims that Canadian employers have to prove to the Canadian Employment Centre in their area that they have a need for foreign labour, because of a lack of Canadians, before they may enter the programme. This is the same with the New Zealand RSE policy. Knowles also reported public criticism of employing non-Canadian workers during times of high unemployment. The Canadian government often responded to such criticism, suggesting that there were not enough reliable Canadians to do the work and without foreign labour Ontario loses a great deal of money.

With national or world crises sparking media attention, the focus will usually be on the locals. The oil crisis in 1973 affected the number of seasonal worker programmes in France and Switzerland (OECD, 2008). Bedford (2012) claims that Germany's foreign workers were also affected which resulted in the termination of employment of some workers and, with the help of employers, permanent settlement in host countries. This is in contrast to the RSE scheme. Although the world economic recession affected the RSE numbers in 2009-2010 seasons, many workers were still recruited and employed and none were supported by their employers to live in New Zealand permanently. I argue that the RSE policy could be viewed as a serious barrier to an RSE worker gaining citizenship. Maintaining the flow of cheap labour to the industry to maximise profits while retaining workers' status as 'temporary' feeds the labour-hire business model. The ruling elite will have the power to pick and choose from the impoverished Pacific nations to employ workers. The seasonal rotation of workers provides a motivational factor for the workers to be compliant with all directives, to return to their homelands at the completion of their contracts and to reapply for the next season. There was no distortion reported in the media or cases of absconders which might prevent employers from sourcing overseas labour. However, the security of host countries' citizens was pivotal: ignoring the safety and security of the workers, the media focussed on policies in place to protect New Zealanders' interests, as evident by the New Zealanders First theme appearing in challenging times.

Overstaying has been widely focused on as a potential problem associated with seasonal workers programmes, in part because of the history of foreign workers overstaying. The American Bracero programme "has been widely criticized" including for leading to illegal migration and for controversial abuses of human rights (Durand, 2007). Bailey (2009) asserts that the Canadian scheme is the model New Zealand imitates, rather than the US approach. Lately the Canadian scheme has also been described as 'controversial'. Chowdhury (2016) argues that "temporary" work becomes synonymous with low-wage exploitation and continues to strengthen a historic racist nation-state project in Canada. "Racism is embedded within existing policies, and general shifts within Canada's immigration system that

recruits migrants to work but discourages access to citizenship, belonging, and material state supports” (p. 176). Chowdhury further argues that it is important to acknowledge migrants and people of colour have always played a particular role in the Canadian nation-state – that of the labourer, the outsider, the economic commodity to be used and exploited for the gains of capitalist white supremacy. The scheme points out the reality that the Canadian capitalist class preferred non-white or “less-white” guest workers for “dirty work”. These issues clearly could be queried in relation to New Zealand’s scheme given it is modelled on Canada’s, but such questions were not asked in the sampled media.

The Canadian SAWP enforced obligations and regulations that growers and labourers have with their government. Not complying with regulations could result in a grower or labourer being expelled from the programme. The chance to return acts as an incentive for people not to overstay their visas (p. 38). The same applies with the RSE scheme. Research conducted by Gibson and McKenzie (2010) found little displacement of New Zealand workers, most RSE workers returned to their countries on completion of their contracts and overstaying was about 1% in the first season and less than 1% in the second (see Table 2.3). Gibson and McKenzie (2010) also claim that the RSE scheme should be a model for other countries to follow. One role of a watchdog media could be to ask workers why *they* think New Zealanders do not want these jobs, and why overstaying is so low, and thereby round out the discursive picture of whether the scheme is a ‘model’ in the eyes of all those it affects, not just from economic and governmental viewpoints. That sort of critical investigation was not occurring in the sampled media.

Summary

The New Zealanders First theme stemmed from one of the principles of the RSE policy to help ensure access to seasonal employment opportunities is protected for New Zealand workers. The number of RSE workers approved for each particular season is subject to the availability of suitable and willing New Zealand workers. The displacement of New Zealanders by overseas workers does not appear to have been an issue. Media focus has concentrated on the global financial recession that caused high unemployment in New Zealand. The theme is closely linked to unemployment.

The theme featured strongly in *Bay of Plenty Times* articles published in the 2008-2009 season, and again in 2010-11, along with the *Nelson Mail* during the same period. The newspapers’ coverage focused primarily on the RSE policy and reinforced the policy that under the RSE policy, before looking overseas for workers it is important to check there are no New Zealanders available to do the job. However, the media did not explore the realities of continued unemployment combined with rising RSE arrivals, nor unpack ‘unavailability’ by local workers. The literature review found similar, but also

contrasting, reasons for the media depiction of Pacific people on migrating to New Zealand to take on agricultural work and RSE workers taking on seasonal vacancies in the mid-2000s.

This theme reacts to the concerns of the host country as part of a national or world problem. This determines the level of reporting in the media and a likelihood to stress the features of immigration policies, the issues affecting the host community and making assumptions about what it means to be a New Zealander, rather than confront some of the stereotypes and discrimination faced by overseas workers.

6.2.4 Theme 4: RSE praise

Praising the RSE scheme is a distraction from employers controlling the system and calling the shots of who the RSE worker can work for through employment contracts and visas. Bailey (2009) argues that the scheme is set up in a way so that growers can absolutely control workers. What I add to the body of knowledge is evidence that the media are uncritically reinforcing an interpretation of this situation as a positive one rather than asking the kinds of critical questions that have started to emerge in research into the RSE scheme and similar ones overseas. Evaluation of the first two years of the RSE conducted by the Department of Labour (2010) found that it had achieved what it set out to do, provided employers with a reliable and stable workforce, with productivity gains starting to emerge as workers return for subsequent seasons. However, these evaluations were focussed primarily on economic and employer-centred goals, and put the employer in a position of power to determine whether or not the worker returns for the next season. Workers are bound to do as the employer wishes and the praising of the RSE scheme is necessary for its continuation. The media are unquestioningly a part of this discourse of praise.

The theme over time

There were two examples of media praise of the RSE in the first season, 2007-08. They covered the low number of overstayers, given the discourse that predicted significant overstaying. In the scheme's second season, 2008-09, many more positive media articles were produced. *Hawkes Bay Today* had the most at 42, followed by the *Marlborough Express* with 13, based on employer-centred success factors such as worker retention. Bedford (2013) claims that many locals did not remain on the job for the time required to gain the level of proficiency required, and employers continually needed to invest in training new staff. Pacific RSE workers are depicted in media as coming to the rescue with their dedication, commitment and work ethics. Most employers praised their work and these accolades featured dominantly in media reporting.

The theme did not feature in the media so much in the next season, 2009-2010, due to the global economic recession, which led to the dominant themes being New Zealanders First and unemployment. However, the following year 2010-2011, RSE praise as a theme continues to be dominant, especially in the Hawkes Bay and Marlborough regions. The 2011-2012 season was similar, with more positive stories published by the media praising the work of Pacific RSE workers.

When discussing RSE media praise as a theme, it is also necessary to study the employers' view. A survey conducted by the Department of Labour (2010) among employers after the first two years of the scheme provided employers' feedback on recruitment, experiences and perceptions of employing overseas RSE workers and benefits for employers. The results of the survey featured in the media. For instance, the *Marlborough Express* reported the Department of Labour's survey results on 10 March 2010. It showed the scheme improvement from the first to the second season in terms of assistance and productivity gains to employers and general cohesion. The article stated that 126 employers took on 2883 workers, mainly from the Pacific Islands, with priority given to poor citizens and those living in rural communities. It also mentioned occasional complaints from Kiribati and Tuvalu workers about earning and saving, which employers portrayed as teething problems.

The *Hawkes Bay Today* article published 21 March 2009 ran the headline *Pacific workers prove 'godsend'*. Hawke's Bay Fruitgrowers' Association president Leon Stallard said Pacific seasonal workers had been a 'godsend' especially to large-scale producers such as Mr Apple. He further stated that without RSE workers it would be difficult for many employers to harvest their crops. The same season, *Bay of Plenty Times* ran an article quoting Clive Exelby of Aongatete, an RSE employer that recruits Pacific workers mainly from Vanuatu, as saying Pacific workers not only help ensure a smooth and efficient kiwifruit harvest, but also take considerable benefit back to their home nations. The article stated that there were wonderful reports from Vanuatu as RSE workers took tools and equipment home to improve life in their villages as many live a subsistence lifestyle, and that the money earned in New Zealand made a real difference for them and their families.

The RSE praise theme continues the promotion of the "triple win" for all in the RSE scheme: employers, sending countries and the workers themselves. What I find most intriguing is that the workers are represented as believing that they had the upper hand themselves by way of advantages provided by the system. This perpetuation of a triple win model is definitively refuted by global research on temporary worker schemes: they typically do not result in significant long-term developmental change in the workers' home communities, and they bring with them a host of other costs to the fabric and functioning of those communities (Abrego, 2013). The positive 'spin' of the 'triple win' rises as a way to deflect

attention from the cases of individual workers or structural racism by proclaiming that seasonal workers have the same privileges as their employers.

Structural racism is about the perpetuation of the superiority of one racial group over another. It is illogical to talk about a triple win when the model is imbalanced in favour of *palagi* employers. Pacific people have not held a position of underlying economic or social superiority in New Zealand since their arrival, this is the case with Pacific seasonal workers. With the white privilege, RSE workers are encouraged to sit within their zone of discomfort. The mainstream media reports on dominance themes from the dominant white lens and I believe will never be able to describe accurately from a non-white lens unless it undergoes largescale structural change. This huge imbalance of power has the effect of an absence of Pacific seasonal workers' voices in most of the articles.

The theme in different newspapers

In articles published by the *Hawkes Bay Today* and *Marlborough Express* in two periods, 2008-2009 and 2010-2011, this theme was dominant, focusing on the RSE scheme's positive contribution, with explicit references to Pacific Island workers' work ethics. For instance, the *Hawkes Bay Today* article published 27 November 2009, made reference to the Hawkes Bay region being the success story of RSE. The article quoted a New Zealand recruitment agent Stanley Allick as saying "Vanuatu workers are coming to New Zealand to make money; that's their main reason. Everything is new to them but they enjoy it. At home they concentrate a lot on family and community, here they can concentrate on what they are here for and that is making money." Most of the articles published by the *Hawkes Bay Today* in 2008-2009 pointed out the success of the scheme due to Pacific Island workers' contributions. Similar comments were made in the *Nelson Mail's* article published 30 November 2011, in which Paul Heywood, the Chairman of the National Seasonal Employers, said RSE workers had a great work ethic and were essential for the industry. Mr Heywood went on to say that despite the high unemployment levels in New Zealand, RSE workers were essential to a successful harvest.

Other articles mentioned the warm welcome for these workers from churches and local communities. An article published by the *Marlborough Express* 26 December 2008 quoted one congregation member as saying that they were truly blessed to have RSE workers. This was due to a group of Vanuatu RSE workers taking part in a church celebration, contributing by singing and assisting with church activities. An article published in the *Nelson Mail* on 29 March 2009 also mentioned the contribution of Pacific RSE workers to the Rainbow Praise service, among other ethnic choirs. The article made reference to the fact that most Pacific Island choirs included seasonal workers. The contributions made by RSE workers to local communities outside of the workplace have often been picked up by the media, highlighting instances of workers conforming to local culture by taking part in community events.

However, with a few exceptions as noted below, these have almost never quoted RSE workers themselves.

Some commentary on RSE workers has been less positive. For instance, media reports on road accidents caused by seasonal workers as published in an article on 22 February 2010 by the *Marlborough Express* where an RSE driver was blamed for causing a crash on a highway. Some articles were published featuring voices of RSE workers. For instance, a *Bay of Plenty* article published on 16 February 2011 which quoted a Vanuatu RSE worker praising the RSE scheme and how it took him three years to earn at home what he could earn in one season's work in New Zealand. The *Nelson Mail* also ran a story published on 8 March 2011 about a female RSE worker from Tonga who left her husband and children to take up a temporary job to pay for school fees and help support her family in Tonga. A similar article was published by the *Nelson Mail* article on 7 February 2012 quoting a Samoan RSE worker whose average pay was around \$15-\$16 an hour, which he said was high compared to what he was paid back home. It also quoted an RSE worker praising the scheme and how it improves family lives. Although the voice of RSE workers are not as highly quoted as industry representatives, the media published intermittent articles showing scheme fulfilling its objectives by quoting RSE workers praising it.

This theme has been discussed in much literature (Bedford 2013; Cameron 2011; Maclellan and Mares 2006; World Bank 2006), examining the extent of positive impact the RSE scheme has delivered, and the 'triple wins'. The role of media discourse in this theme is shown not to trivialise or vilify Pacific seasonal workers but to report on positive achievements of the RSE scheme, which subtly supports the view of the dominant culture. Such constructions have contributed to erroneous assumptions amongst the public, such as the view about the RSE scheme in general. The reasons for lack of Pacific seasonal workers' voice, other than in unqualified praise of the scheme, are beyond the scope of this research but could be explored in future studies. A number of factors could be investigated, including media inability to contact workers through the employer gatekeepers, media resistance to engage with them as a matter of social class, invalidation of their alternative understanding about the scheme and workers' fear of reprisal or not being hired again if they criticise the scheme publicly. These factors coupled with the need for cultural sensitivity and understanding may have contributed to a 'white paralysis' in which interviewing a Pacific RSE worker was mainly avoided. I contend that in consideration of how Pacific peoples are presented in the media historically, this thesis shows a different inflection with the sampled media coverage. However, racism and exclusion are likely still reinforced through the news media, whether consciously or not.

The theme and media coverage: Pacific migrant workers

Spoonley and Bedford (2012) claim that the RSE scheme reinvented the temporary work schemes of the 1970s and 1980s but in a more actively managed environment. The conditions that RSE workers operate under are different to the harsher environments and persistent racial settings in the early years of Pacific people in New Zealand. Although Hari, McGrath and Preston (2013) argue that non-status migrants were predominantly portrayed in a negative light and as incapable of autonomy and self-representation, they claim those participating in the RSE scheme were perceived differently. There were no crackdown measures employed, compared to the early period of Pacific migration, or deportation in order to decrease pressure on public panic. The dynamics of Pacific immigrants were changing. The RSE Praise theme, with its enormous emphasis on the contribution of seasonal workers as outweighing any negative issues associated with them, has likely contributed to this sense of a changing dynamic.

However, while the dynamic may be different, it is no less racialized: Pacific peoples were a threat, and now they are temporarily useful as commodified labour to do capitalism's dirty work, but either way they are dehumanised, marginalised and subjected to the demands of cultural systems other than their own. The media theme of RSE praise, positioning the workers as alleviating (constructions of) dire seasonal labour shortages, while at the same time providing (unverified in the long term) assistance to sending RSE Pacific countries, along with (again unverified) gains for the workers themselves, has ensured the temporary labour migration programme has been well received by the New Zealand community, in contrast to the first migration of Pacific peoples to New Zealand.

The theme and media coverage: migrant workers in other countries

The RSE policy was praised by New Zealand economists contracted by the World Bank to assess the social and economic aspects of the RSE scheme in its early years of operation. Several scholars have compared the historical problems and motivations for such programmes across Western Europe, the United States, and Canada (Hughes & Sodhi, 2006; Bailey, 2009; Gibson & McKenzie, 2010; Bedford, 2013); the common element at the core of all such programmes is returning workers and the rotation principle. Hughes and Sodhi (2006) claim that overstaying numbers of guest workers are low in Canada, some 200 out of an annual intake of 20,000. "Overstaying has been discouraged by repeat employment offers, mainly to men who leave their families at home. Canada's winters and lack of winter jobs are no doubt also a factor in low overstaying rates" (p. 16). The RSE scheme reported a low number of overstayers. Singapore also has a minimal overstaying problem because employers, whether individuals or companies, are subject to severe fines and threatened with custodial sentences if they break the laws governing immigrants (Hughes & Sodhi, 2006). As illustrated in Chapter 2, Section 2.5.1, Gibson and McKenzie's (2010) report evaluation drew upon the successes and failures of existing guest worker programmes in an attempt to discourage exploitation, overstaying, and local worker displacement. The

first two years of the RSE scheme evaluation found less than 1% of RSE workers overstayed their visa and many returned for successive seasons after fulfilment of their contracts.

There is clear evidence of foreign workers' contribution to seasonal work internationally. Smart (1997) claims that Mexican agricultural workers in Southern Alberta in Canada were responsible for the labour-intensive crop harvesting in greenhouse agriculture and market vegetable agriculture, and they are praised for their work ethic.

As one farm owner points out, "without Mexican labour, we couldn't do it". It is impossible for him to support the production of sugar peas without the use of reliable temporary workers. The peas must be picked every twenty-four hours throughout the season. Anything that deviates from this schedule may render the production unprofitable. Even for crops like sweet corn and carrot which are harvested by machines, the sorting and bagging still involves human labor. (p. 146)

Smart (1997) argued that based on their assessment of Florida sugar cane growers' experiences with the use of Caribbean labour, Ontario farmers were attracted to migrant workers' reputation as "reliable" and being free of "social problems". The same can be said about the RSE scheme. The Department of Labour evaluation report (2010) described the benefits the RSE scheme had on employers as a result of overseas seasonal workers, who could be relied on to turn up for work every day and in most part, were enthusiastic about working and were productive. Return workers were immediately productive and this had a reliable flow-on effect for employers by way of "reducing recruitment and training costs, increased confidence to expand and invest and reduced stress" (p. xvi). The report also stated positive productivity levels of RSE workers, and in particular Pacific workers, who the report said coped well with the physically demanding manual labour involved in growing and harvesting crops in very hot, cold and windy conditions, and were more willing to work long hours, including weekends and night shifts, compared to New Zealanders.

As noted above, in the sampled New Zealand regional media, the presence of the seasonal workers in the community was realised and recognised. An article published by the *Nelson Mail* on 29 March 2011 featured seasonal workers participating in the local community Rainbow Praise church service event. The Pacific Island seasonal workers choir made an impact on community participation. The *Marlborough Express* article published 28 February 2011 reported a similar story about Kiribati vineyard workers' participation in the Multicultural Festival in Blenheim being embraced by the local community. However, Smart (1997) claims the Mexican seasonal workers in Canada had very little time to engage in social activities either amongst themselves or with locals. The language barrier discouraged Mexican workers from actively seeking opportunities for social interaction outside their

workplace and promoted suspicion and fear in the wider community. One Mexican worker commented that he and others had encountered accusations of theft by English speaking store employees in Ontario in the past, and that they thought store detectives might be picking on them just because they looked “different” such as they are not white (Smart, 1997, p. 151).

Internationally, media articles have been seen to constitute a powerful discourse that legitimates the exploitative practices of seasonal workers’ programmes. Bauder (2008) claims that the Ontario newsprint media could have examined and revealed the ideological underpinnings of the way offshore labour is used, but did not. “A survey of articles published in daily newspapers investigates the narratives associated with offshore workers, and seeks to outline how this discourse legitimates labour exploitation. The results indicate multi-faceted representations of foreign farm workers, portrayed by the press as valuable economic resources, and as skilled agricultural labour, but also as a social problem and potential criminals; employing them is depicted as a means of providing assistance to poor families in the global South” (p. 101). The same can be said about the RSE scheme. It is depicted as providing employers’ access to a reliable and stable seasonal workforce and providing great benefits to the employer, the Pacific workers, and both sending and receiving countries. In particular, a consistent theme emerged strongly in regional media coverage of the first five years of the RSE: industry representatives and employers praising the work ethic of Pacific RSE workers, their reliability and physical ability. It appears that demonisation of workers may have been less prevalent than in media coverage of overseas schemes, and was certainly less prevalent than historically in earlier New Zealand media coverage of Pacific migration.

Summary

The RSE praise theme featured heavily in *Hawkes Bay Today* and *The Marlborough Express* in the second RSE season 2008-09, and again in the 2010-11 seasons, with *Nelson Mail* featuring it as a dominant theme in the 2011-12 seasons. The theme describes RSE workers as a blessing with excellent work ethics and punctuality, and many industry representatives referred to RSE workers as a ‘godsend’. This theme differentiates Pacific people temporarily migrating to New Zealand on seasonal work from those Pacific people who have migrated permanently to New Zealand to take up permanent jobs in factories and manufacturing industries. The media depiction is not as negative in the RSE period in the mid-2000s, compared to the early migration of Pacific people in the 1960s and 1970s. This theme speaks about factors such as the low number of workers overstaying their visas, the huge benefits to the employers and the host country, and workers’ contribution and participation in local community events. However, the seamlessness of the ‘praise’ theme obscures opportunities for more critical thinking and a wider range of perspectives and voices as to who really benefits from the scheme.

6.2.5 Theme 5: Pastoral care

Robust employer practices are essential to ensure compliance with New Zealand labour laws and to ensure safe practices in the workplace, and that workers are well cared for during their seasonal working time in New Zealand. Hunt (2014) claims that temporary workers often face physically gruelling conditions, long hours and low pay, and some groups of migrant workers appear to be particularly vulnerable to exploitation. The RSE scheme places strong emphasis on pastoral care. Employers are required to arrange suitable accommodation and internal transportation, provide protective equipment, access to personal banking services and opportunities for recreation and religious observance (Gibson & McKenzie, 2010). Gibson and McKenzie further suggest that the risk of exploitation is mitigated through employment regulations, stating that employers must pay market wages and offer workers at least minimum remuneration dependant on the length of the contract. Prochazkova (2010) asserts that the RSE scheme is not a cheap alternative to employing New Zealanders, because New Zealand employers must pay market rates, half of the airfare, and meet other pastoral care requirements. Bailey (2009) stated that employers must comply with immigration requirements and pay half the workers' return airfares, thus making labour mobility more affordable and therefore more accessible to the sending governments and workers (Bailey, 2009).

However, Tolley (2017) reports on suspicions that, "some contractors have been sliding the piece rate down to make sure that no matter how fast workers moved up and down the row, their pay stayed on, or close to, minimum wage". In the same article, an RSE worker describes working as hard as he had done in previous years, but for less pay, and feeling too shy to complain. Plus, the complaints process required a labour inspector, but there was no labour inspector based in Blenheim (Tolley, 2017). Tolley's more critical media approach, however, is unusual and differs from the predominant coverage in the regions in the studied first five years of the scheme, in which the requirement to supply pastoral care and the RSE policy placing a great amount of responsibility and accountability on employers are featured.

The theme over time

Maclellan (2008) argued that the first year of the RSE program highlighted the need for increased effort in welfare services and pastoral care for seasonal workers. He outlined concerns about:

- poor housing
- lack of work at down times (which means no income but on-going expenses for housing and food)
- contracts being set by piece rate (e.g. per bin or per tree) at minimum wage rather than market rates.

- the contentious issue of deductions – workers may be told the gross rates of pay, but not fully informed of all deductions that cover housing, transport costs or recouping airfares (p. 4).

Despite the challenges in pastoral care as pointed out by Maclellan, there was little coverage of it in regional media in the early years of the RSE. What coverage there was concentrated on employers' obligations rather than workers' experiences. This is not to say that pastoral care from an employer's perspective is imposed by the media for their community. Rather, it suggests that it may be reproduced within a dialectical relationship between powerful groups – the sector, employers and the media which reflect dominant political discursive frames for their communities.

Accommodation was the most prominent pastoral care issue reported by the media during the early years of the RSE scheme. The Department of Labour (2010) report asserts that employers relied on different types of accommodation to house workers. "Some workers live off the property in rented houses, camp grounds, or backpacker-style accommodation, and others live with New Zealand-based families" (p. 36). Several employers employ Pacific New Zealanders to assist, liaising between workers and employers to arrange pastoral care. This approach appears to work well, as some workers have limited knowledge of the English language. This also provided the opportunity to discuss issues openly and transparently with workers whilst keeping employers informed. As the RSE scheme evolved, pastoral care was not high on the media radar unless there was an issue, for example dealing with alcohol-related incidents, which will be discussed further in the section on the RSE incidents theme.

Pastoral care was reported in all five years of the RSE scheme. The first year of the RSE (2007-08) saw the *Bay of Plenty Times* reporting frequently on pastoral care stories, especially on employers' responsibilities to provide adequate accommodation, and on the checks made by the Department of Labour to ensure pastoral care rules and requirements were being met. An article published by the *Bay of Plenty Times* on 26 February 2008 included an interview with Mark Hume of Hume Pack-N-Cool, where he said pastoral care was a key element in the RSE scheme. Mr Hume also talked about having a very good understanding of the Pacific workers and their ways. Most of the workers were not familiar with the New Zealand lifestyle, nor familiar with the culture changes involved in working here. These issues were advised on as part of pastoral care support. Transportation also featured heavily in the first year in all regions' media reporting; ensuring workers were transported to and from orchards and supervised in transit. Although the evaluation report by the Department of Labour (2010) claims that pastoral care, especially accommodation and language translation were subject to 'teething issues', particularly during the first season, very few such teething issues and tensions featured in the regional newspapers.

Pastoral care was the second most prominent theme after RSE praise in the second year of the scheme, 2008-09. The *Nelson Mail* reported frequently on pastoral care. An article published on 25 November 2008 focused on Vailima Orchards, Nelson's biggest pipfruit growers. They invested in an accommodation block to house all RSE workers. In the article Vailima owner Richard Hoddy said the company had built up a very good relationship with the Pacific workers, which led to the company deciding to invest in a building so their employees could all stay together in their own accommodation block on the orchard. Mr Hoddy also said his company is responsible for the workers while in New Zealand and that is always easier if they are staying on the property. In the same article Pita Akau'ola from Vailima Orchards who liaises with the region's Tongan workers said that the workers found it easier to live together in their own accommodation block on the orchard. The employer also organised recreational and religious activities for the workers, in addition to helping them cope with the day to day issues of living in a foreign country. The *Marlborough Express* published a series of articles about the Marlborough District Council looking at amending the rules for building in the region, to increase seasonal worker housing in rural areas and improve the affordability of accommodation for seasonal workers.

Hawkes Bay Today also ran a series of articles based on new accommodation for workers, rather than housing them in caravans on orchards or in rented accommodation scattered around the Bay. An article on 26 February 2009 featured Hawke's Bay fruit company Fruitpackers, which spent more than \$1.5 million in buying property to host RSE workers, refurbishing housing, converting areas to purpose-built bunk rooms, and building two accommodation units with lounges and facilities, each capable of housing 40 people. These were designed to provide self-sufficient accommodation for their RSE staff and workers. The company reported that the benefit of refurbishing existing dwellings and building a new accommodation block for the workers ensured they supported each other, especially helping new workers and first-timers to settle in and strengthened employer-worker rapport.

The third and the fourth seasons of the RSE scheme (2009-10, and 2010-11) saw a mixture of reporting on accommodation issues, a focus on banking and savings, social and religious activities, and remittance services. An article published in the *Nelson Mail* on 30 March 2010 stated that RSE employer Birdhurst Orchard rejected claims that its RSE accommodation was overcrowded and overpriced. The Department of Labour investigated allegations about the treatment of workers, excessive charges for accommodation, and overcrowding. The article ended by stating that the Department of Labour investigation found accommodation exceeded pastoral care requirements. No RSE workers were quoted.

An article by the *Bay of Plenty Times* published 16 February 2011 focused on Ataban Rongo, an RSE worker from Vanuatu and his experience in New Zealand. Mr Rongo said many of the workers from Vanuatu were afraid of ‘white people’ on their arrival, but that quickly changed, as they discovered New Zealanders were ‘very good people’ and they made good friends. He also said that he is happy for locals to stop and chat to him on the street about where he is from, as it is good for them to understand why he is in New Zealand.

The fifth year of the RSE scheme (2011-12) had very low pastoral care reporting. As the scheme matured, other informal support to workers became part of the overall pastoral care services, such as the Vakameasina programme funded by the New Zealand Aid Programme of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. This programme aims to improve workers’ literacy and numeracy and to provide workers with skills to take back to their homelands. It “focuses on topics selected by the learners and/or their employers that will improve the workers’ life in New Zealand and back home” (Fruition Horticulture, 2019). An article in the *Bay of Plenty Times* published 29 March 2012 focused on the programme and benefits it had provided for both the workers involved and their employers. The funding and implementation of this programme was picked up in newspaper articles in the Hawkes Bay, Nelson and Marlborough regions. A *Hawkes Bay Today* article published 1 March 2012 discussed Fruition Horticulture being awarded the contract to provide English language, numeracy, computer literacy, financial, and life and health skills training to 500 RSE workers in Hawkes Bay, Bay of Plenty, Nelson, Marlborough and Otago.

None of the articles suggest workers were vulnerable to exploitation or poor working conditions. There was no mention of formal complaints or breaches of workers’ employment rights. Most of the articles reinforced the pastoral care requirements of the RSE scheme. As the scheme progressed reporting on pastoral care reduced, with the exception of other informal support to workers such as literacy and numeracy training programmes, and began to focus instead on disputes between workers and their employers, and alcohol-related incidents.

The theme in different newspapers

The *Nelson Mail* had 30 reports on pastoral care in the five years of the study, the *Bay of Plenty Times* 19, *Marlborough Express* 17, *Hawkes Bay Today* 16 and *The Southland Times* 2. The common reporting on the theme in the five regional newspapers was the employers’ duties and requirements rather than workers’ experiences. I find this reporting very interesting and somewhat disturbing. It is obvious that the media is reporting through the employers’ lens. Moore, Hesson and Jones (2005) claim that media structuring can have a large impact on an individual’s understanding of a situation or event depending on the way it was depicted. Social construction of reality is based on what the media is presenting to

us. “The world they are presented with shapes their personal understanding, but social confirmation helps them assign meaning to their understanding” (p. 161). I argue that the public perception of the RSE scheme is structured and influenced by the media’s take on the themes. Moore, Hesson and Jones (2005) further argue that a point of view on a given issue or event is used to interpret and present ‘reality’ by a journalist. If the media offer limited viewpoints that shape the article to benefit the dominant culture, it can influence behaviour and attitudes and the reality that readers construct for themselves.

Pastoral care extends to overseeing workers outside of work hours. With the Hawkes Bay region employing the majority of RSE workers, the media is a useful medium to communicate to the public the aims and objectives of the RSE policy, so the local community is provided with some level of understanding. An article in the *Hawkes Bay Today* published 25 February 2010 addressed some of the common misconceptions about the RSE scheme’s pastoral care arrangements. These included RSE workers being given preferential treatment over New Zealand workers, by way of providing accommodation and transport for them. Another was that employing an RSE worker was an easier option for employers than employing New Zealand workers. The article specified that the employer must treat and pay RSE workers exactly the same as New Zealand workers, but also had to be involved in their after-hours pastoral care. The focus of the article was to dispel these misconceptions about RSE workers receiving special treatment. There was no discussion from the perspective of difficulties for RSE workers being temporarily in a foreign country, away from their families, and experiencing culture shock.

The *Bay of Plenty*, *Marlborough Express* and the *Nelson Mail* had a similar reporting style on pastoral care, featuring RSE employers providing extra accommodation for their workers. Both the *Nelson Mail* and the *Marlborough Express* reported on workers being part of local religious and community events. There were some articles that captured the RSE workers’ voices, speaking about their overall experience as being positive, crediting their employer for their pastoral care. Other articles reported on the findings from the Department of Labour survey (2010), in which large RSE employers described their pastoral care responsibilities under the scheme as “onerous”, with regards to finding suitable accommodation for workers to live in for up to nine months of their contract.

There was some reporting of unscrupulous RSE contractors in the media. For instance, the *Nelson Mail* article published 30 March 2010 reported on claims that an RSE employer was charging \$115 a week for accommodation, with up to 18 people in some houses. The claims were dismissed by the Department of Labour, stating that the rental amount was not unusual for regions like Nelson and Marlborough, as they are generally a little higher than other regions in the country. The rent also covered power and

heating costs, bedding, laundry facilities, local phone calls, and cleaning services. Another pastoral care case was reported by the *Marlborough Express* on 24 March 2010, about a Blenheim vineyard contractor ordered to pay \$5,000 to six RSE workers based on several employment breaches. The breaches included failing to keep accurate time and wage records, failing to pay employee entitlements, and failing to provide workers with employment agreements. These cases were picked up by the media, and acted as a reminder to other RSE employers about their obligations under the RSE scheme.

The theme and media coverage: Pacific migrant workers

Pastoral care for RSE workers relies heavily upon the employers, whereas the early migration of Pacific people was dependent on family members, community and churches. One aspect of the pastoral care theme mentioned sporadically in articles is remittances. Remittances constitute money sent home by a foreign worker to their country of origin. Some articles quoted RSE workers as saying that it is impossible in their homelands to earn the amount of money they can get from working in about 4-7 months in New Zealand. RSE workers have transferred money for major family expenditures such as building or renovating houses, buying vehicles, or paying children's school fees. The same level of dedication to family is evident in the early migration of Pacific people and the reason why they left their homelands and migrated to New Zealand, not only seeking a better life for themselves and their immediate family, but to be able to earn and support their extended families in the islands.

The literature also featured translations as a form of pastoral care. As English is not many migrant workers' first language translation helps them to understand documentation relating to their employment. The translations component in the early migration of Pacific people was not a matter of concern in the literature. Pacific people migrating to New Zealand needed to have a good command of the English language, being one of the conditions stipulated in the Immigration New Zealand visa. Those migrating to New Zealand needed to immerse themselves in the English language and family support was crucial if language translation was needed.

The theme and media coverage: migrant workers in other countries

Bailey (2009) suggests the major issue for many of the growers is the cost of bringing workers from the Pacific. "Payment for half of the return airfare, a three-thousand-dollar bond for each employee, as well providing adequate accommodation and pastoral care for the labourers was considered to be burdensome by many growers, especially those with small-scale operations" (p. 41). The representation of RSE workers here implies that they are a bunch of outsiders who require systematic help from employers who already struggle to find locals to work for them to find the money to get these Pacific workers to work for them, which the media suggests is not a cheap option. The discourse appears to be

that employers' need to fund these workers to ensure they can fill up the shortage and their human power is made use of in order to prevent economic waste.

There is a history of exploitation of seasonal workers in overseas guest workers programmes. Hughes and Sodhi (2006) argue that "international experience suggests that unskilled seasonal workers, with their limited English and literacy, are vulnerable" (p. 8). This exploitation is translated into many forms; for instance, workers not understanding their employment contracts or the various bureaucratic forms associated with pay slips, taxation, banking, and other expenses. "Because guest workers' earnings are so much higher than incomes at home, they tend to under report or neglect abuses. They are inherently more vulnerable than permanent residents" (Hughes and Sodhi, 2006, p. 13). Bailey (2009) claims that since the introduction of the RSE policy there have been various media reports in New Zealand regarding illegal labour and exploitation of migrant workers in the horticulture and viticulture industries here. In June 2007, for example, there were numerous media reports of exploited Thai workers, working on orchards and vineyards in the Marlborough region. An article in *The Christchurch Press* stated that "Poor working conditions and the exploitation of migrant workers is the dirty little secret of New Zealand's wine industry" (*The Press* 2007). However, none of this was cited in the sampled articles in the studied period from November to March each calendar year.

Hughes and Sodhi (2006) claim that in Canada, guest workers bear 40% of the cost of airfares out of their wages and contribute to insurance and pensions once they start earning, subject to a maximum deduction of 5% of gross earnings per pay period. The Canadian government covers the cost of health expenses and many guest workers' earnings are not always taxed in host countries. In New Zealand, employers provide a variety of pastoral care to workers, including different types of accommodation, paying for half the return airfare between New Zealand and the worker's country of residence, food, clothing and access to health services at a reasonable cost during the period of the workers' RSE limited visas. Also, New Zealand has a flat rate of 15% flat tax on non-resident seasonal workers (Department of Labour, 2010).

Accommodation in the Canadian and RSE schemes varies, ranging from new dwellings to shared quarters. There have been cases of inadequate accommodation and issues concerning overcrowding. Employers' climate of care for workers varies, with some employers having limited interactions with their workers and others having greater involvement in providing necessary resources, such as regular transportation for shopping, or hosting special events of celebration with their workers. These types of stories featured occasionally in the studied period as illustrated above.

The Canadian scheme requires an employment contract signed by both employer and worker. Knowles (1997) claims that every year, employers and their workers sign a contract of employment that stipulates conditions of lodging, payment of wages (including the mandatory remittance of 25% of wages back to the home country), obligations of the employer, and obligations of the employee. The same employment policy applies to the RSE scheme. Failure to adhere to the employment contract is often reported by the media. As Knowles suggested, obligations of the worker are of public interest, as are the responsibilities of the employer with regards to the treatment of their workers.

Summary

Employers who are accredited to recruit overseas workers under the RSE scheme are responsible for pastoral care of workers. This responsibility has been reported in the studied regional media. Pastoral care ranges from helping workers access suitable accommodation, to linking them to community groups and services such as health care, shops and banks (Department of Labour, 2010). Other levels of support include saving and sending money to families in the Islands, arranging for medical and health care and social and religious activities. This is in contrast to pastoral care surrounding the early migration of Pacific people in New Zealand, where most have been looked after by their families, local community support, and churches. The pastoral care arrangement at that time was limited to family environment and Pacific community groups in the local area. The RSE pastoral care arrangement is more robust.

However, the coverage on whether this is achieved seems to be mixed. Canada's SAWP has similarities with regards to the welfare of their workers when it talks about suitable accommodation, wages, and health care of workers. The theme of pastoral care dominates the *Nelson Mail* reporting in 2008-09, although it was not as dominant in other regions. Pastoral care for seasonal workers and obligations of RSE employers were prominent in the early stages of the scheme. Some cases concerning pastoral care issues also featured at irregular intervals through the seasons. As the scheme developed, pastoral care reporting decreased perhaps indicating employers were making greater efforts, or simply that the media no longer considered that aspect of the scheme newsworthy for their audience.

6.2.6 Theme 6: Economic benefits

The RSE scheme offers opportunities for development and employment in Pacific Island nations with restricted economic options (Maclellan, 2008). Gibson and McKenzie (2010) claim the New Zealand RSE scheme was designed to promote development in the Pacific Islands as an explicit goal. These explicit objectives of the RSE to encourage economic development, regional integration and good governance within the Pacific allow preferential access to eligible workers from the Pacific Forum countries (Department of Labour, 2007). The design features of the programme on economic benefits

and the low rate of overstaying have already led to the RSE scheme being heralded as international best practice (Gibson & McKenzie, 2010).

The theme over time

The five studied newspapers in the region reported similarly on New Zealand's RSE scheme in its early days, stating that one of the explicit objectives of the programme was to encourage economic development in the Pacific. In the first season 2007-08, economic benefits were mentioned in a few articles – mainly covering the scheme's objective to encourage economic development within the Pacific rather than evidence of its success, however economic benefits were perhaps too early to quantify. Some articles quoted the then Associate Minister of Immigration, Shane Jones, as saying the scheme's win-win situation was particularly from an economic development perspective. The focus on economic benefits was on the rewards to Pacific countries involved in the RSE scheme and little was said about the benefits for the host country. However, the following season saw a dramatic increase in reporting about the economic benefits for both the workers involved in the RSE scheme and the employers.

There was a strong economic focus during the 2009-10 in the Hawkes Bay and Southland regions, as illustrated in Table 5.5. Articles in the *Hawkes Bay Today* and *The Southland Times* during the period 2009-10 reported economic benefits as a prevalent theme, especially the workers' ability to gain financial resources for their families, improve standards of living, improve access to education and health care at home and, in some cases, to contribute to community projects. These economic benefits came from wages remitted to the workers' nations (Bailey, 2009). Economic success highlighted in these articles represented a positive impact on sending countries and individuals. For instance, the *Hawkes Bay Today* article published 25 February 2010 suggests that RSE labour was an expensive option for employers but it provided them with the confidence to invest and expand. This article also featured seasonal workers from Samoa coming to work in an orchard to earn enough money to help their families back in the islands following the tsunami devastation caused in 2009. This season also saw the release of the first-year evaluation of the RSE scheme that quoted economic benefits extensively for the host and sending countries and workers involved.

The following seasons saw a shift of reporting on money remitted by workers to their home countries. Remittances are considered to provide a basis for the economic development of a worker's community. As noted in the RSE praise theme, an article published by the *Nelson Mail* 9 February 2012 included an RSE worker from Samoa saying the money he earned averaging around \$15-\$16 an hour was good compared to what he could earn back home. He sent most of his earnings back to the island where his wife and three children live. The parts of the story in which the worker said it helped feed his family

and allowed him to fix his house and buy a cow I coded as referring specifically to economic benefit. Another article published by the *Nelson Mail* 27 March 2010 stated that the 15 Tongans and 32 Samoans working at Vailima Orchards earned the equivalent of a year's salary in their homelands in just a few months in New Zealand. These economic benefits come from wages remitted to the workers' nations. Hughes and Sodhi (2006) claim remittances enhance macroeconomic stability by contributing to a country's balance of payments and that short-term guest worker schemes are beneficial for Pacific countries and are intuitively appealing.

The most common form of economic benefit for workers is money sent home however, goods, service, knowledge and skills sent home are also considered as remittances. Bailey (2009) claims that in order for the RSE scheme to be successful for the host government it needs to supply reliable labour to industries and increase economic development in the Pacific. "For Pacific Island states, success depends on the continuity of the scheme, and the remittances that workers will send home to aid economic development" (p. vii). A *Bay of Plenty Times* article published 29 March 2012 noted that the pilot education programme, Vakameasina, specifically tailored for Pacific RSE workers provided by Fruition Horticulture included numeracy, financial and computer literacy, and health and life skills. Sandy Scarrow of Fruition Horticulture stated that workers employed in New Zealand temporarily also get the opportunity to improve their English and Maths skills. This programme dominated the fifth year of reporting in the *Bay of Plenty Times* articles for 2011-12 seasons.

This theme uses economic productivity as a benchmark, rather than considering social, cultural or other benefits or costs. Although the economic benefits discourse expresses an optimistic tone, the underpinning factor of this discourse is that Pacific RSE workers are represented as people who need schemes and help from the New Zealand government in order to find suitable jobs – they are represented as 'lacking' in a discourse of economic wealth as the primary wealth worth counting and no other values, such as traditional values, lifestyle values or sustainability values are considered. Yuan, Cain and Spoonley (2014) found, for example, that accident and injury rates were high among migrant workers, and that "Attaining a healthy work-life balance is difficult for many immigrant workers, including temporary migrant workers" (p. 90) but non-economic issues such as these are invisible in the media focus on economics.

Non-economic indicators also proved less favourable to Pacific communities in New Zealand. For instance, education and health were less favourable outcomes for Pacific peoples. A report recently published by Pasifika Futures (2017) on Pasifika people in New Zealand claims that although Pacific people have been transitioning from new settlers to third generation New Zealanders with Pacific heritage and making progress in areas such as business, sports, the arts, social service delivery and

public-sector roles, they remain underrepresented in education, health and finance. More than half of Pacific people live in the most deprived areas of New Zealand; a rate that is higher in comparison to Māori, Asian, New Zealand European and other ethnicities. The review of the literature found that the media portrayal of Pacific New Zealanders is somewhat different from the depiction of Pacific people such as the RSE workers, who have no right to residency or citizenship. Gibson and McKenzie (2012) argue that one of the key policy issues for seasonal programmes is the extent to which seasonal migration cannot eventually open up avenues for permanent migration.

Reporting of the economic benefits theme has shifted in its reporting over time. It began with a low occurrence in 2008-09, primarily covering the benefits to RSE sending countries. The economic gains to RSE workers and employers dominated the reporting in the following season. The third season frequently reported on the economic theme based on earlier research findings of the scheme, and on workers' stories documenting the benefits of working temporarily in New Zealand regarding relative pay rates. The fourth and fifth seasons' reporting focussed on remittances and non-monetary benefits via training provided for RSE workers, encouraging them to use the money they earned to develop their own businesses in their home countries. There were also articles on economic gains made by employers involved in the scheme which translated to business expansion and profit. The predominance of economics as a theme reflects the expectations of media theorists (as outlined in the literature review) that the media, as economic entities reliant upon elite sources, will focus their reporting around themes that align with the interests and focus of capitalism.

The theme in different newspapers

Each newspaper in the five regions reported largely on RSE remittances going towards workers' households for renovations to existing dwellings, construction of new homes, payment of school fees for their children, or investment in small enterprises such as fishing boats and vehicles to provide job opportunities in their villages. For instance, in an article published 18 March 2009 by the *Bay of Plenty Times* Mike Chapman, CEO of New Zealand Kiwifruit Growers, said that the benefits the people from that Vanuatu achieved from employment in the kiwifruit industry were heart-warming. Churches were built, villages now had water and power, and children were being educated. No workers were interviewed in that article. The *Bay of Plenty Times* published an article 16 February 2011 featuring Ataban Rongo, an RSE worker from Vanuatu, who said it would have taken him three years to earn at home what he could earn working one season in New Zealand. Mr Rongo said the money he earned from fruit picking helped him to build a house for his sister, helped his mother set up a market stall selling souvenirs to cruise ship passengers, paid for schooling for his brother and cousins, as well as paying for a sink for his family so they now have access to clean drinking water.

While this is one positive example, research by Castaneda (2006, p. 13) across a large range of migrant ‘remittance home’ schemes worldwide indicates that the benefits are never equal to the levels predicted by the schemes’ policy aims. Development benefit predictions are based on “hyper-rational, atomistic and perfectly informed theoretical actors of the neoclassical account” while the reality is “complex actors who make their decisions on the basis of imperfect information, and the values and meanings constructed within a transnational web of family and community ties”. Castaneda pointed out that “new family arrangements, emigration expectations, consumption patterns and demographic changes impact the prospects for development” (p. 13).

Although the interpretation of the economic benefits varied between newspapers, the common subject was the triple win. The *Marlborough Express* reported the least on economic benefits for all five seasons, with *Hawkes Bay Today* reporting the most. Aside from the productivity gains for the employer and the high returns on crops for the host country, the sending country benefitted hugely from remittances. Workers were able to set up businesses and invest a portion of their wages in buying tools and equipment to assist them in their personal and communal developments. Even though the global economic recession links to this theme and the New Zealand unemployment theme, the reporting in all five newspapers was positive overall.

The theme and media coverage: Pacific migrant workers

Racism is economically determined. Spoonley and Bedford claim that in the 1970s, New Zealand was challenged by economic difficulties and the arrival of Pacific people in significant numbers was uncomfortable for the locals. The arrival of foreigners in big numbers in a period of economic decline prompted a discriminatory campaign targeting Pacific peoples. The campaign against overstayers was apparent and early literature claims that Pacific communities constituted an economic threat.

However, the earlier media depiction of Pacific people migrating to live permanently in New Zealand and those migrating to work on a short-term basis without residency or citizenship in the RSE scheme are on very different terms. The economic benefits gained from the RSE scheme are much more apparent in the media than any sense of economic threat created through Pacific people moving to New Zealand to live and create a better life for their families. According to Bailey (2009), even though the Dawn Raids have been recognised as a low point in New Zealand’s history, the stigma of Pacific workers overstaying their visas has never disappeared. Because of past experiences, the terms ‘Pacific migrants’ and ‘overstayers’ are often represented in New Zealand media as being synonymous (p. 42). Alongside this sad early migration story of Pacific people to New Zealand is the largely positive story of the Pacific RSE workers, having no threat to New Zealand’s economy.

The creation of the RSE programme was primarily based upon economic benefits for all parties involved. Gibson and McKenzie's (2010) evaluation of RSE household outcomes in Tonga and Vanuatu found that the participation of seasonal workers countries not only benefitted the host and sending countries but also profited employers and helped workers. The evaluation used "four rounds of survey data on 450 households in each country...to ascertain the development impacts of the RSE programme and the results showed very positive development economic impacts, with per capita incomes rising 30%, subjective economic welfare improving, households increasing ownership of durable goods and making home improvements, increased use of bank accounts, and in Tonga, large increases in school attendance for 16 to 18 year olds" (p. 5). Although there was no specific survey found in the literature on the economic benefits for Pacific immigrants to New Zealand from in the mid-1940s to the 1980s, more are still striving in New Zealand for a better life for their children and their extended families.

The theme and media coverage: migrant workers in other countries

The RSE scheme has been closely modelled on the Canadian SAWP and in turn, Australian government officials have drawn heavily on New Zealand RSE experiences and lessons learnt when designing their temporary seasonal worker scheme. "It is for this reason that officials involved in administering seasonal work policies can have some degree of certainty that particular outcomes will be attained" (Bedford, 2013, p. 99). Ball (2010) claims that seasonal workers' schemes are substantial steps towards greater regional integration of labour markets in the Pacific region. Positive economic development goals enable these schemes to provide a mechanism for positive economic development impacts for both the host country and labour sending countries. From the perspective of New Zealand employers, there has been clear evidence of productivity gains from having a reliable labour supply and the extent of these gains is reflected in some horticulture and viticulture business expansion. From the perspective of the workers and sending countries, there is evidence that the scheme contributes financially to economic development and there has been positive impact on workers' personal and professional development, in addition to remittances being made to sending countries (Department of Labour, 2010). The 2010 evaluation of the RSE policy demonstrates how reliability of labour supply has enabled the horticulture and viticulture supply chain to operate more efficiently and has provided these sectors with the ability to invest and expand their production, providing greater economic growth. These kinds of positive economic perspectives were well represented in the sampled media coverage in the regions.

However, the movement of people across international boundaries has other economic implications in both origin and destination countries. Bauder (2008) claims that a common thread woven through the 'economic necessity' narrative is that offshore workers fill the void created by Canadians who left the agricultural sector for work in more lucrative industries. According to Bauder, the offshore programme provides the labour-power the Canadian labour market is unable to supply. Knowles (1997) claims that

migrant labour from Jamaica working for growers in Ontario, Canada, provides a reliable workforce, and that these migrants have a reputation for being dependable, hard workers who stay the entire season and make few complaints. While shortages of labour require that the seasonal workers programme supplies the much-needed labour power, some growers and officials quoted in the press put forward a variation on this theme; the structural dependency of Ontario's agricultural sector on offshore workers for economic benefits (Bauder, 2008). This dependency creates risks, such as if borders become closed for any reason, as has happened in 2020 globally with the Covid-19 crisis. These kinds of risks of structural dependency on mobile labour were not considered in the studied media.

The short-term consequences of labour migration on families and communities can be considerable. It has been claimed that Canada's SAWP scheme and the RSE scheme's social costs outweigh economic benefits for workers. Maclellan (2008) argues that the length of time that workers are away from home is an important issue that needs careful consideration. "Seasonal workers are separated from family for extended periods of time, which can impact on children's welfare and education and put an extra burden on the elderly left in the village" (p. 4). Asis' (2006) study of the Philippines and large-scale overseas migration also raised concerns about left-behind children. Asis claims that children are perceived to be most affected by the absence of fathers, mothers or both and bear the brunt of the social costs of migration. "While it is clear that overall, families benefit economically from parents working overseas, the impacts on family structure and relationships present a more complex picture" (Ball, 2009). Russell's (2004) survey of Jamaican seasonal workers employed in Canada's SAWP scheme found that the separation of migrant workers from their families created emotional problems, especially for spouses and children. A question that needs to be asked is whether the emotional costs are compensated by the financial benefits by the workers for their families and communities.

Workers employed under the seasonal employment programme migrate for a number of reasons. Storey (2005) claims that migration is seen as more lucrative and preferential than alternative prospects at home, especially agriculture. Maclellan (2008) claims that one significant outcome of the RSE programme is that some Pacific communities are nominating a number of workers at a time and encouraging them to commit a portion of their wages to community development projects. Take Vanuatu for example, as the first Melanesian country to be involved in the RSE scheme. Hammond and Connell (2009) assert that older men were usually chosen to be part of the RSE scheme, as it was anticipated they would be most reliable and earn more money. Often some were sponsored by their communities to cover visa and other costs so that their income might partially support community needs such as a shared water tanks or microcredit programmes. An article published by the *Bay of Plenty Times* 3 February 2009 featured Vanuatu workers taking home tools and equipment to improve life in their villages. While some workers took home laptops, digital cameras, chainsaws and power tools, one

worker bought a guitar for his church and another bought solar panels to charge batteries in his village, which had no electricity, with another worker taking home a television (which is probably the only television in his village).

Hammond and Connell (2009) estimate that a Pacific worker would take home about NZ\$4,800 a month from seasonal work in New Zealand. RSE workers from the village of Tanna in Vanuatu suggest that their gross income would be about NZ\$15,600.

When about \$2,400 is deducted for their establishment costs and \$4,800 absorbed into tax alongside their donation to a community fund, about \$8,000 is left...some Ni-Vanuatu workers found additional sources of income generation. One group of workers [...] raised over \$10,000 by busking in the town of Cromwell. New Zealand Rotary clubs and churches have also donated funds for village improvements (Hammond & Connell, 2009, p. 204).

The benefits of a collective effort towards a village project are different from the usual goals of a seasonal worker to remit money to their homelands to fund childrens' education, improve housing, or establishing small businesses. Gibson and McKenzie's (2012) research on developmental impacts into Tonga and Vanuatu as RSE sending countries found that communities also seem to have received modest benefits in terms of monetary contributions from workers, with community leaders overwhelmingly viewing the policy as having an overall positive impact.

Similar economic benefits have been reported for the Canadian scheme. Knowles (1997) reported, "This employment is paid in Canadian dollars, a preferred currency in Jamaica, and many Jamaicans whom I interviewed called the wages that they earn in Canada 'fast money'. This money allows the migrants to buy desirable Canadian goods such as electronics, bicycles, water pumps, and other commodities that are either more difficult or more expensive to obtain in Jamaica" (p. 5).

While the overseas experience has some positive stories and some nuances, then, the media coverage in New Zealand regions was predominantly focussed on positive stories of economic benefit. Issues of possible social costs, including the costs to traditional ways of life by important consumer goods such as televisions, were not queried.

Summary

One of the goals of the RSE scheme is to promote economic development in the Pacific Islands. Economic benefits as a theme became dominant in the *Hawkes Bay Today* and *The Southland Times* during the 2009-10 seasons. Articles published by both newspapers highlighted the financial gains and

positive economic contributions of the RSE scheme to all parties involved. Most were from employers' viewpoints, with some articles capturing the workers' voice about how the scheme contributed to improving their families and communities in the islands. Remittance plays a big part and a well-regulated temporary seasonal scheme has the potential to benefit all parties involved.

What is well recognised from the literature is that Pacific people migrated to a land of opportunities for a better life. However, the early migration of Pacific people to New Zealand was not predominantly viewed as appealing, causing a number of challenges stemming from a series of events which lead to the infiltration of racism in New Zealand, based primarily on migrants having overstayed their visas. This created havoc for the Pacific community. The temporary migration of Pacific workers did not have the same effect however. Economic benefits are a reason people migrate and work in lands of opportunity. Canada's SAWP has revolved around allowing Jamaican, Caribbean and Mexican workers into their country and New Zealand mimics this scheme to give access to Pacific workers under the RSE scheme. Australia then mirrored the RSE scheme in developing their own seasonal worker programme, viewing it as an economic investment, working in collaboration with Pacific countries to ensure that economic development and regional integration was strengthened for the nation as a whole. The economic benefits theme in the sampled media suggests that all parties involved can benefit from working collaboratively. It does not question the system that creates economic inequalities that underpin the need for transnational labour flows nor question other kinds of benefit and cost such as emotional costs, or impact on traditional values and ways of life.

6.2.7 Theme 7: New Zealand unemployment

Rising unemployment and displacement of New Zealanders' jobs after the global financial crisis in 2008 put pressure on recruiting overseas labour. While temporary workers are actively recruited as needed, they are constantly under the media spotlight with regards to their behaviour and how they weigh up against the locals when issues such as unemployment occur. Gibson and McKenzie (2011) argue that several reasons have been identified for a decline in the number of workers recruited, including global economic conditions, a lack of flexibility in the regulations under which growers can recruit workers, a potential lack of economies of scale from piloting on such a small scale and the existence of a pool of competing seasonal labour, including illegal migrants. The New Zealand first principle aims to mitigate displacement of New Zealand workers, a theme that intertwines but is distinct from this theme because of the fluctuations and shocks to New Zealand labour market during global recession. Employers must lodge their vacancies with the Ministry of Social Development to determine if any New Zealanders are available for work before attempting to recruit offshore. The preference is then given to recruiting workers from the Pacific Forum countries.

The theme over time

In the first season of the RSE scheme 2007-08, New Zealand unemployment never made it into the sampled regional media agenda. The five newspapers did not report on the state of the New Zealand economy and there were no references in articles to New Zealand's unemployment rate. Most articles concentrated on the labour conditions in the New Zealand horticulture and viticulture industries and on the RSE policy. This is not surprising considering the findings from the Department of Labour RSE evaluation in 2010, which suggested minimal displacement of New Zealand workers in the first season of the scheme. This supports the fact that there was no coverage of New Zealand unemployment in the first season of the RSE scheme.

The Department of Labour report claims that the recession affected employment in the second season, mainly in the urban centres before filtering through to the provinces. Nonetheless as the season progressed, more New Zealand workers became available. However, claims by some New Zealand workers about RSE workers taking jobs from them were not as accurate as they may have first appeared (p. 14).

The theme of New Zealand unemployment emerged in the second season 2008-09. The majority of articles published by the *Bay of Plenty Times* reminded the public about the regulation of recruitment under the RSE scheme – the New Zealanders first principle. For instance, an article published by the *Bay of Plenty Times* on 24 January 2009 reports on the rise in unemployment in New Zealand meaning fewer Pacific peoples would be travelling to the Bay of Plenty to help with the kiwifruit harvest as there were more New Zealand workers available to do the work. Other articles emerged in regions like the Hawkes Bay and Nelson about RSE employers in desperate need of young people and locals to take on seasonal work to combat the negative statistics of locals being unemployed. Both newspapers reported on unemployment in 2009-10 when talking about the economic downturn, suggesting that employment should be awarded to New Zealanders before bringing in overseas workers.

The results of New Zealand unemployment as a theme featured highly in the *Nelson Mail* articles in the 2009-10 seasons, as demonstrated in Table 5.5. I find this very interesting, with few or no articles on New Zealand unemployment considering the unemployment rate for New Zealand nearly doubled from 2007 to 2012. I claim that the unemployment discourse was offset by authoritative figures and officials of the RSE scheme to further argue that RSE workers are in need of help and that the scheme will prove beneficial to them by helping the industry and filling in for the locals. Having the authoritative voice in a news discourse side-tracks the real problem of unemployment in the community, and the discourse shift to the help from outside and authority voices speaking about locals not taking up opportunities and

the associated loss for the industry, which helps present the scheme as a highly valuable and necessary opportunity for bringing Pacific workers in.

In the 2010-11 seasons an article published by *Hawkes Bay Today* discussed the recession, its effect on unemployment and the subsequent employment of surplus Kiwis before hiring workers from overseas. There were no unemployment references in articles by the *Bay of Plenty Times*, *Marlborough Express* and *The Southland Times*. The unemployment theme was not captured in any reporting by all the five regions in the 2011-12 seasons.

The theme in different newspapers

Hawkes Bay Today had a total of 43 mentions of this theme in its reporting over the five-year period of the scheme. *Nelson Mail* followed with 14 mentions, then *Bay of Plenty Times* with 11, *The Southland Times* with 9, and *Marlborough Express* with 6.

In the first season of the RSE scheme 2007-08 there was no mention of New Zealand unemployment in all regional newspaper coverage. In the 2008-09 season *Bay of Plenty Times* had the highest recording of the unemployment theme at 10 articles, *Hawkes Bay Today* and *Nelson Mail* had 3, *The Southland Times* 2, and the *Marlborough Express* did not report on it. Articles in the *Bay of Plenty Times* were concentrated on the availability of New Zealanders and the effects of unemployment in the Bay of Plenty region which impacted on the number of foreign seasonal workers recruited for each season. With unemployment rising, articles in the *Bay of Plenty Times* argued that employers should exhaust every effort to recruit local workers before looking overseas. Clive Exelby of Aongatete in the Bay of Plenty said, in an article published by the *Bay of Plenty Times* on 3 February 2009, ‘We are expecting to have a bigger number of Kiwi workers this season, due to rising unemployment here.’ Another article published by the *Bay of Plenty Times* on 18 March 2009 quoted Mike Chapman, Chief Executive Officer of New Zealand Kiwifruit Growers, ‘For the coming season there will be a significant increase in the number of Kiwis employed for harvest, as the industry is committed to employing Kiwis first.’ This illustrates my argument above about using authoritative voice and opportunities for expression within the discourse of RSE praise to detract from the real issue of local unemployment. I also argue that this illustrates media prioritisation of authoritative elite sources for information, which leads to a predominantly established view of the RSE scheme contributing to the New Zealand economy, despite the challenge of locals not finding work. Therefore, control by the media of quotation patterns is a means of “gate-keeping” that allows only those in positions of power and influence to enter the discourse while excluding the perspective of those considered by society to be powerless (Teo, 2000).

The 2009-10 seasons saw the *Nelson Mail* reporting on New Zealand unemployment 27 times, followed by the *Hawkes Bay Today* with 5 and the *Marlborough Express* 2. There was no coverage of this theme in the *Bay of Plenty Times* and the *Southland Times*. Articles in the *Nelson Mail* reported on the recession and the fact that more New Zealanders had been seeking employment. Reporting by the *Nelson Mail* suggested that the number of RSE workers to be recruited at any particular time was dependent on the employment scale. An article published by the *Nelson Mail* on 6 November 2009 showed unemployment reached 4.1% in the region covering Nelson, Tasman, Marlborough and the West Coast, which constituted 3,800 unemployed local workers, up 800 in the last three months to September and the highest since the 4.2% in March 2006. Other articles discussed the unemployment rate and the resulting unemployment benefit payments. Articles also kept a close watch on the number of RSE workers recruited by the growers while the region was trying to deal with the challenges of localised unemployment.

Although *Hawkes Bay Today* published articles on the importance of employing New Zealanders first, the bulk of the articles revert back to shining examples of the RSE scheme doing well. There were references to the number of RSE workers recruited despite high unemployment. Employers defended that by describing New Zealand unemployment as a result of global recession and that they were doing their best to ensure New Zealanders had the first opportunity to take up work vacancies. For instance, Marya Hopman, Pick New Zealand Regional Relationship Manager, was quoted in an article published by *Hawkes Bay Today* on 25 February 2010, “This season, because of rising unemployment, the number of RSE workers will be less than last season.” Despite the rise of unemployment for this season, the majority of articles published by the *Hawkes Bay Today* were focused on economic benefits, as described in the previous theme, rather than dwelling on unemployment statistics. A couple of unemployment stories were published by the *Marlborough Express*, but these discussed changes to the social welfare system and blamed the recession and the RSE scheme for bringing in workers from overseas at a time when jobs were not easy to find in Marlborough. An article by the *Marlborough Express* published on 24 March 2010 quoted a 55-year-old New Zealander blaming the RSE scheme and the recession for him being jobless. The article focused on the hardships of New Zealanders getting by with limited job opportunities, low pay rates, and depending on the unemployment benefit. Aside from that, the majority of articles published by the *Marlborough Express* largely concentrated on RSE incidents rather than unemployment, which will be discussed in detail in the RSE incidents theme.

Nelson Mail made 6 references to unemployment in their 2010-11 season coverage, with only one mention about it in the *Hawkes Bay Today*. There were no references to unemployment in the *Bay of Plenty Times*, *Marlborough Express* or *The Southland Times*. A spokeswoman from the Ministry of Social Development was quoted in an article by the *Hawkes Bay Today* on 14 January 2010 saying that

growers were expected to look towards using unemployed New Zealanders before sourcing labour from overseas. She further stated that there were a number of people on the unemployment benefit who were available to work in the Hawkes Bay region.

The theme and media coverage: Pacific migrant workers

There was little information about unemployment and its effects on immigration in the historical literature. This is probably because during the 1950s, 60s and 70s unemployment was very low and New Zealand was actively recruiting overseas workers to work in manufacturing and agriculture. Spoonley and Bedford (2012) argue that the impact of economic changes in New Zealand on Pacific communities and people are underpinned in a series of events. The downturn of the economy in the 1970s aroused moral panic towards Pacific immigrants. There is a significant literature on the difficulties faced by the Pacific communities based in the 1970s, which was a period of transformation for Pacific peoples in New Zealand. Being a Pacific Islander in New Zealand has not always been embraced. One of these transformations was the introduction of the RSE scheme. The media's approach to unemployment and its effects on the RSE is discussed elsewhere in this section, including the perception that overseas workers 'steal' jobs. Historically, immigration played a pivotal role in New Zealand's economy, Prochazkova (2012) argues that foreign workers do not "steal" jobs, but create additional jobs in related industries. Of interest, therefore, is the way in which public discourse and the discursive representations constitute the identity of foreign farm labour which is readily apparent if there is an issue affecting the local community (Bauder, 2008). The economic recession dramatically reduced RSE flows into New Zealand, pushing the employers to look locally to meet their demand and contribute to both regional and national economic growth. None of the media made an argument that having RSE workers in jobs might cause flow-on job creation in other linked areas of the economy such as transport or retail.

The theme and media coverage: migrant workers in other countries

Media discourse represents foreign labour in a manner that creates a popular divide for this labour programme, and especially if there are issues involving or affecting local labour. Issues such as local unemployment versus the demand for more seasonal workers coming to New Zealand from the Pacific are always topical. Lepon (2010) claims the RSE policy dialogue has been attempting to respond to more than just New Zealand's labour market requirements but also to unemployment in Pacific countries. Rather, the policy dialogue fails to address the issue of employment in a host country context which results in the media reporting on the terms and conditions of seasonal workers' employment and the effect it has on local employment. The pattern that appears to be emerging in New Zealand and other countries with RSE type schemes is that a sense of moral panic surfaces when there is a rise in

local unemployment. If the number of overseas workers seems unchanged regardless of New Zealand unemployment, local workers tend to criticise overseas workers for jobs from them.

Knowles (1997) claims that in light of high unemployment rates, the Canadian government fields criticism from segments of the public who argue that the seasonal programme gives away Canadian jobs. This was also the case with the New Zealand RSE scheme, when local unemployment started to rise and some New Zealanders blamed the RSE workers for stealing jobs. For instance, in an article published by *Marlborough Express* on 24 March 2010, a New Zealand citizen complained about the effects of the recession on the wine industry in Marlborough and blamed the RSE scheme for bringing workers from overseas and taking jobs away from locals. However, Prochazkova (2012) argues that local unemployed are not interested in the jobs offered so employers need to look elsewhere for a reliable workforce. “Domestic workers are not interested in farm jobs because of low wages; however, family farms cannot increase wages or improve the working environment because they are under pressure of rising costs and the low prices they are forced to charge for their produce. It is not primarily the vulnerability of farming which causes the dependency on foreign labour, but mainly the need to secure a reliable labour which is available on demand” (p. 22).

Securing overseas labour is not a cheap option for the employers but they have to do it so they have a reliable pool of workers, and especially during peak seasons. Smart (1997) claims that despite the high levels of unemployment in the post-WWII period, Ontario farmers still faced difficulties in recruiting and retaining suitable quantities of labour. Ball (2010) argues that seasonal agricultural work is based largely in remote locations describing working conditions as hot, hard and dirty, workers are often poorly paid, and of low social status. These conditions are generally unattractive to local citizens, particularly as workers are often paid on short term casual basis. Maclellan and Mares (2005) have a similar view that large numbers of Pacific people migrate in search of the three E’s – education, employment and enjoyment. Consequently, they end up instead with the three D’s – dirty, difficult and dangerous. These are discourses pertinent to the RSE that appear in research publications, but not in the sampled media.

Summary

New Zealand unemployment as a theme never surfaced in the first season of the RSE scheme 2007-08, but did in the following season 2008-09. *Bay of Plenty Times* reported on New Zealand unemployment and the number of Kiwis available for the kiwifruit harvest. *Nelson Mail* dominated its reporting on the New Zealand unemployment theme in the 2009-10 season, the highest for all five years, where the majority of the articles concentrated on the security of local employment during the global recession. Articles centred on the high unemployment rate in the Nelson-Marlborough regions, with RSE

employers continuing to supplement their workforce with non-New Zealanders, while unemployment was on the rise. The unemployment theme did not feature as highly as other themes in the following season 2010-11, and there was no mention of New Zealand unemployment in the 2011-12 season. The unemployment theme constantly involved reporting the RSE cap, being 5,000 workers since its inception in 2007 and subsequently lifted to 8,000 in October 2008 when unemployment rates in New Zealand were at an all-time high. The increase of 2,000 RSE workers was to enable the horticulture and viticulture industries to meet labour demands, while at the same time ensuring jobs were not being taken from New Zealanders. The theme captured the industry more in their quest of maximising opportunities for New Zealanders, particularly in regions with relatively high unemployment. In comparison to other seasonal workers programs, there is a similar reaction to the way a host country's unemployment rate is treated under media scrutiny, with the focus shifting to overseas workers and their presence in a foreign country as likely to contribute to increasing, not reducing or having no impact on, unemployment. This relates to a particular problem definition/solution loop for unemployment in the media discourse, in which lower RSE numbers are the solution to rising unemployment and other solutions are not explored.

6.2.8 Theme 8: RSE cap

The RSE policy prioritised Pacific workers as the sources of seasonal labour when it was established in April 2007, with a cap of no more than 5,000 overseas workers in the calendar year. In the first five years of the RSE scheme, the cap for seasonal workers has been changed twice. The majority of workers were sourced from eligible Pacific Island countries, with a few being sourced from countries in Asia because of pre-existing relationships that employers had developed under earlier work policies (Bedford & Bedford, 2011). From the outset, the cap was never reached, but it solved the problems affecting production in the horticulture and viticulture industries by having reliable seasonal labour supplies during the peak season to pick, pack, and prune fruit and sort short term surges in demand for labour that could not be met from local sources.

The theme over time

The policy was launched on 30 April 2007, with a limit of 5,000 seasonal workers set each year, predicated upon assumptions that New Zealanders should still have preferred access to New Zealand job vacancies. (McKenzie, Martinez & Winters, 2008). "By April 2008 after a year of operation, 92 companies had been approved as Recognised Seasonal Employers and 4,070 workers from the Pacific and South-East Asia had RSE visa applications approved. Of RSE visas issued, 3,923 have been used as at 23 April 2008" (Maclellan, 2008, p. 3). Before the RSE scheme was launched, employers had also engaged workers from South East Asia in Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines. The New

Zealand government stressed the particular focus on recruiting workers from the Pacific rather than from other regions but, more than 20 per cent of RSE workers came from South-East Asia as of April 2008 (Maclellan, 2008).

In the first recruiting season of the scheme (2007-08) Department of Labour (2010) asserts 2,390 RSE workers arrived in New Zealand from the five kick-start Pacific Island countries. In the second season, this number increased to 5,207. “Most workers spent 3-7 months in New Zealand. More than one quarter (the highest proportion) spent around 6 months in New Zealand. The pattern of time spent in New Zealand appears broadly similar for first-time and return workers” (p. ix). There was also a significant proportion of workers returning each season to the same employer. Although the RSE cap was reported in all the five seasons, the theme itself was not dominant compared to other themes except in 2011-12 when it was the dominant theme in *Hawkes Bay Today’s* reporting. The majority of media reporting on the RSE cap in the first seasons was about the numbers of workers approved for entry for each region and how those numbers would fill regional job vacancies in relation to the overall RSE cap. Although the RSE cap was mentioned in articles over time, the theme was not as strong compared to other themes in the earlier seasons of the scheme.

The 5,000 cap was extended to 8,000 places in 2008. The number of RSE workers dropped in the 2009-10 season, because of the global economic downturn. Three years after the RSE scheme was initiated, media reporting was concentrated on the numbers of RSE workers recruited outside of New Zealand despite local challenges with high unemployment as a result of the economic downturn. In seasons 2010-11 and 2011-12, the numbers of RSE workers from the Pacific Islands increased slightly compared to previous seasons. Bedford, Bedford and Ho (2010) assert “the RSE is an employer-led scheme - not a quota of places for work in any industry that is seeking temporary semi-skilled or unskilled workers in New Zealand” (p. 426). This means that as long as employers exhaust their efforts of giving first priority jobs to New Zealanders, who and where and employers recruit their workers from was entirely their decision.

Workers from Tuvalu and Kiribati can work in New Zealand for up to nine months in any 11-month period, due to the minimum period of employment permitted under the policy – i.e. 240 hours or six weeks at 40 hours per week. Bedford, Bedford and Ho (2010) argue that this is inadequate for employees who have to travel from Tuvalu or Kiribati to New Zealand as 240 hours of work does not provide enough income to cover their airfare, accommodation and living costs, let alone enable them to save and gain enough experience and so contribute to the development of their homelands. Consequently, the numbers of RSE workers from both Kiribati and Tuvalu is not as high when compared to Vanuatu, Tonga or Samoa. This is also reflected on media reporting with most RSE workers voices captured by

the media being workers from Vanuatu, Samoa or Tonga, due to them being easily accessible to journalists because of the large numbers in RSE regions. For instance, *Nelson Mail* quoted a Samoan worker on 7 February 2012. Workers from Vanuatu extensively featured in the *Bay of Plenty Times* articles, being quoted on 3 February 2009 and 16 February 2011. *Hawkes Bay Today* published an article on 3 February 2011 quoting another worker from Vanuatu. An article by the *Nelson Mail* on 25 November 2008 quoted a Tongan worker. This shows that media often sought commentary from workers from Pacific countries with more migrant workers in New Zealand.

McKenzie, Martinez and Winters (2008) claim that Seasonal Solutions was the first RSE employer to recruit 45 Ni-Vanuatu workers in early 2007 and a further 230 workers to begin work in New Zealand in late October 2007. The 45 workers recruited in early 2007 were from the islands of Tanna and Ambrym. “These workers were invited back, and those from Tanna were also asked to bring two others along to recruitment interviews” (p. 4). In Vanuatu, employers could either hire directly or through an agent. Gibson and McKenzie (2010) suggest that direct recruitment was facilitated by the Vanuatu Department of Labour, which in the first year also used a work-ready pool of workers from walk-ins who had registered directly with the department. These workers were typically from the more urban areas. In rural areas, direct recruitment and agents relied heavily on community contacts through village councils, again using villages to pre-screen workers. Other Pacific sending countries adopted a similar recruitment process, either facilitated by the Government or the use of agents to deal with villages to source people who are capable, hardworking, within the age bracket of 18 to 44 years, healthy, and in good character. The RSE cap is set by the New Zealand government and each region has their own cap for workers required for each season. When it comes to choosing which Pacific Island to recruit from, this is entirely up to the employer and their preference based on accessibility, expectations and relationships.

Returning workers contributed highly to the RSE cap, which left few places available to new workers in new seasons. Department of Labour (2010) claim RSE employers’ preference was returning workers, as they did not have to continually invest in training, and could benefit from skills acquired in earlier seasons. Return workers also work faster and more efficiently than new workers, and the tasks they need to perform during peak seasons were being completed more rapidly now than they were when they first came to New Zealand (Bedford & Bedford, 2011). This has made the RSE cap easily manageable as many returning workers reduce the cost of new recruitment for employers and cut back on the numbers of new workers in subsequent seasons.

The theme in different newspapers

In the first season of the RSE scheme 2007-08, *Marlborough Express* reported highly on the RSE cap, followed closely by *Hawkes Bay Today*. The RSE cap theme was prevalent in the *Hawkes Bay Today* articles in all five seasons and dominated its reporting in the 2011-2012 season. Most articles were based around the number of RSE workers required for the Hawkes Bay region each season and how employers praised RSE workers' work ethics, and also their quest in finding locals to fill labour shortages. For instance, Pipfruit New Zealand Services Manager Gary Jones said, in an article on 12 January 2012, that 3000 RSE workers would be required in Hawkes Bay for that season. He also said that RSE workers comprised about a quarter of the total labour force required in the region during the harvest season. Bedford (2013) claims that at least 50,000 workers are needed each year at a peak harvest season. The peak months for seasonal work are November to March.

The second highest reporting on this theme came from the *Marlborough Express*, with their articles concentrated on the number of workers needed for each season, as the wine industry always worried there would be a worker shortage. An article published in *Marlborough Express* on 19 December 2007 stated that about 700 workers were required for the Marlborough region and the number of employers wanting to be part of the RSE scheme had increased from 8 to 19. Whilst the RSE cap was important to each region, some articles concentrated on the on-going discussion between the industry and the Department of Labour about RSE conditions. For instance, an article published by the *Marlborough Express* on 10 March 2008, highlighted industry concerns about the speed of processing RSE applications and its effect on when RSE workers could arrive in the region for work.

In the 2008-09 seasons, *Hawkes Bay Today* reported most on the RSE cap with five references in articles, followed closely by the *Nelson Mail* with four references. *Hawkes Bay Today* articles focussed on the number of workers approved for their region to work during the harvesting period and how the number of workers approved compared to the number of workers recruited in the previous season. An article published by the *Hawkes Bay Today* on 26 February 2009, referred to the number of returning workers and how they had been a 'godsend' for returning. The article stated that the majority of the workers recruited to work in the Hawkes Bay region were from Vanuatu. Other articles focussed on the local economy when unemployment was on the rise. Mike Chapman, Chief Executive of New Zealand Kiwifruit Growers Inc, said there would be less than 1,500 foreign workers employed under the RSE scheme, compared with 1,800 employed in the previous season because of the New Zealanders first approach. The *Nelson Mail* reporting also concentrated on the number of RSE workers approved to work in their region. Articles published by the *Nelson Mail* suggested that first choice of employment went to local workers, although the RSE scheme was expected to provide 600 of the 5,500 to 6,000 workers needed for the regions' pipfruit and kiwifruit orchards and vineyards. Most of the articles also

praised the work by RSE workers, their contribution to the pipfruit industry – an important export earner that brings in \$390 million with Nelson producing 30% of it.

By June 2010, over 19,000 contracts had been provided to temporary workers from six Pacific countries: Vanuatu, Tonga, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Kiribati and Tuvalu (Spoonley & Bedford, 2012). Over time, the RSE scheme has grown from the five “kickstart” countries to nine island countries in the Pacific Islands Forum. *Hawkes Bay Today* continued to report highly on the RSE cap, with four references in the 2009-10 season. *Nelson Mail* and *Marlborough Express* followed with three references each. Although the dominant reporting in *Hawkes Bay Today* was on economic benefits, RSE cap was mentioned in articles on the number of workers needed clocking in at 9,500 workers at peak season. Although the 2010-11 season had less reporting on the RSE cap, *Hawkes Bay Today* and *Nelson Mail* continued to feature the RSE cap in some of their articles, with three references each. Some *Hawkes Bay Today* articles referred to the number of RSE workers – up to 8,000 workers a year from Pacific countries, with nearly three-quarters coming from Vanuatu and Tonga. An article published by the *Hawkes Bay Today* on 7 December 2010 claims an estimated 11,000 people were required for the Hawkes Bay harvest. New Zealanders made up nearly 70% of those numbers, with the balance made up of overseas travellers and RSE workers from Vanuatu, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Samoa, Kiribati, Thailand, Indonesia and the Philippines. *Nelson Mail* continued to focus its reporting on New Zealand unemployment, rather than the number of approved positions under the RSE scheme. Some articles also stated the breakdown of RSE positions approved for the Nelson region for each month.

The 2011-12 seasons saw *Hawkes Bay Today* reporting highly on the RSE cap. The *Nelson Mail* follows, although the majority of their reporting was on RSE praise. *Hawkes Bay Today* articles focused on the number of RSE workers required for peak season. With the majority of employees in the Hawkes Bay region comprised of RSE workers, this is understandable and the articles justified the number of RSE workers making up the total labour force in the region. Articles also suggested that less RSE workers arrived in New Zealand than the number of positions approved, due to reasons such as weather conditions and local workforce availability. *Nelson Mail* had similar reporting on the number of RSE workers required for harvesting. Some articles reported on delayed hiring because a late flowering meant the season was running about a week behind normal, but that they would still require 4,500 to 5,000 people at the height of the harvest. An article published by the *Nelson Mail* on 7 February 2012 claims that 22 local employers had signed up to RSE scheme, one more than the previous season. The article also suggested that 5% of the workforce came from previously unemployed people referred to the employers by Work and Income.

There were few articles by the *Bay of Plenty Times* and *The Southland Times* about the RSE cap as a theme. Some articles by these newspapers reported on opportunities opened to Pacific Island workers to gain access to New Zealand's labour market. Being part of the RSE scheme provided these workers an opportunity to earn a larger income than they could at home, and also be part of the overall RSE cohort to gain new skills they could take back with them. However, reporting also covered the concern that temporary migration could affect the local labour market because of more RSE leaving fewer jobs available for local New Zealanders.

The *Nelson Mail* had the most reporting on this theme with 18 mentions throughout the five-year period, followed by *Hawkes Bay Today* with 15 mentions, *Marlborough Express* with 8, *Bay of Plenty Times* with 6, and *The Southland Times* with the least reporting on the RSE cap with 5 mentions. Most of the reporting was about the number of RSE positions approved for their region, availability of local workers and unemployment figures. The RSE cap was not as dominant in the early years of the scheme when compared to other themes. The 2009-10 and 2010-11 seasons reported the highest on this theme, as a result of high unemployment. Most articles concentrated on unemployment, the number of positions approved under the RSE and the number of RSE workers arriving in each region. Regardless of the unemployment issue, most industry representatives praised the work and contribution by the RSE workers, which complemented other themes such as economic benefits and RSE praise.

The theme and media coverage: Pacific migrant workers

There is a long history of Pacific labour migration and participation in other schemes has had a major impact on the way the New Zealand's government has approached engagement with its Pacific neighbours (Bedford, 2013). The literature supports the view that the post war growth of New Zealand's economy and the associated shortages of labour meant many in the Pacific left their homelands to work in New Zealand. A common thread that is woven through the literature is how Pacific workers filled low skilled jobs in factories, construction and manufacturing. The need for offshore labour and the rising demand for 'cheap' labour in these industries were in high demand. Spoonley and Bedford (2012) claim that in the 1945 New Zealand census, there were 2,159 people of Pacific Island Polynesian ethnicity in New Zealand and the population expanded significantly, reaching almost 29,000 by 1966 and that in 1986 it was estimated around 130,000, and that number doubled in 2006 by 266,000 (p. 123).

There are two main New Zealand Immigration schemes for Pacific people, the Samoan Quota (SQ) and the Pacific Access Category (PAC). The SQ started in 1970 and selects up to 1,100 Samoan citizens and their families, by a national ballot, to be granted residence and settle in New Zealand every year. The PAC, established in 2003, allows for up to 75 people from Kiribati, 75 from Tuvalu, 250 Fijian

citizens, and 250 Tongan citizens and their families each year to be granted residence in New Zealand (Tanielu & Johnson, 2014). Both schemes include employment, health and good character requirements. From the growing body of international literature on temporary work, the number of temporary foreign workers entering New Zealand annually overtook the number of permanent residents admitted annually under the SQ and the PAC schemes.

In the four seasons of the RSE scheme from 2007-2011, 24,614 seasonal workers have arrived in New Zealand to participate (Department of Labour, 2012). The report indicates that 13,895 workers were returning from previous seasons. The number of workers brought over under the RSE scheme varies according to the availability of jobs. RSE workers are on short-term visits, so do not have the time to settle effectively in the area they move to. Many of these areas do not have major or established Pacific resident populations. This compares to Pacific people gaining residence through the SQ and PAC schemes, who are now experiencing Kiwi life and are actively involved in community settlement support for RSE workers (Tanielu & Johnson, 2014).

The theme and media coverage: migrant workers in other countries

The narratives associated with Canada's foreign workers relates to the New Zealand RSE scheme.

Canada's SAWP started in 1966 originally bringing workers from Jamaica and was soon expanded to include labour-power drawn from other Caribbean countries and Mexico (Bauder, 2008). The numbers of foreign workers coming to Canada has grown continuously since then. Bauder and Corbin (2002) claim that in 1998 Canada's farming operations recruited 5,233 workers from Mexico and 6,937 from the Caribbean. In 2002, the programme brought 19,000 workers to Canada for an average of 4 months employment (Maclellan & Mares, 2005). Basok (2002) argues that the majority of seasonal workers coming to Canada were predominantly married men from poor households with little education who saw the program as a way of supporting their extended families. Basok also states that Mexican workers used the program to secure an income, whilst Caribbean workers saw the program as a golden opportunity for overseas work and gaining life skills and experiences (p. 137-138).

The New Zealand RSE numbers have also grown as the scheme matured, with the cap shifting four times from 5,000 with its inception in 2007 to 10,500 in 2016. It has grown rapidly from 5,000 visas made available to Pacific Island workers in the first season of the RSE scheme (2007-08), 126 employers employed 2,883 overseas workers when the scheme began in 2007 and by June 2008, the numbers had grown to 5,079, with the numbers increasing to approximately 8,000 by 2009 (Ball, 2010). The average length of employment ranged from five to six months, with a minority of workers staying

for seven or more months (International Labour Organisation, 2012). The majority of workers were from rural villages. A significant proportion of workers returned to New Zealand the following seasons to work for the same employer. The most common reason for involvement in the RSE is supporting families at home as three months' work in New Zealand paid triple what they could earn for a year's work back in their home country. An article published in the *Hawkes Bay Today* on 3 February 2011 illustrates this, citing a Vanuatu worker working in New Zealand for one season earning the equivalent of three years' wages back in Vanuatu. Similar stories from the workers quoted in other articles talk about differences in earnings in their home countries compared to working under the New Zealand RSE scheme.

Most seasonal workers are male. Smart's (1997) study found that many of the workers in Calgary, Canada who came from Mexico City were married men in their 30s with children. There was very little female participation in the seasonal worker programme, with low numbers being attributed to both social and cultural reasons. Officially, both men and women are welcome in the programme, as long as they are at least 18 if married or 24 if not.

Gibson and McKenzie (2011) argue it's not just the cap that influences the number of overseas seasonal workers but factors such as environmental effects like pests and natural disasters which affect crops, global economic conditions or a lack of flexibility in the regulations under which growers can recruit workers. Australia's PSWPS is very similar to the New Zealand RSE scheme. Seasonal agricultural work is based largely in remote locations, described as hot, hard and dirty, often poorly paid and of low social status (Ball, 2010). These conditions are generally unattractive to Australians, particularly as workers are paid on a temporary, casual basis.

The political intentions of the Australian government to engage and assist Pacific countries are similar to New Zealand's. However, the seasonal workers scheme operation is not as straight forward. The Australian PSWPS quota of 2,500 visas over three years from November 2008, when the scheme launched, is relatively small compared to both the RSE quota of 5,000 (later increased to 8,000 in 2008), and 24,000 in Canada's SAWP (Gibson & McKenzie, 2011). Both the Australian and New Zealand schemes will only bring in Pacific workers when growers and farmers demonstrate to the government, they have tested the local labour market and have taken reasonable steps to recruit locals before looking overseas.

Summary

In the first season of RSE, Maclellan (2008) claims that over 20% of workers came from South-East Asia rather than the Pacific in the first year of the RSE program, even though the New Zealand

government had stated a preference for recruiting Pacific peoples. The relatively low target for the Pacific was in recognition of many New Zealand growers already having pre-established relationships with seasonal workers from countries outside of the Pacific (Bedford & Bedford, 2011). The cap then increased from 5,000 to 8,000 in October 2008. The RSE cap as a theme was visible in media coverage in the early seasons of the RSE scheme. The *Nelson Mail* and *Hawkes Bay Today* featured this theme dominantly in their reporting throughout the five-year period while *Bay of Plenty Times*, *Marlborough Express* and *The Southland Times* did not report that highly on it in their coverage. The RSE cap was the dominant theme in the *Hawkes Bay Today* in the 2011-12 season. With employers demanding a workforce that was reliable, dependable and always readily available, RSE foreign workers had a cap on their numbers for each employer and for each region. Most articles published focused on the numbers of RSE workers required for each season and how the RSE numbers stacked up with the local unemployment rate.

The RSE cap as a theme had steady reporting coverage in all regional newspapers with regards to the overall numbers of RSE workers permitted to be in New Zealand for each season and the numbers recruited for each particular region. The numbers of RSE workers employed was always contesting with the numbers of local workers available to ensure that New Zealand workers were not displaced by overseas labour.

6.2.9 Theme 9: RSE incidents

The RSE policy requires RSE employers to be responsible for their workers' wellbeing while they are in New Zealand (Department of Labour, 2009) and places significant emphasis on minimising risk, particularly incidents and overstaying. Incidents involving RSE workers can be a major blow to the integrity of the RSE schemes. Incidents can include worker health medical care, pastoral care, overstaying, destruction of property, alcohol abuse, and vehicular accidents. Language barriers and different cultural understandings are considered the cause of some of these incidents. The impact of incidents can be exacerbated by the media, further harming the integrity of the scheme and damaging the reputation of the sending countries. This can promote a backlash that could end opportunities to send seasonal workers from a particular village. "Government officials are lobbying local islander communities in New Zealand to help enforce the rules and have supported the rapid return of workers who breach visa conditions. The RSE scheme places financial obligations on employers to cover the costs for repatriating workers if they overstay their visa" (Maclellan, 2008, p. 5). Maclellan (2008) argue that cases of workers sent home for drinking off-orchard or other offences, raises serious questions about the fundamental rights and autonomy of Pacific seasonal workers. This theme looks at the extent of regional media reporting on themes relating to these kinds of incidents.

The theme over time

In the first season of the RSE scheme 2007-08, there were no RSE incidents reported in the five newspapers, although Maclellan (2008) argues that there were a number of areas where a lack of engagement with unions, the community sector and Pacific diaspora communities led to significant problems. “The first year of RSE program has highlighted the need for increased effort on welfare services and “pastoral care” for seasonal workers, and also the potential for linking seasonal work programs to broader development assistance, to maximise the outcomes of increased remittance flows into Pacific villages and rural communities” (p. 2). The Department of Labour evaluation report (2010) asserts that in the first season of the RSE scheme, the level of media scrutiny the policy was subjected to provided further complication to the scheme with few instances of ‘failure’ that generated negative publicity. Some local communities in New Zealand including industry lobbyists and employers were vocal in their lack of support for aspects of the policy. Claims made by Pacific Island churches and community groups of worker exploitation were also aired in the media. However, none of these claims were featured in any of the newspaper coverage in the first RSE season.

RSE incidents started appearing in the second season 2008-09, with *The Southland Times* having the most coverage followed by *Hawkes Bay Today*. There was no reporting on this theme in other newspapers. Although RSE incidents were the lowest recorded theme in its coverage, the majority of articles revolving around this theme were published by *The Southland Times*. This included an incident involving a Vanuatu RSE worker being charged with drink driving following a fatal crash in which a New Zealand citizen died. There was also coverage of this theme in the *Hawkes Bay Today* about an RSE female worker from Samoa who abandoned her baby on the plane after she gave birth enroute to New Zealand.

In the third season 2009-10, *Marlborough Express* reported most on this theme, with some coverage in *Nelson Mail*. Other newspapers had no reporting on this theme. *Marlborough Express* reporting included an Austrian RSE worker being deported from New Zealand, and articles about a crash involving nine RSE workers for which a Vanuatu RSE worker was charged with careless driving causing injury. Another article was published about a Blenheim vineyard contractor who underpaid six RSE workers, had to provide back pay to them and pay a fine for worker exploitation. *The Nelson Mail* had coverage of an RSE employer in Motueka and allegations of mistreating RSE workers by providing overcrowded and overpriced accommodation. The articles focused on this theme are centred in the Nelson-Marlborough region in the South Island, with no incidents reported involving RSE workers in the North Island.

The fourth season 2010-11 was quieter in all regions except for some coverage in the *Marlborough Express*. This was an article about RSE Kiribati workers paying tribute to the memory of a Kiribati worker who died in his sleep while in New Zealand on RSE work. The incident sparked further articles about Pacific people dying younger compared to New Zealanders and other ethnicities because of leading less healthy lifestyles. Although the follow up articles did not target RSE workers directly, the focus was on Pacific people in New Zealand and their health needs, with claims that more should be done for Pacific people to improve their access to healthcare. This theme was the lowest recorded for this season when compared to themes like RSE praise and New Zealanders First, which dominated the reporting in all four newspapers with the exception of *The Southland Times* where no articles were found on RSE at all.

In the fifth season 2011-12, *Marlborough Express* again dominated the coverage of this theme and was the only newspaper to report on RSE incidents. There was no mention of this theme in the other newspapers. An article in the *Marlborough Express* involved a Kiwi woman who set up a sex trap, resulting in the aggravated robbery and assault of two Pacific Island RSE workers. Another article discussed workers being fined for freedom camping and an RSE employer's effort to organise more accommodation for their workers. The RSE employer ensured that their pastoral care obligations were fulfilled and those workers were cared for, including having a place to stay.

The theme in different newspapers

The theme of RSE incidents features sporadically in the five newspapers' coverage from 2007-2012. The *Bay of Plenty Times* had no articles involving this theme in the five-year period. The *Hawkes Bay Today* only featured this theme in the second season 2008-09, with an article about a pregnant RSE worker from Samoa who allegedly abandoned her baby in a plane's bathroom after she gave birth enroute to New Zealand. This incident also sparked national coverage. The RSE worker concerned was reportedly to be based in the Bay of Plenty for kiwifruit harvesting and yet there were no references in the *Bay of Plenty Times* about this incident within the studied period of November to March in any calendar year.

The *Nelson Mail* on the other hand featured the RSE incidents theme dominantly in their reporting in the third season 2009-10. Articles described allegations of mistreatment of Pacific Island RSE workers at Birdhurst orchard in Motueka. Although one article was not specific about the allegations, Golden Bay Fruits managing director, Heath Wilkins, was reported to have said that anyone can make allegations or complaints as they see fit but there needed to be proof to back it up. Mr Wilkins further stated that his company had nothing to hide. The article stated that the Department of Labour was investigating the allegations. It also made reference to the then Immigration Manager Jonathan

Coleman's visit to two main Tasman orchards following the release of the Department of Labour's two-year evaluation report and to some RSE issues still needing to be ironed out, such as accommodation quality and cost, overcrowding, and dispute resolution. There was a follow up article in which RSE employer Birdhurst Orchard rejected claims that their RSE workers' accommodation was overcrowded and overpriced. The article quoted a New Zealand resident living in Motueka as saying that the accusations were somewhat true and that Pacific Island workers should be treated fairly.

There were no articles about the RSE incidents theme in the *Marlborough Express* articles in the first two seasons. They reported on the theme in the 2009-2010 and 2011-2012 seasons. Most articles were about car crashes involving RSE workers and RSE workers appearing in court as a result of vehicle incidents. For instance, an article published by the *Nelson Mail* on 22 February 2010, reported on nine vineyard workers travelling in a van which collided with another vehicle. A follow up article published on 23 February 2010, reported that most of the RSE workers had been discharged from the hospital but two still remained in hospital in a stable condition. Another article published on 17 March 2010 by *Marlborough Express*, reported that the RSE worker from Vanuatu who was driving the van appeared in court charged with careless driving causing injury. An article published on 24 March 2010 by *Marlborough Express* featured an RSE employer exploiting workers in Blenheim by underpaying them. The employer was charged with failing to keep accurate records of workers' time and wages, failing to pay employee entitlements, and failing to provide written employment agreements and was ordered by the Court to provide back pay to the workers. None of the RSE workers concerned was quoted in the article.

In the following season 2010-11, only *Marlborough Express* published an article focusing on this theme, about Kiribati RSE workers paying tribute to the memory of one of their workmates who died in his sleep while in New Zealand and highlighted the powerful performance by the Kiribati workers in dedication to the dead worker's memory. The employer said that the worker's death was very hard for the Kiribati RSE workers. Department of Labour RSE National Manager Emily Fabling was quoted in the article, saying that the Department of Labour was collaborating with the Government of Kiribati to support the worker's family and were making arrangements for his body to be flown home. A second article on 10 March 2011 discussed the state of the health of Pacific people in New Zealand. It included statistics about Pacific people's health that showed they are more likely to die younger and are less healthy than other New Zealanders. Many Pacific New Zealanders are prone to cardiovascular disease, deaths from strokes, and have three times higher diabetes and cancer rates than other New Zealanders. Also, Pacific men have high rates of lung cancer and primary liver cancer, with Pacific women having high rates of breast and cervical cancer. Pacific children are hospitalised for acute and chronic respiratory and infectious diseases in higher rates than any other ethnic group in New Zealand. Although

these statistics do not relate directly to the RSE workers, a parallel comparison to RSE workers from the Pacific Islands and Pacific people living in New Zealand still constitute a damaging portrayal when compared to other ethnic groups in New Zealand.

The *Marlborough Express* also published two articles on the RSE incidents theme in the fifth year of the RSE scheme 2011-12. One article, published on 15 February 2012, concerned a Blenheim woman who assaulted two Pacific RSE workers after luring them into a car with the promise of sex. The woman was charged and sentenced to two years and two months in jail and made to write a letter of apology to the RSE workers. Neither of the RSE workers was quoted in the article. The other article, published on 13 February 2012, concerned workers who were fined for freedom camping. Although Pacific RSE workers were not explicitly mentioned, it suggested the workers were employed by an RSE employer in Blenheim. Vincon Limited director Ram Kumara was quoted in the article, saying their company had organised accommodation for their seasonal workers. Mr Kumara reassured the public in the article that their company was accredited under the RSE scheme. However, a representative from the Blenheim Council was also quoted in the article, saying that around the Blenheim area it was mainly seasonal workers who camped briefly and then moved on to another spot and that it was becoming an issue as it occurred in four or five places. Council staff reminded RSE employers of their obligation to their workers and encouraged them to abide by RSE rules and regulations.

The Southland Times only published articles featuring RSE incidents as a theme in the second season 2008-09. One article was about charges laid against an RSE worker from Vanuatu following in a fatal crash where a New Zealand oral surgeon lost their life. The RSE worker was driving without a driver licence. The article also reported on a different RSE worker from Vanuatu who faced a separate charge of dangerous driving after a woman reported a near miss before the fatal crash. A follow up article about the incident was published, detailing the incident and quoted the RSE employer of both workers saying that they had a no drinking policy and discouraged the consumption of alcohol but they could not prevent grown men doing what they do.

This RSE theme was more prevalent on the South Island. The most surprising finding was that no RSE incident was reported by the regional media in the first season of the RSE scheme. Despite reports of incidents occurring in the first season, they were never published in any regional newspaper in the seasons examined during the study period.

The theme and media coverage: Pacific migrant workers

The intentions behind the RSE scheme do not negate the fact that when workers are in a foreign land, incidents happen. A critical understanding of incidents involving RSE workers comes with the

knowledge that depiction of some of these incidents do not tell the full story. Hao'uli argues that the RSE scheme does frame its seemingly development-focused activities in terms of industry or employer interests. Hao'uli elaborated on an incident which occurred in May 2011 whereby an RSE Pacific worker in the Kiwifruit sector in the Bay of Plenty was diagnosed with typhoid. Up to 100,000 trays (or approximately NZ\$800,000 worth) of kiwifruit that may have been associated with the worker and his picking gang, were voluntarily withdrawn from sale. The "typhoid incident" showed that swift and decisive action ensured the tracing and destruction of \$800,000 worth of fruit and the reputation of the sector was preserved. Hao'uli's argument was that reporting on health-related incidents was generally focused primarily on issues relating to workers' health, but typically that the "typhoid incident" was described only in terms of its impact on the worker's employer and its potential effects on industry. No mention was made of the welfare of the worker and his picking gang (p. 210). The analysis of case studies in the next section will continue to explore RSE incidents from a critical perspective, to raise some issues that appear to have been overlooked in the regional newspapers but have sparked national debate concerning some of the issues involving RSE workers. It is suggested that exploration of these issues using case studies in each financial year is a necessary step towards comparing national and regional newspaper agendas and how these issues paint a discursive picture of Pacific peoples in New Zealand.

There was little information about incidents involving temporary workers in the historical literature. This is probably because during the 60s and 70s the media concentrated on overstaying and negative stereotypes of Pacific peoples as a threat to society, as discussed in detail elsewhere in this thesis.

The theme and media coverage: migrant workers in other countries

Seasonal labour schemes are often promoted as having the potential to achieve multiple goals. Almost all Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries have temporary worker migration programs, however, such programs remain controversial (Gibson & McKenzie, 2011).

This is particularly true of programs geared to low-skilled migrants, such as seasonal migration programs, as witnessed by the policy debate in the United States over a new guest worker program and continued debate in Western Europe about the role of seasonal workers. Some critics of such programs raise concerns that workers will overstay and/or compete down the wages of native poorer worker, while others raise concerns about the possible exploitation of workers and whether workers can earn enough to make it worthwhile if the duration of work is short (p. 2).

MacDermott and Opeskin (2010) argue that the potential for exploitation of workers engaged under temporary or guest worker schemes has been a concern internationally for many decades. “Proponents of seasonal worker schemes have acknowledged that they often involve compromises in which individual rights of workers are traded away for greater access to employment opportunities in developed countries” (p. 283). Bedford, Bedford, Wall and Young (2017) argue that many problems associated with temporary labour migration schemes are due to poor governance; they are not intrinsic features of this form of migration. “Temporary labour migration programmes can be successful if they are carefully managed and monitored and if there is effective cooperation between sending and receiving countries” (p. 39).

The potential for worker exploitation has been one of the principal objections to seasonal worker schemes for some time (MacDermott & Opeskin, 2010). “The lack of social and cultural support networks for temporary workers, the absence of long-term job security and the prospect of being sent home arbitrarily all operate to place temporary workers in a vulnerable position” (p. 301). “...Because the workers live on the farms, contact with the local population tends to be limited to occasional and impersonal encounters in grocery stores, banks and pubs” (Bauder, 2008, p. 105). Bauder pointed out an example of media voices that were sympathetic to the workers’ struggle, as exemplified in the publication of quotes by anonymous migrant workers in Canada’s SAWP:

‘What I’ve realized here in Canada is that employers don’t hire us as human beings. They think we’re animals (...) The first threat that they always make is that if you don’t like it, you can go back to Mexico.’

‘Growers don’t care whether you’re injured or not, they only care when you’re healthy... If you don’t work faster, you’ll be sent back to Mexico’ (p. 107).

Through these narratives, it is suggested that foreign workers are more vulnerable and exploitable, are treated in ways not permitted by Canadian labour standards, and if they speak up, they can be threatened with deportation. The latter are portrayed by the press but Bauder further argues that foreign workers were also portrayed as a social problem and potential criminals but that employing them is depicted as a means of providing assistance to poor families in the global south (p. 101).

The presence of Pacific seasonal workers in the New Zealand community was widely publicised and praised by the New Zealand media. This depiction shifted in the event of an RSE worker being involved in an incident, especially if a New Zealand citizen was affected. The depiction suddenly became de-humanising and workers were objectified as a problem. This led to a shift in focus to issues like the number of RSE workers employed compared to local Kiwis, rather than focusing on the incident and consequences for the parties involved.

Most reporting identified the country of origin of the worker and the fact that they are a seasonal worker; there were no further suggestions of racial undertones in the articles. If an RSE worker featured in an article not relating to an RSE incident, they were predominantly portrayed by the media in a positive light. This is a complete contrast with seasonal workers in the Canadian SAWP, as noted by Basok (2002) who quoted two Mexican migrant workers in Ontario as follows, "... many people who look down on us, don't think we are worth anything ... People ... think all Mexicans are drunks." and "...Here we go... and they stare at us to make sure we won't steal ... they all stare at us with fear. There are some pubs where we are not allowed." Smart (1997) claims that seasonal workers were frequently accused of theft, although arguably they have minimal contact with the local community. This was not the case with New Zealand newspaper coverage, which reflected and often shaped the positive representation of Pacific RSE workers in local communities. Due to the largely positive media portrayal of RSE workers in regional communities, by way of comparison I chose to analyse portrayal of RSE workers in the *New Zealand Herald*, a national newspaper, using case studies to compare wider possible discourses with the regional reporting. This is further explored in the following sections.

Summary

RSE incident reporting in the five newspapers from 2007 to 2012 is rather sporadic over time and between regions. There were no reported incidents in the first season of the scheme in 2007-08. The second season 2008-09 saw *The Southland Times* with the highest count of reporting on this theme, followed by the *Hawkes Bay Today*. The third season 2009-10 had *Marlborough Express* reporting predominantly on this theme, followed by the *Nelson Mail*. The fourth season 2010-11 had very few reporting on this theme, with only the *Marlborough Express* featuring RSE incidents in their articles. The fifth season 2011-12 was again dominated by the *Marlborough Express*, with it being the only newspaper continuing to report on this theme. The *Bay of Plenty Times* did not have this theme featuring in any of their articles during the five-year period. Although the other four regional newspapers vary in their reporting levels on this theme, the predominant reporting was focused on vehicle accidents involving RSE workers. The issue of exploitation also did not feature as a cause for concern in regional articles.

Although incidents involving RSE workers made it to media, the level of reporting and its consequences on the integrity of the RSE scheme was very low. Comparing that to the depiction of Pacific people living in New Zealand from the 1970s to date, literature painted a harsh picture of Pacific New Zealanders, and especially in the areas of health and education, as argued by Loto et al. (2006), and further suggested that Pacific people were predominantly portrayed as unmotivated, unhealthy and

criminal others who were overly dependent on *palagi* support. However, the Pacific RSE workers on the other hand only feature negatively in the media if there is an incident involving them.

6.3 Case Analysis

The following case studies provide a few examples of the rich and often complex debate over the representation of Pacific seasonal workers in media outside the studied regions and seasons. While the selection of case studies below was purposive, it shows overwhelming cases that sparked national interest and debate. At the centre of the selection and discussion is the question of why there was little or no coverage of these issues in regional newspapers. The case studies are provided to show other possible discourses that are missing in the regional news. Central to this question of coverage lies the most pressing concern – whose voices are represented in these articles and why did regional newspapers fail to publish some of the articles that made national headlines and stirred public opinion in the *NZ Herald*. The cases are not providing to show anything generalisable about the reporting of RSE workers. They are being deliberately selected to illustrate just one example of how non-regional media had a wider discursive spread than the regional media.

The conceptual contribution of this research is to critically consider the overall kinds of themes print media representations of RSE Pacific seasonal workers presented and whether or not the regional media discourse on Pacific seasonal workers differed from other possible media discourse about the RSE scheme. In the previous section, I provided some comparison between the regional news discourse and international research and media discourse, so as to highlight what is potentially ‘missing’ from the regional New Zealand media coverage. In this section, I extend that process of comparison to illuminate ‘what is missing’ by looking at several case study stories that occurred in national media outside the regions and seasons studied in the primary data pool.

It is important to examine the experiences of temporary workers from the Pacific Islands and how the media has portrayed them with respect to temporary labour migration for agricultural work. This consideration informs a more thorough analysis of the patterns of media reporting and the depiction of perceptions about Pacific workers. Having used the *NZ Herald* articles from each calendar year that stirred public opinion over the RSE scheme as case studies is enough to warrant confidence in this research validity. For instance, the *NZ Herald*'s broader ways of talking cannot prove, but can suggest, the likelihood that the regional discourse was narrower because of the specific factors for small community media identified in the literature review. Issues such as not wanting to offend sources who are also immediate community members may not apply to the *NZ Herald*, from which the case studies came. Combining the print media analysis with case studies analysis further examines the kinds of themes which emerged from media articles on the representation of Pacific seasonal workers.

To further articulate the findings of this research, case studies are used to compare and contrast national media reporting with regional coverage, with articles published by the *NZ Herald* offering new insights on themes that have not been adopted in regional reporting. Rowley (2002) argues that the use of case studies has often been viewed as a useful tool for the preliminary, exploratory stage of a research project, and as a basis for the development of the 'more structured' tools that are necessary in surveys and experiments (p. 16). This is however fitting for this research as the number of regional articles in the constructed sampling of the calendar years 2007 to 2012 signifies a particular theme for a particular period in each region, but it does not capture a dominant theme that occurs nationwide outside the regional media but still within the specified timeframe of November to March when most RSE workers are in New Zealand. The application of case studies is useful in providing answers to research questions on themes and discourses in structured print media representations of RSE Pacific seasonal workers and whether or not the regional media discourse on Pacific seasonal workers appears to align with popular stories samples from national media, or not. Case study analysis can be used for exploratory, descriptive and explanatory analysis of themes. Although Rowley (2002) claims that the most challenging aspect of using case study in research is to lift the investigation from a descriptive account of 'what happens' to a piece of research that can lay claim to being a worthwhile, if modest addition to knowledge, I argue that case studies are another approach that support and accentuate a thematic research method for a deeper, more detailed analysis to illuminate how and why questions.

Against the background of themes which emerged from the five regional newspapers in regions that constitute a high number of RSE workers, I added another approach, using the *NZ Herald* for national coverage to illustrate some themes that were not captured in the regional media. The case studies were drawn from within the same studied period, November to March in each calendar year, to assess the issues that sparked national coverage but have little or no coverage in regional newspapers. As illustrated in Chapter 4, Section 4.5.3, the combination of news content analysis and the case studies selected for each calendar year better illustrate the interaction between the texts using the thematic analysis approach and my interpretive approach as a researcher to assess what each selected article represents, to help answer the research questions. In this research, the most prominent RSE-related articles that sparked public interest for each calendar year published by the *NZ Herald* (see Table 5.10).

Comparing the review of regional newspaper articles from 2007 to 2012 with the case study analysis, these articles examine other themes that are barely or not at all featured in regional newspapers. By using them as case studies to illustrate other themes in the context of national news coverage and the racialised discursive aspects of whiteness, I hope to create a future research agenda focused on making such a discourse visible. All of the case studies challenge how 'whiteness' functions as a socially and economically constructed state of privilege. By evaluating, coding and drawing attention to these news

items that spark national debate, I compare and contrast the patterns of media reporting with the regional media to assess their influence and to challenge the dominant voice of reporting.

6.3.1 CASE STUDY 1: Lured by broken promise

The first case study article is about a Tongan worker, Saia ‘Aholelei who came to New Zealand under the RSE scheme as a way to support his wife and two children aged 6 and 11. He viewed the scheme to be delivering a source of jobs for people in the Pacific Islands who struggled to find local employment. The RSE scheme is deemed to be a golden opportunity to make a difference to the lives of families and communities and that RSE workers earnings will enable families to build new houses and raise their living standards, delivering wider benefits to those who are part of the scheme. However, there is a dark side to the RSE scheme’s greater potential. This case explores how Saia struggled to cope with living conditions, pay deductions and barriers involving income generation and prospects of the RSE scheme for workers such as himself, who risked taking time away from family to be exploited in a scheme that promised to enable families to build new houses and to be able to afford children’s educational fees, and for communities to establish important services such as water and electricity. Saia is quoted in the article;

“They had the use of the camp kitchen, but “there were too many people there”, so the camp put up a tarpaulin outside their cabin and they cooked their food there.”

“Where I live in Tonga is way better. My kids don’t sleep together with the pots and the dirty clothes.”

Being paid a minimum wage of \$11.25 an hour, and the employer imposing deductions for rent, repayment towards the airfare and health insurance, left Saia with about \$100 to \$200 a week in the hand to buy food, clothing and to support his family back in the islands. As a result, Saia reached out to his family in New Zealand for support. He had to borrow from his sister in Auckland to eat. He pulled out of the saving scheme and in January he quit his job. The unforeseen deductions have led workers like Saia to quit and as a result, his work permit was revoked by Immigration New Zealand and he had to leave New Zealand straight away. Saia appealed his case through a lawyer in New Zealand to allow him to stay in New Zealand until his original seven months were served.

“I didn’t plan to stay in New Zealand,” Saia says. “I’m just staying to get justice.”

A local resident and a New Zealand national Steve MacManus expressed exasperation about the way fruit growers and winemakers have spread misinformation in most of the rural districts about the lack of local people to harvest the wines when the fruit matures.

“They know there is going to be a shortage of labour, so why do they keep doing it.”

“Not only is there an absolute shortfall of local workers in places like Marlborough and Kerikeri, but there are also simply not enough houses to accommodate a seasonal influx of

5000 people in such places. So, for New Zealanders as well as migrants, seasonal work often means staying in cramped conditions, sometimes in tents. ”

“We’ve heard of 15 to 20 people in a house. That’s overcrowding with one toilet.”

Saia’s case is not isolated. The article reported two groups of about 20 Tongan workers who returned to the islands before the completion of their contracts because the workers were unhappy with the living and employment conditions.

“The cost of medical insurance is scandalous and although the migrants are covered by accident compensation, there has been at least one case where an employer failed to report an accident where a man fell off the ladder.”

“The manager said, you’ll be okay overnight, but overnight his leg swelled up and the workers had to arrange medical care for him, not the employer. He was never given ACC.”

With some of the workers’ early departures to the islands, they should have received tax rebates upon departure but some left without getting them. When these issues surfaced, an employer would normally look for a scapegoat. In this instance, Sefita Hao’uli a local Tongan government representative responsible for the Tongan RSE workers’ pastoral care defended himself by attributing the workers’ early departure to them being unproductive.

“When they came here they asked for a pay increase which the company said they couldn’t meet. They were getting \$45 a bin. They wanted \$70. In spite of several meetings with them, they said no, they would rather go home.”

“The five workers’ cabins that upset Saia ‘Aholelei were actually designed for six people, and that the camp bent over backwards to accommodate the Tongans’ cultural needs with the outside cooking area, even though there was room for them in the camp kitchen. They said they were embarrassed to cook their food in front of people who cook in a different way.”

“The rent of \$100 week each includes free transport to work, and the savings scheme is not compulsory but is designed to make sure the men bring money back to Tonga.”

“We know that some of the heaviest smokers would smoke more than they would normally pay in rent. We think if they were encouraged to put the \$100 aside as savings, rather than look upon it as their smoking ration, life might change for their health as well as their savings.”

The issue about the tax rebates was raised as a matter of further dialogue between the Labour Department and Inland Revenue, suggesting a special tax rate for RSE workers.

The *New Zealand Herald* story highlights a number of critical perspectives on the RSE scheme and raises numerous issues. However, Saia’s story never made it to the regional newspaper in the region where he was employed. The regional media failed to report on employers providing overpriced and overcrowded shared accommodation. There were some stories of RSE workers complaining about their

living conditions, and employment and accommodation, but these were overshadowed by the themes of labour shortage and RSE policy by the regional newspapers in the early years of the scheme (2007-08). Exploitation of RSE workers was not an apparent theme in the regional reporting in the first two years of the scheme. Although the literature suggests otherwise, media coverage has generally been represented about employers struggling to find local New Zealanders to take on seasonal labour jobs at times of shortage and that the RSE policy was a saviour to the horticulture and viticulture industry by way of providing Pacific Island workers to ease labour shortages. With regional media concentrated on seasonal labour shortage being declared in their regions, there were no articles on workers' exploitation or about the RSE scheme not being as efficient as promised. The *NZ Herald* article highlights that other media approaches were possible, raising the question for future research as to why the regional media discourse was more limited and positive.

Discussion

First of all, the headline is designed to catch a reader's attention, in this case '*Lured by broken promise*' summarises what the article is about and information contained in the rest of the article. This headline is somewhat different from the headlines produced by the regional newspapers used to describe the RSE scheme in its early years. For instance, the *Bay of Plenty Times* published the headline 'Tonga key to recruitment', around the same time *NZ Herald* published its story which signals a different discourse in depiction of the RSE scheme relating to Tonga.

The emphasis on a worker's welfare has been strongly emphasised in this article which aligns more closely with some of the critical discourse from scholars and researchers that was missing from the regional media coverage. For example, Maclellan (2008) had argued that government officials are putting the best face on the RSE scheme but there are a number of areas where a lack of engagement with unions, the community sector and Pacific diaspora communities had led to significant problems. Maclellan suggest that the first year of the RSE scheme has highlighted the need for increased effort on welfare services and "pastoral care" for seasonal workers, and also the potential for linking seasonal work programs to broader development assistance, to maximise the outcomes of increased remittance flows into Pacific villages and rural communities.

Regional newspaper coverage of the first year of the RSE scheme was heavily weighted towards labour shortage and the RSE policy. This *NZ Herald* article highlighted an alternative discourse of pastoral care from a worker's perspective incorporating other voices in the mix such as union representatives and representatives in the Care sector to draw comparison to migrant workers who are paid at minimum wage and bonded to their employers. The article unpacks precarious low union coverage, limited regulation and a highly casualised, mobile workforce in minimum wage. In Saia's case, he was sent

home because he was not working according to his visa although no dispensation was made for him and he argued that the system was stacked against him contesting his employment, but the difference between the case study article and the regional discourse is that a worker's voice was quoted, and supplemented by other voices, all questioning whether the scheme had mechanisms to ensure workers' interests were sufficiently protected. While the regional media represented the scheme as a good thing and that these foreign workers were welcomed into their local communities, the *NZ Herald* painted a different picture of how Pacific workers, and in this case Tongan workers, were underpaid, lacked pastoral care support and were vulnerable in a foreign environment. The impact of quotes from RSE workers in this article painted a different social construction of discourse and underlying prevalent assumptions about the experiences of Pacific Island workers coming to New Zealand under the RSE scheme. We cannot know whether regional discourse is limited because of the kinds of factors indicated in the literature review ('cheer leading boosterism' in small communities) but the existence of more critical media discourse beyond the small community media does suggest that the regional media were both more positive and more limited in their breadth of discursive content.

Regional newspapers could have looked more at the regulation and licensing of recruitment agents as a central feature of ongoing monitoring of the RSE scheme and workers' rights. With a high number of regional articles in favour of the scheme and quoting sources from the employers' perspective, I argue these articles missed an opportunity to discuss Saia's case and, consequently, all the critical issues it raised for debate.

This discourse in the case study article aligns with research, such as Maclellan's (2008) argument that the benefits of increased remittances should not overshadow the significant social costs of temporary migration for work. "Based on the first year of the RSE program, support services and pastoral care for seasonal workers are the weakest element of the process thus far" (p. 4). Maclellan outlines concerns over poor housing; lack of work at down times which means no income but ongoing expenses for housing and food that the workers should still be paying; contracts being set by piece rate (e.g. per bin or per tree) at minimum wage rather than 'market rates' and the contentious issue of deductions that workers may be told the gross rates of pay, but not fully informed of all deductions by employers to cover housing, transport costs or recouping airfares. These are issues that this *NZ Herald* article covered but which the regional newspapers neglected.

6.3.2 CASE STUDY 2: *Baby born on the plane*

This case study dominated New Zealand media in March 2009, when a Samoan RSE worker abandoned her new-born baby after she gave birth enroute to New Zealand to pick kiwifruit. The 29-year-old woman who gave birth on a flight from Apia to Auckland that landed about 5.20am was due to start

picking kiwifruit. Police announced that they were conducting an investigation after the baby was discovered abandoned in the aircraft toilet. The woman was a returning RSE worker. The media coverage of this case surrounded the mother being charged and appearing in court for abandoning her baby. Questions were raised over the immigration status of the mother and fate of both her and the child. The baby born on the plane article tainted the RSE scheme, Samoan workers' reputations, and having women employed as seasonal workers. The incident sparked media attention on validating the baby's nationality.

The *New Zealand Herald* media article lacks compassion, appropriate cultural ways of reporting, and did not include a statement on the wellbeing of the mother. This is a typical media reporting thriving on a human-interest story, which in this case ticks the box of a foreign worker giving birth in unfamiliar territorial space, which led to further questions regarding the nationality of the baby. The article was primarily focussed on allegations of wrongdoing rather than the safety of the mother and child. A Counties Manukau Police spokeswoman was quoted as saying;

"Police are currently investigating the mother's actions after the birth of the child."

"A likelihood of this investigation is a criminal prosecution."

The mother had her reasons to conceal her pregnancy, and the media have a duty of care as human beings when it comes to reporting. At the conclusion of the article an Auckland-based Samoan lawyer Olinda Woodroffe was quoted voicing her frustrations towards the authorities; the police and hospital, for not allowing the Samoan church leaders to visit the mother in hospital.

"Our hearts go out to her. We want her to know we care."

"She is probably feeling we don't care but we do. How can we get to her?"

Although the article did not name the worker concerned, the nationality, age and the fact that it was an RSE worker who secretly gave birth on an international flight then dumped the baby in the airline bathroom made headlines in New Zealand and in the Pacific Islands. It also became a topic of interest regarding pregnant women potentially requiring medical clearance to board flights and careful screening of female workers participating in the RSE scheme, with stricter guidelines and measures needing to be implemented.

"The woman had reportedly tried to exit the airport but had forgotten her passport. She sought help from authorities, who noticed she was pale and bloodstained."

"One report quoted sources as saying that the baby was born in the plane's toilet and then abandoned in a rubbish bin."

The case study article omitted specific cultural information about Pacific peoples and cultural taboos on frank dialogue about sexuality. Pacific notions of shame and cultural boundaries concerning sexual matters and talking openly about such things arguably should not to be a taboo subject, but either way, cultural understanding was largely a missing discourse in the *palagi* media.

Surprisingly, there was little references in regional newspapers about this issue and the *Bay of Plenty Times*, which might have been expected to include extensive coverage considering the RSE worker concerned was supposedly to be based in their region, had zero article on the incident, except a brief coverage at the *Hawkes Bay Today*. Although this was a high-profile media case, regional reporting was scarce. There was also little to no coverage on the role of Immigration New Zealand in this case in regional newspapers. The *New Zealand Herald* article quoted a Samoan official blaming Immigration New Zealand for improper screening.

“This is the sole responsibility of the New Zealand Immigration branch in Apia, which deals with all visa applications, to consider a medical examination for a female applicant.”

In not reporting this allegation, effectively the regional media shielded Immigration New Zealand from further criticism. Although this case was rare, the media did not confirm the number of Pacific babies who have been born on aircraft. Although many of the sources quoted were unrelated to the mother, it would have been sensible to get a quote from a close relative to reaffirm that she is loved and, and it would also have been more balanced to have her side of the story acknowledged by herself or a representative or a member of the Pacific community who may have been able to shed further light on the issue from a cultural lens.

Discussion

As noted in the literature review, regional newspapers typically have an interactive relationship with their communities with strong affiliation between journalists and community and political leaders' interests. This relationship contributes to both collective and individual ties to community being reflected in regional media discourse, and a sense of 'community building' obligations for small town media. The *NZ Herald* on the other hand has a much broader audience.

Iggers (1999) argues that the danger of allowing community opinion to drive the news agenda is that “the public may not be the best judge of which social issues are most pressing or how those issues should be framed” (p. 145). The journalists' belief of what is news to their audience cannot just reflect but also produce a reality of “what citizens really care about” (p. 146). At the heart of this case is the exclusion of other voices, to capture differing and diverse viewpoints. Fairclough (2003) asserts “different discourses are different perspectives on the world, and they are associated with the different relations people have to the world, which in turn depends on their positions in the world, their social and personal identities, and the social relationships in which they stand to other people”, (p. 124). Such analysis will have the ability to identify and analyse situations, and suggest ways of alleviating or resolving them. It will also unpack the ideologies grounded in the news texts and illuminates how stories are made.

Officially both men and women are welcome in the RSE scheme as long as they are at least eighteen, but female participation in the RSE scheme is very low for social and cultural reasons. This case sparked intense national interest, including letters to the editor and online comments that persisted over many days after publication of the NZ Herald article. This case was known and felt throughout metropolitan New Zealand. However, it caused less than a small ripple in regional New Zealand, including in the region directly related to the case. And in none of the coverage – regional or national – was the sense of desperation and stress that a woman must have felt to board an aeroplane for a foreign land while concealing that she was heavily pregnant, to try to bring back labouring income to her family and home community, addressed. In 2014, Yuan, Cain and Spoonley had identified particular gendered issues for temporary migrant workers globally, including regulation of women’s sexuality, prohibitions on seeking support from advocacy groups, sexual harassment on the job, emotional strain and financial pressure from families left at home, and suggested these pressures rendered women temporary workers as “an already vulnerable migrant labour force virtually invisible and voiceless” (p. 40). In this case study article, a woman RSE worker became visible only because of an ‘incident’ but was still voiceless, and five years later, when Yuan et al. (2014) published their report, they noted that still “no empirical investigation of the gendered outcomes of the New Zealand RSE Scheme has been carried out to establish the extent to which this scenario [vulnerable voiceless women] applies in a local setting” (pp. 40-41).

6.3.3 CASE STUDY 3: Jobless Kiwis reap seasonal work

The issue over the number of RSE workers being allowed into New Zealand, along with rising local unemployment had been dominating the regional media coverage in this period (2009-10). However, it generally focussed, in the regions, on an ongoing shortage despite rising unemployment. This article is about the growers reporting that their preference was to hire New Zealanders first, but that a severe shortage of workers was now completely the opposite with a plentiful supply of locals. The industry which often complained about the supply of willing workers and that not many locals are prepared to take on these jobs especially in peak season were now having to turn away prospective casual workers as numbers were fully subscribed. Horticulture New Zealand spokeswoman Leigh Catley was quoted as saying;

“This year, so far anyway, there are plenty of workers.”

“Thanks to international unemployment rates, the increasing attractiveness of New Zealand as a working holiday destination and the retraction of casual employment in our own hospitality and tourism sectors, we have the people we need, when we need.”

Ms Catley claimed some reports gave the wrong impression about the industry not needing New Zealanders because it had plenty of overseas workers to choose from.

“Growers will always take Kiwis first, if they are committed to working and have the ability to do the job.”

Ms Catley’s claims were backed up by Horticulture New Zealand Chief Executive Peter Silcock, Kiwifruit Growers’ Chief Executive Mike Chapman and an RSE employer in Central Otago, Craig Howard from Seasonal Solutions, who were all quoted in the article reiterating that the industry had no problem finding the workers they needed.

“More New Zealanders are looking for work than in previous years and they were given priority.”

“...fewer foreign workers were needed as more New Zealanders showed an interest.”

The conclusion of the article recorded the following statistics;

“New Zealand’s horticulture exports have grown from \$100 million in 1980 to \$2.2 billion in 2008.”

“The horticulture crops are grown over a total area of 90,000ha.”

“Including domestic sales, the horticulture industry is valued at \$5 billion and employs 50,000 people in eight key growing region.”

This case relates to the economic benefit theme as the dominating theme in the *Hawkes Bay Today* and *The Southland Times* whereas *Nelson Mail* focussed on the New Zealand unemployment rising and *Marlborough Express* reported heavily on the RSE incidents. However, what the article did not mention was that the cap was lifted from 5,000 to 8,000 in October 2008 when New Zealand unemployment was on the rise. The case of New Zealanders versus foreign labour was also a hot topic in the regions during this period as the New Zealand economy entered the recession in early 2008. In 2009/10 the RSE numbers were impacted but not to a large extent, due to the recession associated with the global financial crisis that resulted in a higher unemployment rate in New Zealand.

Discussion

The discourses in this case are, in the main, similar to regional newspaper coverage. Reliance on information provided by “expert” and official sources is evident in this case. Barclay and Liu (2003) argue that the media present material to suit reader expectations. van Dijk (1991) also suggested that the power of the press is particularly effective if their reporting is consistent with the interests of most readers. In this period, New Zealanders faced a tough economic crisis and as a result many lost jobs and so the media were looking at programmes like the RSE that continued to bring overseas workers in while the locals were struggling to find employment. This is where the media play on a societal level to construct news that is familiar by selecting and interpreting events to fit in with the preconceived demands of their community. I argue that the regional coverage tends to align with the expectations of the locals who form the majority of the readership and who want more RSE workers to keep local businesses profitable. The regional media largely reassured that RSE workers were still needed. By contrast, the case study article suggests overseas workers will not be used, a slightly different

perspective on the same issue. Again, the propaganda model sits perfectly in this case which explains media behaviour by examining the institutional pressures to influence news content. The propaganda model encourages corporate-owned news media to consistently produce news content that serves the interests of established power. This is evident by way of the sources quoted extensively in the RSE articles, but the sense of different power bases between regional and national media audiences might be signalled by the different inflection on the same issue. This is something that would be worth further exploration in future research.

Generally, the role of the media as a watchdog ought to hold both the government and general public to account on their views about a particular subject. The media should investigate and ask parties the hard questions to help the general public make informed decisions. The media as the public custodian should report fairly and should be impartial, independent and honest in its reporting. However, this case reflects the incompatible reporting between Pacific temporary workers and local New Zealanders. The media portrayal of New Zealanders has been favourable with its full intentions of being a national audience's newspaper. Surprisingly, the portrayal of Pacific RSE workers is also favourable with regards to how the regional print media depict them during tough economic times. With the regional media acting as the community watchdog and scrutinising the RSE scheme as agenda setters and gatekeepers, the majority of articles published in the five regions maximised opportunities for the representation of the RSE scheme. Articles were slanted towards the positive contribution of Pacific RSE workers in the horticulture and viticulture industries to offset any negative reactions towards the scheme. The rational deliberation in the articles including praises for the RSE scheme ultimately informed the community of the contribution made by all parties involved.

The legacy of colonial disempowerment and subordination remains pervasive between New Zealand and Pacific countries. This is abundantly obvious in this case. The dominant voice of the industry in the media and the power control by elite authorities influences most stories. This case study also shows a big absence of an RSE worker's voice as similar to all other articles in the regional newspapers. The invisibility of Pacific RSE workers' voices is consistent with the notion that dominant elite forces in society maintain their power by having their worldview accepted by the media as "authentic" by their communities. Their viewpoints illuminate control and power to those subordinated to their dominance.

6.3.4 CASE STUDY 4: RSE scheme a triple win

This article suggests that New Zealand has a role to play in Pacific development. Most obviously, it sets out how this role is played by the New Zealand government based on the RSE scheme. It is represented as a triple benefit that aids the Pacific sending countries, the host country, and the RSE workers. The RSE evaluation report conducted by a University of Waikato researcher Professor John Gibson with

David McKenzie of the World Bank on the impact of the RSE scheme on the sending Pacific Island countries dominated the reporting in this calendar year (2010-11), which referred to the scheme as a triple winner.

“Our research provides further evidence that migration is one of the most effective ways to boost development in poor countries.”

“Coupled with analysis which shows improvements in productivity for growers that hire these workers and very low rates of overstaying and modest impacts on the native labour force, these results suggest more countries should give season-worker programmes a chance.”

The evaluation results examined the impact of the scheme in the Pacific sending countries focusing on Tonga and Vanuatu as case studies with a sample of 900 households surveyed.

“They found per capita incomes of the households sending workers were about 40 per cent higher than those who did not have workers recruited.”

“They are more likely to make dwelling improvements, to open bank accounts and to make major purchase of durable goods.”

“And in Tonga we found substantial increases in secondary school attendance for 15-18-year-olds in household participating in the scheme.”

The article includes opinion from Massey University sociologist Paul Spoonley, who commented on the ‘general feel’ and suggested that New Zealand’s immigration policies were working far better than most other countries.

“New Zealand isn’t seeing the anti-immigration politics that we see in the USA and Europe, where we have seen a rise in anti-immigrant sentiments in the last year or so mainly because of the recession.”

The conclusion of the article highlights big gains.

“8000 workers come each year on the seasonal employment scheme.”

“40 per cent increase in household incomes of some of the workers.”

“900 households in Tonga and Vanuatu studied.”

The discourse in this case study article is akin to the theme of RSE praise, which dominated the *Hawkes Bay Today* and *Marlborough Express* regional reporting in this period. The *Bay of Plenty Times* and the *Nelson Mail* had the New Zealanders First theme dominating their reporting. The findings of this research and how the RSE scheme was viewed as a ‘triple win’ were reported widely by the regional newspapers whereby the RSE scheme had been a tremendous success for all parties involved and that research showed the RSE contribution to individual RSE workers, host country and sending countries.

Discussion

This case suggest that on occasion both regional and national media discourse about RSE seasonal workers played an important role in generating public consent for this scheme. This case suggests the realities of economic dependency through heavy sponsorship by the horticulture and viticulture

employers, whereby the news discourse includes non-controversial stories that support familiar dominant worldviews. The *NZ Herald* discourse contained several co-existing narratives similar to regional reporting, which constitute a wider public discourse about the benefits and opportunities derived from offshore labour and the RSE scheme. Although the *NZ Herald* article was a straight forward report based primarily on Gibson and McKenzie's research referring to the scheme as a triple win, regional reporting took a step further by reiterating Pacific RSE workers are crucial for the New Zealand economy, a godsend to employers and rural communities and a big help to the horticulture and viticulture sector, which are all additional components when interpreting the discourse about increasing global importance of temporary workers. Discourse that could have been explored or considered by the media includes that the RSE scheme comes at a time of ageing populations, shortages of local workers willing to work in horticulture and viticulture and debates over the future of economic development options for young people including growing New Zealand based Pacific populations. Alongside this, the underpinning motivations for participating in the scheme could have been examined.

The economic significance of their earning in New Zealand is very real for the Pacific RSE workers, and it is the economic incentive that keeps these Pacific workers coming back to New Zealand year after year to go through yet another cycle of hot gruelling long working hour, away from home and in social isolation. This economic gain from seasonal temporary employment is intended to benefit the workers' family back in the Islands and the children's future through education. The triple win discourse as suggested by the RSE commissioned research in this article heralded the scheme to be beneficial for the local horticulture and viticulture industry, the seasonal workers and the New Zealand's economy. I argue that Pacific RSE workers have made a valuable and enormous contribution to the New Zealand economy by tailoring their labour participation according to the needs of the employers. Operating within the RSE framework from an employer's labour mobility profile lens, it is easy to forget that these workers are human and flesh and not objects or numbers, and that their livelihood and well-being should be given the same respect and protection that they accord themselves.

The RSE scheme as argued by Ha'ouli (2013) has been roundly hailed as a success, but in contrast to the prevailing media view, Ha'ouli further argue that any apparent economic benefits of development do not tell the whole story. I argue that the underlying economic logic of the RSE scheme is to benefit the elites. When media articles and research commissioned by the scheme itself overshadow questions about the real benefits that devalues and underserves the contribution of Pacific RSE workers in a prevalent so called 'triple win' discourse.

6.3.5 CASE STUDY 5: Human trafficking and RSE

This case study article is about the US State Department Trafficking in Persons Report which talks about Asian and Pacific Island workers migrating to New Zealand to work in agriculture, horticulture and hospitality sectors, and claims they are subject to forced labour. Allegations of human trafficking generated national interest in labour standards and protecting trafficking victims. A US source revealed that the scheme which brings thousands of Pacific workers to New Zealand to work for minimum wage picking fruit and grapes is verging on human trafficking and debt-bonded labour. The claims stemmed from the US State Department's international report on human trafficking which condemned the use of forced labour on foreign charter fishing boats. This has alarmed Americans about a lack of recognition of trafficking in New Zealand and caused them to investigate bonds used to bring workers from Tonga, Samoa, Tuvalu, Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands.

“The burden of illegal cost and debts on these labourers in the source country, often with the support of labour agencies and employers in the destination country, can contribute to a situation of debt bondage.”

The article mentions Seasonal Solutions Cooperative, the largest importer of seasonal labour, featuring in its annual report the claim that bringing seasonal labour gives farmer members of the cooperative a real choice over worker selection.

“As a consequence, these growers have seen their productivity elevated to unprecedented levels.”

The company did not comment any further nor offer a statement on human trafficking.

The rest of the article is looking at sex workers in which the Prostitute Collective refute the allegations that they have come across sex workers who are victims of trafficking. The Americans suggest a coordinated effort to combat the enslavement of foreign migrants.

This case study article offers a very different range of discourse to the dominant themes as reported by the regional newspapers in the same season, 2011-12. The four regional newspapers had differences in most frequent themes with *Bay of Plenty Times* focussing heavily on the RSE policy, *Hawkes Bay Today* concentrating on the RSE cap, *Nelson Mail* on RSE praise and *Marlborough Express* reporting heavily on RSE incidents. There were no articles in *The Southland Times*, and no articles in any of the regions that raised issues of human trafficking and debt bondage.

Discussion

The large number of applications for RSE visas from the Pacific Islands highlights the attraction of employment in New Zealand. This case study article suggests hundreds of Pacific peoples migrate to New Zealand temporarily to work for minimum wages picking fruit and grapes to earn money without realising that they are verging on human trafficking and debt-bonded labour. For instance, these workers have owed money in their homelands and to their employers to pay for the airfares. The article suggests that the burden of illegal costs and debts on these labourers in the source country, often with the support

of labour agencies and employers in the destination country, can contribute to a situation of debt bondage. This is a new discourse that was not found in regional newspaper reporting.

In research sources, the discourse on Pacific RSE workers is more polarised. Lovelock and Leopold (2008) claim that the important role that temporary migration plays in assisting producers in horticulture, viticulture and agriculture reach their production objectives should not be underestimated. “Temporary migration is emerging as an important component in migration policy and practice in New Zealand, however not all temporary migrants are the same, nor will they share the same trajectory of experience” (p. 213). Brickenstein (2015) argues the employment of foreign seasonal workers is often advocated for filling labour shortages, but at the same time criticised for being prone to exploiting migrants as cheap labour without granting them sufficient protection.

This case study article highlighted other discourse that was missing from regional newspaper reporting. Expectations of the scheme by the New Zealand government were now offset with corresponding disappointments. Herman and Chomsky’s model might be relevant in this case to highlight the ways in which news discourses are being filtered. This filter suggests the symbiotic relationship that exists between the media and agents of power and may explain how this case was never featured in regional reporting. The propaganda model says flak stops issues being reported further because of the interests of a powerful lobby. While this was not a production study, and therefore cannot prove any courses of the more limited discourse available to readers of the community newspapers, I suggest that as the community newspaper watchdog, regional newspapers had an obligation to be functional not only for elites and dominant culture, but also for other viewpoints. As is evident from this case, other media found “potentially inciting” issues newsworthy. However, the regional media, instead of investigating and following-up on these allegations, were mostly focussed on positive news. This research does not investigate the conditions of production so cannot prove why this situation exists in New Zealand regional news, but an extensive body of regional knowledge about regional news elsewhere, suggests that a lack of investigative and critical capacity is a common feature of regional news around the globe.

McCombs (2005) suggests that with the agenda-setting effect, people consider the issues reported by the media as important for the public, and disregard those neglected by the media as unimportant. News outlets and journalists have the ability to dictate what stories are considered newsworthy and how much prominence and space they are allocated. McCombs further adds that, “in a typical daily newspaper, over 75% of the potential news of the day is rejected and never transmitted to the audience” (p. 4). It would appear that in the regions, the unspoken narratives of RSE workers are rejected as potential news. McQuail (1987) supports the view that media should reflect the diversity of viewpoints on different issues. Therefore, the media have particular obligations to society through the application of “high or professional standards of informativeness, truth, accuracy, objectivity and balance” (p. 117). While the

media have particular obligations to inform society, they serve as a valuable source of information that can shape public opinion by the way news is presented to its readers. The agenda-setting is crucial here in discovering how news sources are able to influence public opinion. In the regional discourse, the spread of that information, and therefore likely the spread of public opinion, was much narrower than is indicated by these purposively selected contrasting case study articles that show other issues and viewpoints that could also potentially have made the pages of the regional newspapers, but did not.

6.4 Summary of Findings

The labour shortage theme was reported the most frequently in articles in the *Bay of Plenty Times*, *Hawkes Bay Today* and *The Southland Times* in 2007-08 as a way to solve the long-standing problems the horticulture and viticulture industries had in meeting their seasonal labour needs. Labour shortage was the most common theme in this season, with RSE policy the closest to most common. The prevalence of this theme declines throughout the period examined. As was shown in Table 5.3 in Chapter 5, labour shortage as a theme reduced in the number of times mentioned per season by each particular newspaper. As illustrated in Figure 5.5 the labour shortage theme is high in *Bay of Plenty Times*, *Hawkes Bay Today* and *The Southland Times*, although the theme was not as strong in the following year (2008-09) as in Table 5.4, *The Southland Times* continued to report frequently on labour shortage. Articles in the *Marlborough Express* and the *Nelson Mail* reported frequently on policy change and how the RSE scheme was introduced to address challenges in meeting labour demand, enabling Pacific Island workers to travel and work temporarily in New Zealand. By contrast, prominent media issue case study that captured national media attention was more negative and included worker voice on issues missing from the regional discourse.

There was a mixture of themes in the 2008-2009 season with the dominant theme of New Zealanders First being reported heavily in the *Bay of Plenty Times* articles. Although *Bay of Plenty Times* had the highest number of articles published in this season (9), *Hawkes Bay Today* has the highest number of theme occurrences (85). The *Bay of Plenty Times* dominated its reporting by reminding employers although they have the right to recruit offshore workers under the RSE policy, not to displace New Zealanders and only bring in offshore workers if locals are not available to fill those positions. *Hawkes Bay Today* and *Marlborough Express* however reported dominantly on the benefits and advantages of bringing Pacific Island workers to New Zealand to work in the horticulture and viticulture industries and how Island workers are essential to the harvest, always available and essential to a stable workforce with great work ethics. With *The Southland Times* continuous reporting on labour shortage, most articles have a sense of justification especially in a white dominant community in the South Island the advantages of sourcing Pacific Island workers to fill labour shortages. The *Nelson Mail* shifted their reporting from an RSE policy in the first year to pastoral care as the most dominant theme in the second

season. Again, although a prominently negative ‘incident’ captured national media attention during this season, this received little to no attention in the regional news.

The third season has a mix of dominant themes coming out in each region with no articles to be found in the *Bay of Plenty Times*. *Marlborough Express* produced the most articles (10) followed closely by the *Nelson Mail* (8). RSE incidents was the dominant theme in *Marlborough Express* articles with majority of reporting on car accidents involving RSE workers, including an incident involving a New Zealand member of Parliament commenting that Asians’ small hands are best in seasonal workers and some Pacific works needed to be taught to use toilets and showers that sparked public debate. Although *Marlborough Express* has the highest number of articles, *Nelson Mail* has the highest number of theme occurrences (72) compared to *Marlborough Express* (68). *Nelson Mail* articles heavily reporting on New Zealand unemployment was the dominant theme with articles concentrating on an influx of local workers looking for job and locals struggling to find employment. Although most articles featured RSE workers continuing to source Pacific Island workers while unemployment is high, justification is sought from an industry representative ensuring New Zealanders have the first opportunity to take up work. *Hawkes Bay Today* and *The Southland Times* dominated its reporting with economic benefits with articles concentrating on the contribution of Pacific seasonal workers enables most employers to expand their business and creating more jobs for New Zealanders. Some of the national coverage included overlapping themes about unemployment, as illustrated in the selected case study, however there was more of a focus on ‘jobless Kiwis’ finding work and removing the need for seasonal migration, than there was in the regional focus, which mentioned unemployment but countered this with a strong focus on the theme of ‘New Zealanders first’ to assert that RSE workers were still needed because Kiwis had been offered work but were unavailable.

The fourth season regional media reported two common themes with *The Southland Times* having no articles produced. The *Bay of Plenty Times* and *Nelson Mail* dominated its reporting on New Zealander First with most articles ensuring priority is always given to New Zealanders taking into consideration the increase number of local unemployment. With *Nelson Mail* having produced the most articles (7), they also have the highest number of theme occurrences (55). Although most articles were concentrated on the theme New Zealanders First, there were other themes in consideration like the RSE policy and labour shortage. *Hawkes Bay Today* and *Marlborough Express* features articles based on the evaluation of the RSE scheme commissioned by the World Bank that the scheme produced a triple win situation. Subsequent articles praise the RSE contribution and work ethics with positive findings from the World Bank research that RSE shows very little rates of overstaying and improvement in productivity for growers. This was largely echoed in the case study article from the *NZ Herald* in this season.

The fifth season has mixed themes in each regional newspaper with *The Southland Times* has gone from being the biggest source of coverage in the scheme's first year to no coverage at all. The same pattern occurs in other newspapers with less frequency on RSE articles. *Bay of Plenty Times* having produced the least articles in the scheme's first year has the highest number of articles (3) with the dominant theme on RSE policy. The articles show the scheme has extended to workers' access to financial literacy training and other life skills while they are in New Zealand temporarily. *Hawkes Bay Today* reported heavily on the RSE cap to ensure employers stick to the limit number of workers bringing in from overseas while some employers advocate increasing the cap requiring more workers from overseas to cater for the harvesting season. *Nelson Mail* produces more articles that praise the RSE workers contribution to the horticulture and viticulture sector and the New Zealand economy while *Marlborough Express* reporting is heavily distorted on RSE incidents. None of the regional media discourse included concerns about human trafficking and debt bondage as illustrated in the selected case study from the *NZ Herald*.

While the regional media were focussed on discourse around industry-serving views of a labour shortage, repeating RSE policy, and emphasising economic benefits, major national news stories about other aspects of the scheme often went entirely unreported in the regions. In general, the spread of discourse in the case study articles, including critical views such as researcher and worker voices, illustrates that a much wider range of media discourse was possible than was selected for publication by the regional newspapers.

6.5 Concluding comments

The difference between the media discourse of the historical period of initial Pacific migration and the influx of Pacific Island workers under the RSE scheme, saw the RSE workers being not widely regarded as overstayers nor were they accused by the media of stealing jobs from New Zealanders. The discourses the regional print media portray of these workers predominantly referred to them as 'a godsend', and of them being a blessing to the RSE scheme. They were represented as reliable workers, based on their performance and ability, and always being readily available when needed. They have been praised by the industry for their determination to fill the gap where there is a labour shortage and for their efforts in getting the job done during peak seasons. This is where the role of the media is significant. The media has the power to shape public opinion through the shaping of their portrayal of information. They decide how the dominant society sees their voice in their articles and at the same time they promote a notion of consensus.

Regional media coverage through the portrayal of Pacific RSE workers by the community print media has generally been depicted from the industry viewpoint. This has often shown media disregard in

stories highlighting potential problems faced by these workers, for instance; workers' exploitation, accommodation overcrowding, tax and insurance issues and workers' rights, which has been publicised by the *NZ Herald* and used in my research as a case study to highlight other discourses that the regional newspapers did not suggest. However, fears of RSE workers overstaying their visas were highlighted in regional coverage from a favourable position using Gibson and McKenzie's research (2010) which shows little displacement of New Zealand workers with 1% or less of RSE workers overstaying rates. The issue of RSE workers stealing jobs from the locals was also well justified by the regional newspapers using the RSE policy intentions of employing New Zealanders first before employing Pacific RSE workers. Certainly, these are all matters that were well considered by the regional media before publishing articles. However, close scrutiny suggests these issues were well addressed from the employers' or government officials' lens, and that less concern was directed towards investigating whether there was abuse suffered by some of these workers at the hands of exploitative employers, as explored in the case studies.

The discourses that the regional print media produced were largely in favour of the Pacific RSE workers' contribution to the scheme. The most frequent themes across the regions were similar and the patterns of reporting in the five regions studied have little evidence of stigmatising discourses. This makes the portrayal of RSE workers different from what we know broadly of the historical representation of Pacific people in the New Zealand media. The themes of Labour shortage, RSE policy, New Zealanders First, Pastoral care, RSE praise, Economic benefit, New Zealand unemployment, RSE cap and RSE incidents all have credible evidence of favourable representation as to how the portrayal weighs-up in comparison with the overall depiction of Pacific New Zealanders by the media. The results presented and articulated above revealed a similar pattern and trends in regional newspaper reporting in the studied RSE regions. Dominant cases drawn from *NZ Herald* articles for each calendar year uncover a different set of discourses to those represented by the regional media. Discourses such as worker exploitation, workers' rights, labour power, and capitalism were clearly newsworthy, but were not part of the picture painted by the most frequent themes set by the regional media. The characterisation of Pacific RSE workers had little evidence of underlying assumptions that these workers would present problems for the host community, taking jobs from the locals, and being a threat to law and order. Conversely, Pacific RSE workers were regarded as desirable and reliable workers.

My interpretive analysis of media representations of RSE workers suggests that the historical global economic system disguises racialisation that is deeply embedded in the heart of the RSE scheme. The regional media coverage in particular only focuses on the benefits of the scheme and most articles were depicted from the capitalist lens. With the most challenging problems such as the world economic crisis in the late 2008 which resulted in the rise in local unemployment, the scheme was being discursively constructed by the regional media as a success for all parties involved and the priority voice was

constantly awarded to the New Zealand employers in the horticulture and viticulture industry and government officials. There was a big absence of RSE workers' voice in most articles and if they appear at all, reporting was not about the challenges or struggles they faced, but rather about motivation or success to do with how the scheme helped them, and their gratitude for the opportunity, returning to the industry as a focus. The discourse then is limited and shaped by particular interests and elite forces. The narrow focus of the coverage paid particular attention to New Zealand industry viewpoints and needs, which contributed to a significant shift in coverage from the total exclusion of counter discourses that sits perfectly inside the white dominant culture in nation-based capitalism.

Back to my earlier predictions of the scheme and its media coverage; based on my analyses of the literature from similar schemes internationally, that there is likely to be a cyclical process of media portrayal of seasonal workers in the RSE scheme, similar to the cyclical process I described in the literature review chapter, when Pacific people migrated in large numbers to New Zealand in the 1960s and 1970s. This cyclical process has never occurred in the regional media coverage of the RSE scheme. The earlier representation of Pacific RSE workers and the scheme were completely the opposite in which Pacific RSE workers were typically subject to much positive publicity in the early years and this positive coverage continues in the first five years of the scheme. My observations of the RSE media themes are that, as the scheme developed and matured, the media attitude appears to have a similar commentary across regions and over time. I conclude that the media has a powerful role regarding what should be included in the content presented to the public, what should be omitted, and how and when the content should be presented. The broad range of news texts produced by the targeted five regions of New Zealand gave an overall fixed discursive picture of scheme coverage showing that the discourse was shaped by the most influential authorities dominating the media viewpoint on the RSE gains. These discourses are privileged over others and the more powerful groups have greater access to platforms of public discourse (van Dijk, 1997). As Fairclough (2010) suggested "we cannot transform the world in any old way we happen to construe it; the world is such that only some transformations are possible" (p. 5). Arguably the implications of the discourses associated with the RSE scheme need closer scrutiny with regards to the flow of knowledge over time and at any moment in history, and the implication of that for the people whose lives the scheme impacts.

PART 5: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

“New Zealand society is increasingly multicultural. Difference and pluralism are becoming central to our New Zealand identity. The New Zealand I was born into in the 1950s was a homogenous, monolingual, monocultural, bland, colourless society. The New Zealand of the 21st century is a heterogeneous, multilingual, multicultural, vivid, and colourful society. We have some very important choices facing us as a society and as a nation. We can choose to celebrate difference, diversity, and pluralism, and deal with the excitement and tension that go with that choice, or we can try to ignore difference and diversity, and say that we are all the same.”

- Dame Luamanuvao Winnifred Alexandra Laban

CHAPTER 7: Conclusions and Recommendations

7.1 Introduction

This research looks at past and recent literature and in particular newspaper articles from the study's RSE regions from 2007 to 2012. The impetus for researching the literature is to explore how the New Zealand print media viewed and responded to the portrayals of Pacific seasonal workers. It also explores racism in the print media by examining the way stories are presented in the regional community news and the implications of their selection and construction. For comparison, some articles that reflected differently on the scheme in the national media, have been used as case analysis for this research. Although previous research on Pacific people in New Zealand has been dominated by *palagi* research, I look at relevant research on seasonal workers' representation from Pacific scholars and elsewhere wherever possible. I have been examining samples of print media reports of RSE Pacific workers and their portrayals and considering the implications of these portrayals with regards to relationships within and between Pacific people and New Zealanders. My research has attempted to unpack the representation of Pacific RSE workers in regional newspapers with regions that have the highest number of RSE workers, and compare it with some case study articles from the national newspaper *NZ Herald* to address the following questions:

1. Overall, what kinds of themes and discourses structure print media representations of RSE Pacific seasonal workers in their local community newspapers while workers are living in the region?
2. Are there media trends in regional reporting over time, and do these follow a cyclical pattern as detected elsewhere, with initial negativity reducing as the relationship matures?
3. What were the peak regional coverage times for the RSE scheme in New Zealand from 2007-2012?
4. How was 'share of voice' allocated in stories about the scheme?
5. Do the discourses develop in similar or different ways in the regions studied?

6. Does a sample of national media coverage about the RSE scheme contain any discourse that is missing from or limited in the regional media discourse on Pacific Island seasonal workers?
7. Do the discourses in the RSE regional coverage show continuity with earlier broader media discourses about Pacific migration to New Zealand or are there unique themes?

In addressing these research questions, the findings from my research suggest media discourse is limited and focussed on aligning with particular government and industry interests in the representation of Pacific RSE policy and workers in regional newspapers. The representation is a result of a more positive representation that has the effect of protecting the integrity of the RSE scheme. The positive constructs of RSE Pacific workers' contributions became evident as the discourses developed similar portrayal in the analysis and the kinds of themes produced by the regional newspapers. The themes of Labour shortage, RSE policy, New Zealanders first, Economic benefits, Pastoral care, RSE praise, RSE cap and RSE incidents coexisted in each studied region as well as the seasonal analysis. The analysis shows a media trend as the scheme developed and matured over time with positive constructs of Pacific RSE workers, in particular the need for them to fill labour shortages, to be readily available to be employed at any time under the RSE scheme, creating strong positive contributions to economic benefits, and the overall consistency in patterns of reporting between regional newspapers. Regardless of geographical location, stories were similar in reporting and themes were similar between regions and timeframes. A further examination of possible media themes was conducted using the *NZ Herald* articles as case analysis during the calendar years 2007 to 2012. These articles were used as case studies illustrating key themes that sparked national media attention and suggested differences in media coverage with regards to the depth and broader discourses by the *NZ Herald*. Where the coverage differed notably is that the regional newspapers selected and assigned positive news stories in favour of the RSE industry and employers, whereas the *NZ Herald* case studies were examples of a media outlet pursuing an alternative discourse on critique and awareness of controversy which sparked public interest.

Furthermore, the findings from the historical discourse analysis based on the depictions of Pacific peoples' arrival and settlement in New Zealand during post-war years to support the political economy interests of New Zealand and what the literature says about similar seasonal schemes operating internationally shaped a completely different discourse in portraying Pacific RSE workers. Although Pacific peoples were racialised in the 1970s, when that is compared with coverage of the influx of Pacific seasonal workers in 2007, there was little coverage based on underlying assumptions that Pacific RSE workers presented problems for the host community, took jobs from New Zealanders and were a threat to law and order. Representations of Pacific RSE workers have been strongly shaped by the New Zealand regional media and have been particularly prominent in the news agenda alongside the increasing rhetorical emphasis on the RSE as a 'triple win scheme'. This creates the regional media discourse impact and sets the agenda for regional community understanding of the RSE scheme. My

initial hypothesis for this research was that Pacific RSE workers would be represented in a racially derogatory light, as prevalent in the 70s – i.e. that Pacific Island workers presented as problems for the host community, who took jobs from New Zealanders and were a threat to law and order. This hypothesis, however, proved wide of the mark. Although there is evidence in some articles pointing to employing New Zealanders first and questioning the employment of RSE Pacific workers during hard economic times, overall findings suggest that the regional media provided more voice to influential sector leaders, employers and government officials to offset some of these criticisms, resulting in discourse that effectively protects and upholds the employer economic perspective and governmental line as to the need for and success of the RSE scheme.

The findings also suggest a big absence of RSE workers' voice in most articles. During the five years of the RSE regional reporting studied, findings show that the regional newspaper sources in terms of dominant citations were industry representatives, government officials and Members of Parliament. This suggests a derogatory representation of how important the voice of Pacific RSE workers is. Articles were constructed in a more positive light that made the RSE scheme look good. Through media portrayal, Pacific RSE workers were deemed as passive victims who needed the RSE scheme's assistance for themselves and their family with connections to wages and earnings that they would never receive in their homelands, and that they were being offered benefits but also were a benefit for New Zealand's economy. The financial benefit of having Pacific RSE workers in New Zealand was the core focus of many articles. This finding confirms to an extent that Pacific RSE workers are being used as instrumental for New Zealand's economic gains. The findings demonstrate the regional media is in control by way of excluding and undermining any cause of concern that could obstruct the RSE scheme and shift the power away from white elitist New Zealanders who run industry organisations, own property and employ labour at set minimal rates in order to generate a surplus from which the capital holders benefit.

Five case studies reflected a wider range of themes, as reported by the national media outlet, *NZ Herald*. These provided different themes concerning the depiction of Pacific RSE workers from regional newspapers, and showed national coverage was not exclusively positive. Although all nine themes in the regional reporting; Labour shortage, RSE policy, New Zealanders first, Pastoral care, Economic benefits, New Zealand unemployment, RSE cap, RSE praises and RSE issues were represented in the five case studies, broader discourses such as workers' exploitation, workers' rights, overcrowding, human trafficking and debt-bonded labour were also covered. This illustrates the discourses in the RSE coverage show continuity with earlier broader media discourses about Pacific migration to New Zealand with unique themes. A salient point to note is that the case studies expose other discourses which the regional newspapers failed to highlight or ignored completely in their coverage. Comparatively, the regional newspapers took a dominant stance through the elite voices to enact and produce media

discourse that promoted positive attitudes towards the RSE scheme. The national newspaper coverage exposed new, yet powerful discourses from the workers' perspective, the perspective of the employers, and in cultural, social and economic contexts.

As van Dijk (1998) showed in an analysis of racism in the media based on a series of projects on discourse about minorities in previous encounters, the representation of ethnic and social minorities in the media has parallel connections to a past experience. The comparative reporting by the media generally confirms this review, that the media generally reproduce the political and economic power structure of the nation by its selection and proportion of story categories and actors (p. 143). The context of this problem is well known: labour shortages in post war economic development which resulted in many Pacific people migrating to New Zealand in the 1960s and especially in the 1970s and 1980s; can be equated with the immigration of RSE Pacific workers, which has received relatively high attention from the media. One of the most serious problems in New Zealand in the 1970s with regards to racism directed at Pacific immigrants has seen similar prejudices and discrimination by white groups and institutions directed at Pacific RSE workers. Regardless, the historical roots for this discourse and reproduction of racism appears to be unchallenged in the depiction of Pacific RSE workers. The choice of social actors appears to be the elites and white New Zealanders who are given the opportunity by the media to voice their opinions. This influences the angle of the articles to have greater focus on the industry and on New Zealand's economy, but the underpinning inequality of voice in the media is still present.

My research has implications for newspaper journalists and editors, encouraging them to think critically about the implications of their institutionalised practices. The privileged access to the media by the elites is recognised by Herman and Chomsky's (1998) reference to influential members of society typically dominating news sources – in this case, resulting in the voices of Pacific RSE workers being undervalued. This was particularly obvious in the studied regional articles, as Pacific Island RSE voices were seldom present. Accordingly, workers are only portrayed in a positive light that makes the RSE scheme look good. The articles were overly positive in the representation of the RSE scheme which suggests little debate on the RSE scheme or the representation of Pacific RSE workers directly. More importantly, the findings of this research will provide the RSE Pacific countries with insights into the issues, challenges and successes depicted by the media about their workers, as well as alerting the New Zealand public about patterns in the way that the Pacific RSE scheme has been reported to them, and how these patterns relate to broader patterns of racialised discourse in our news about Pacific people generally. As the analyses illustrated, reporting creates and favours a dominant perspective. The choice of industry representatives and government officials as social actors with priority opportunity to comment and receive greater focus needs to be challenged with greater thoughtful and careful consideration. If they were fulfilling their role as a watchdog, regional media would take care to provide

a more balanced picture. This research, in providing a robust evidential base for describing the manner in which Pacific RSE workers are portrayed in the New Zealand regional media, may perhaps contribute to a better understanding of how those portrayals are constructed and what is missing.

The manufacturing of a 'struggle' by employers to find locals to take on the jobs is also an interesting finding from the research worthy of further exploration and consideration. Alternative discourses that the media could have explored including questions around whether a higher level of pay and better conditions would equally solve the labour 'shortage'. What the media did not ask was whether, if the seasonal work were appropriately remunerated, the employers would not have a 'struggle' to find locals for the jobs. The media could have explored whether the 'struggle' was truly a struggle to find workers, or perhaps more accurately a struggle by the employers to come to terms with the fact that they need to pay enough to attract people to do the work. These are questions that none of the media in this study asked, at any point. None of the media investigated whether, if employers paid well, tourists on temporary work visas would be willing to come from all over the world to pick, prune and harvest New Zealand fruit, and if that was not allowed, New Zealanders in other jobs would take six months off to go apple picking for a change in lifestyle – if there were a wage and living conditions such that it made it worthwhile. These kinds of issues could become an important aspect of changing perceptions about the nature of work in our country – but only if they enter the public discourse and begin to be considered.

Researchers have been asking whether we need to change the entire system of how countries relate to each other and how different kinds of work are valued. These are questions that the media avoided asking: What if Pacific peoples did not have to take options like the RSE because they could get better paid work at home? Or what if they became shareholders in shared endeavours between New Zealand and their homelands where everyone profited, not just the business owners and farmers? We must think outside the square in order to see what the media are not saying – what they are not questioning and not challenging. Only then can we see what they are implicitly supporting in their lack of a balanced stance that includes critique – when they act as 'cheer leaders' for the RSE, the media are implicitly supporting the maintenance of the status quo.

Importing cheap labour depresses wages and worker conditions across an entire economic system. If the labour was not available cheaply, employers would need to pay more for it, then other industries would also have to increase wages in order to retain their workers. Wages would go up everywhere, as workers became more valued. Yet the regional media were firmly focussed on 'struggling capitalists' and avoided any other factors in this equation. There were many other viewpoints that were not being recognised. The media did not question whether the farmers were wealthy or impoverished. They did not ask the RSE employers whether they themselves would do the work they expect migrant workers to do, or live in those conditions, or accept the low levels of pay. That these questions were not asked,

reflects inequality. The regional media were aligned unquestioningly with the government and employer perspective that the RSE scheme is a significant means of gains through exploitation of compliant commodified Pacific Island labour in the horticulture and viticulture industries. Exploitation is blinded in this sense. Exploitation is fundamental in this form of employer and worker relationship. There was no effort to understand this from a Pacific cultural perspective, such as with regards to Pacific seasonal workers' cultural values of respect; doing as you are told and not to question higher authority. The cultural boundaries strike a delicate opportunity whereby the capitalist sector needs Pacific workers to be maintained in order to have an inexhaustible and abiding supply of supplementary labour. The regional media failed in their duty to ask the hard questions of the scheme and its entire ethos.

7.2 Limitations

Limitations in this research exist in several respects. As noted, it concerns itself only with the five major RSE regions in New Zealand: *Bay of Plenty*, *Hawkes Bay*, *Nelson*, *Marlborough* and *Otago*. It does not feature all the regions where Pacific RSE workers have been employed. This research is also limited to print media; therefore, other media forms such as broadcasting, television or online reporting are not within the scope of this research. This research is purely focused on printed news articles only. The method also has inherent limitations, in that it focuses on content only, on 'what is there', not how it got there (the means of media production and inadequate representation of diversity in our newsrooms, for example) nor how it is received (audience or media effects studies such as agenda setting). These limitations arise as a result of time restrictions, the scope of the research, and lack of previous studies in the research area. I quote an important excerpt from Mullins and Kiley (2002) who suggest that "a PhD is three years of solid work, not a Nobel Prize" (p. 168). Ideally, despite the fact that all research has its limitations, it should make "a substantial and original contribution to knowledge".

Also, the subject of study is limited to a small scope of media focus, on RSE workers from the Pacific. Other groups categorised as minorities, for instance, RSE workers from other countries outside the Pacific, people with disabilities, gays and lesbians etc. are not subjects of this work, although some parallel may be seen in their relationships to media. Similarly, this thesis does not attempt to address every general Pacific issue within the media. Despite the parallels between New Zealand's reactions to Pacific communities when they first migrated to New Zealand and reactions to RSE workers, some material on the subject of racial and Pacific representation by the New Zealand media is uneven. For example, there is much less literature on the depiction of Pacific RSE workers by the New Zealand media as compared to Pacific people in New Zealand in the general media. Such gaps in the research literature, however, continue to suggest areas for future research if I am seriously interested in documenting the role of media as they have related to Pacific community groups in New Zealand.

It is argued here that there is limited research into RSE media reports on Pacific workers which needs to be explored if a more adequate theoretical explanation is to be developed. The position of analysing the RSE scheme by the New Zealand print media has been underdeveloped in reviews of media research, and it is therefore an important aspect of my research in filling this gap. This research looks at how the media portray Pacific Island seasonal workers in their coverage and how New Zealand communities have reacted to the RSE scheme which results in a variety of media discourses. However, no research seems to have been done on linking the media reporting of the RSE scheme to the perceptions of New Zealanders when Pacific people first settled in New Zealand. Furthermore, the voice of RSE Pacific workers from the media's viewpoint has not been academically addressed so far and it is an area which my research attempts to explore.

The data had some limitations. The data was drawn from only 5 years (2007 – 2012) of New Zealand regional newspaper coverage from November to March when most workers are in New Zealand. The results therefore could not detect any seasonal coverage outside of the November to March months or after 2012. The present research also analysed only five regional newspapers, although other smaller regions are also important. Moreover, this research examines only Pacific Island RSE workers and topic of articles mentioning Pacific seasonal workers, as the first study to examine the RSE scheme using a media lens to assess the depiction of Pacific RSE workers in New Zealand by the print media. However, future studies should compare the representation of Pacific Island seasonal workers with other migrant workers in dominant western countries. This could be achieved by looking at the volume of news coverage, examining thematic analysis and voices represented in the articles. This will enable the painting of a similar or different picture on the portrayal of foreign seasonal workers in a dominant white land.

7.3 Contributions

Every time we think we have arrived somewhere; we must challenge our assumptions once again. As I described in Chapter 1, although my conclusions depend entirely on the eventual findings by systematically working through all the media coverage piece by piece to discover new findings, I predicted prior to undertaking this research based on my experience with the scheme and its media coverage, as well as my reviewing of literature from similar schemes internationally, that there is likely to be a cyclical process of media portrayal of seasonal workers in the RSE scheme. I have noted a similar cyclical process when Pacific people migrated in greater numbers to New Zealand in the 1970s during the review of the literature. This cyclical process suggests that when a particular group first migrates, such as happens with the start of seasonal worker schemes, they are typically subject to much negative publicity in the early years before a shift in coverage to considerably more positive publicity, a trend this research did not discover. The portrayal of Pacific RSE workers differs from the

representation of Pacific peoples when they first migrated to New Zealand in the 1950s, 60s and the 70s, which directed my attention to the agenda setting by the media which caused me to question why the depiction of Pacific RSE workers is far more positive than Pacific New Zealanders who have right to citizenship. Are the RSE workers seen to be less threatening because they do not have any pathway to citizenship? More questions are raised about the power the media can hold and the nature of that power in instituting privileged voices and voices that are silenced. Informed by the most quoted sources in the articles and the themes represented by the wider sample of regional newspaper articles and the case studies demonstrate the degree of influence the media has through their lens a constructed map of power.

My anecdotal observations of the RSE media themes are that, as the scheme matured, the media attitude appears to have shifted in commentary to predominantly reflect positive benefits of the RSE scheme. Through analysis of news items, insight was gained and topic trends remain similar between regions and over time. This makes me turn to a national newspaper, in this case the *NZ Herald*, to look at a dominant story as a case study in each calendar year to identify other discursive themes of interest. It also keeps the space open for these themes to emerge. From the outset I was expecting to discover negative findings having been adapted to the media and their representation of Pacific peoples in general. However, the findings took me by surprise with such an affirmative portrayal. With the discovery being very different, I have to dig deep into the data exercising my critical lens why it is that the portrayal is positive in depicting Pacific RSE workers when living in those communities at a particular time. With the focus around the discourses that these Pacific workers expose to when living in those communities, my research has important implications for the media profession, for Pacific Island RSE communities and for individual Pacific RSE workers to consider. As I described in Chapter 1.9, this research provides original contributions of how a particular set of dominant discourses depict Pacific RSE workers, with new insights to contribute not only to the communication and media discipline but also to wider academic and non-academic fields, including the RSE Pacific Island states and within New Zealand's horticulture and viticulture industries.

7.4 Recommendations

This research is the first to investigate RSE articles in New Zealand regional newspapers using comprehensive thematic content analysis. RSE-related articles were reported regularly throughout the seasons November to March since the scheme was initiated in 2007 in regional newspapers where there are concentrations of most Pacific RSE workers. However, RSE-related articles are affected by topical issues for each season and reported similarly in most regions, yet there were some imbalances in source type and coverage of the RSE continuum. Considering the influence of newspapers as a source of

regional information, the regional coverage sets the agenda for public discussion from the article themes and sources featured in each article.

This thesis has made a significant empirical contribution to the knowledge of media portrayal of Pacific Island RSE workers in New Zealand regional newspapers by providing the findings and interpretations above. The need for future research on media coverage of RSE workers would be addressed by adopting different cases covering other regions at different times and in different seasons. Interviewing workers is also an important approach to discover how they feel about their media portrayal, and interviewing the media themselves regarding how they construct those portrayals in the news media. The most prominent finding, the old stereotypes, such as ‘overstayers’, ‘dole bludgers’, ‘poorly educated’, ‘lazy’, ‘violent’ and ‘economically dependent’ which were used to portray Pacific peoples have not appeared in the depiction of Pacific RSE workers by the New Zealand regional news media. Instead, the Pacific RSE workers have been widely and deeply embedded in news reporting as ‘a god send’, ‘a blessing to growers’, ‘having a high work ethic’, ‘essential to a successful harvest’ and ‘positive contributors’, painting a completely different picture of how Pacific New Zealanders are portrayed based on historical depictions. Therefore, a comparative research analysis on the media workers’ and media consumers’ own views of the representation of seasonal workers compared to Pacific Island permanent workers would be of high interest for future research.

This research will add value to the strategic research platform by way of providing understanding of the philosophical and cultural assumptions that underpin mainstream media reporting in New Zealand with regards to the representation of Pacific RSE workers and Pacific people as a whole. My research on media discourses of labour mobility under the RSE scheme will contribute not only to the regions that constitute a high number of Pacific RSE workers and media discipline, but also to wider academic and non-academic fields, including the RSE Pacific Island states and New Zealand’s horticulture and viticulture industries enabling them to better understand the portrayals of Pacific people in print media articles and to consider the implications of these representations for Pacific communities and their sense of self and their place in New Zealand. My interpretive analysis of media representations of RSE workers, in the context of their specific historical and cultural framework, provides a stepping stone in the examination of how Pacific Islands RSE workers have been represented by the New Zealand print media. Therefore, this research could be replicated on a larger scale to contribute to a broader understanding of seasonal workers’ portrayal. This research could also contribute to a comparative research analysis of media representation not limited to the recorded news texts of selected newspapers, but the overall media portrayal of another ethnic group, in order to examine the similarities and differences in perceptions of those workers in comparison with Pacific RSE workers. Additionally, there is scope for further research stemming from this study about newspaper representations of Pacific RSE workers in their homelands, and in particular how the Pacific Island print media depict their

workers from their viewpoint. Other research associated with this study is the New Zealand media's representation of Pacific people working in seasonal employment outside of the temporary migrant worker category. Historically, there has been very high media coverage of Pacific New Zealanders in social, health and crime sectors. This became particularly apparent as I searched for news articles to support the analysis of my research. Future research should be undertaken to find out if anything has changed in terms of media reporting on Pacific New Zealanders today and whether or not the nature of the portrayal has changed when compared to Pacific RSE workers representation.

7.5 Implications

Based on the discussion in the earlier result chapters, the portrayal and misrepresentation of Pacific peoples may be linked to the lack of implementation of media cultural competency training for its journalists and editors, in order for them to fully understand the journalism code of ethics. The data suggest that in some cases media outlets may even lack knowledge of the existence of the cultural competency code itself. Furthermore, Pacific people continue to have limited access to voicing their opinions due to the media industry, whose governing authorities and bodies oversee formulation and implementation of media policies. Pacific people will continue to face racial discrimination unless the power to shape and influence media to have more thought and exercise critical thinking in their reporting changes hands. The absence of effective cultural media guidelines will continue to lead to a situation where Pacific peoples' voices are less apparent in articles and stereotypical coverage of them abounds. This should not be accepted as the norm, and this research challenges the power to change the status quo.

The consequence of the media having a similar way of reporting and its reliance on a 'white' dominant voice is that every Pacific RSE worker will only be interviewed when it suits the interest of the media and after being given the tick to do so by the industry. What currently constitutes 'good practice' in a story is uncritically derived from a *palagi* reporter world-view. In a pluralistic society, the power of the dominant racial group needs to be challenged. The reporters and editors need to be 'culturally aware' and located in 'multiple worldview', which powerfully shares diverse narratives. The unlimited need to conform with the *palagi* way of reporting is seeing Pacific RSE workers as being vulnerable and not wanting to be named or quoted in articles. Their voice and the unique contributions they bring to New Zealand, such as their language, identity and cultural knowledge should not be undervalued by mainstream media and should be made visible. One of the strong recommendations arising out of this thesis is that media need to eliminate the sense of vulnerability of RSE workers. Frontline reporters should undergo some form of cultural competency training in order to understand the Pacific RSE workers' cultural space. This will enable the reporters to have direct communication, strengthen connections and to fully understand their position in a story.

Respecting this sensitivity, I simply want to direct the media attention to the areas of this research that have specific implications for RSE and alternative ways of reporting and looking at one perspective as being apparent from the dominant themes. In particular I want to point out that Pacific RSE workers will always be the vulnerable ones in any reporting and yet the media always represents employers' interests as the only interests, and that they are the ones who are struggling and vulnerable, completely ignoring the struggles and vulnerability of the workers. That is not objective or balanced coverage. It is quite simply pro-capitalist bias in media coverage.

I have discussed in the previous section what is not covered by the media. The reluctance may be due to the language barrier, having no or limited access to RSE workers, or workers resisting fronting for interviews because they fear being negatively judged by their employer or feeling vulnerable about speaking in a foreign language to create a dialogue in order for their issues to be more fully explored. I would argue that more research needs to be undertaken to test the themes and RSE worker voice over the claims being made by the industry which has resulted in the themes as reported by regional newspapers. This way, the media will offer the Pacific RSE workers a say and potentially it will change discourses based on their realities. What my research is doing is bringing these issues to the media's attention in an insightful way in order that through discourse and more inclusive possibilities can be explored.

7.6 Future research direction

My research adopted the interpretative thematic analysis framework to identify emerging themes from the study of newspaper coverage, to better understand the depiction of Pacific RSE workers in the Hawke's Bay, Bay of Plenty, Nelson, Marlborough and Otago regions. These regions constitute those with the highest numbers of RSE workers, however future research should be not just limited to the present research using texts from newspapers produced by the targeted five regions of the New Zealand RSE scheme. My research agenda will bring to the field of media studies more research in the future, using a combination of qualitative and quantitative or mixed methods approach to produce more findings and identify new themes in how the New Zealand media depict Pacific Island RSE workers. Future research plans include a comparative research media analysis of the New Zealand RSE scheme and an international seasonal scheme based on media representations of temporary workers without residency or citizenship. A comparative study of the New Zealand media and a Pacific Island media about how RSE workers are depicted is an alternative. A study outside the seasonal peak period of November to March would be another research option to contribute to a further understanding how Pacific RSE workers are represented in the media agenda. Another research option is a comparative study of how the New Zealand media depict Pacific New Zealanders and Pacific Island seasonal

workers to investigate broader patterns of racialised discourse in our news about Pacific peoples generally. With the rise of Pacific media in New Zealand, including online Pacific content, it would be an interesting future research area to follow up to see if this is changing the discourse. Finally, research could look at bringing the voices of RSE workers directly to the fore and providing protections for anonymous interviews so that their stories can be heard.

While a limitation of discourse analysis is that it only tells us ‘what is there’ rather than what to do about it, now that we better understand the nature of the media discourse about the RSE it opens up a number of future research directions, possibly collaborative ones. For example, a collaboration with a legal researcher could examine the international human rights legal framework around temporary migrant workers’ schemes to investigate the ramifications under human rights law. A collaboration with policy research experts based in the Pacific Islands could look at alternatives to the scheme that accrued benefits to the Pacific Islands without relying on the transnational commodification of Pacific Island labour. A study of information subsidies (media releases, media conferences, and government and official voices available readily for interview) in future would help to identify how much the media were relying on those sources and influenced by them. This may help explain the prevalence of policy in the themes, and would be particularly interesting in the context of investigating whether New Zealand regional journalism is prone to boosterism or even, as Hatcher and Reader (2012) have suggested for regional news elsewhere, corruption, but that kind of production-focussed research into causality was outside the discourse-focussed scope of this thesis. And finally, as noted above, a crucial future research project should collaborate with researchers from within the RSE sending communities to collect and analyse the voices of the Pacific Island workers themselves. Their views are essential to the next step in understanding and addressing RSE social and ethical issues, but adding another method and pool of data was outside the possible scope I could fit into a single doctoral timeframe. For future research on the scheme, however, including the missing voices of its workers must absolutely be a priority.

7.7 Conclusion

The research shows that the media hold the power to select particular issues as important. The themes from the 115 articles drawn from the five regional newspapers *Bay of Plenty Times*, *Hawkes Bay Today*, *Nelson Mail*, *Marlborough Express* and *The Southland Times*, along with 5 selected case studies extracted from the *NZ Herald*, concluded that news media provided particularly oriented pictures of Pacific Island workers in the RSE scheme from lenses aligned with industry, government and capitalism. van Dijk (1991) argued that the power of the press to influence public opinion is particularly effective if their reporting is consistent with the interests of most readers. “Immigration in such a case will never be represented as a boon to a country lacking a workforce for dirty jobs or enough youths to prevent demographic decline. Rather, immigration, although tacitly condoned as long as it is

economically propitious, will be represented as an invasion or a threatening wave” (p. 19). In the case of the RSE workers, however, it does seem that the interests of the elite agriculturalists in their own communities were predominant in framing RSE immigration as a boon.

The silencing of Pacific RSE workers voices was evident, not only the RSE workers but any Pacific voices whatsoever. There are also other Pacific peoples established in these regional communities who could have been consulted for a Pacific lens on what the workers were likely experiencing and to improve the cultural awareness of the host communities, but they were not quoted in the media either. This matters because New Zealand regional newspapers have an enormous effect on the community and what the public thinks is important at a grassroots level. Severin and Tankard (1992) suggested that agenda setting is the idea that the news media will determine the issues the public thinks and talks about. Machin and Niblock (2006) believe that reporters dig around to investigate and reveal issues on the public’s behalf. “They select the events that are most relevant to people, find ways to investigate them further and identify sources that can shed light on the central issues” (p. 4). These were apparent in my research findings. The role of media prioritising issues of importance, whilst not reflecting the reality of the story or rather reflecting a very limited reality, was apparent in my data. Nobody can ever know ‘the’ reality, as in the whole reality. We all only ever know some parts. What the media can at best do is give a diverse spectrum of those parts, but it will still always be a partial view. However, partial and diverse, especially if acknowledged as partial, is better than a very small slice of perspective claiming to be ‘the whole story’ or ‘the facts’. This is obvious in regional newspapers that help their community ‘buy into’ a story. Cohen (1963) argues that “the press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about” (p. 13). McCombs (1993) believes that “agenda setting is considerably more than the classical assertion that the news tells us what to think about. The news also tells us how to think about it” (p. 62). In these RSE regions, people were being told to think about the RSE scheme through the lens of capitalism and transnational labour migration, without any critical queries being raised about these systems’ legitimacy.

This thesis is a snapshot of regional print media coverage of the first five years of the RSE scheme, which has created a solid platform of insights upon which future research can build to see whether later media coverage evolved. Production-focussed research would be useful in future to find out exactly why media did not ask questions – what stopped them being critical in the regions. This cannot be answered in this thesis as scope was on what was said, but would be relevant in future to now study why some things were not said, and to consider and explore the impact of this limited and unbalanced discourse on the people who inspired me to begin this research – the RSE workers.

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Appendix One: Seasonal View of Data Sampling

SEASONAL SAMPLING – 2007/08								
Peak Months for RSE workers to be in New Zealand in every one year period, from November to March								
PIPFruit	November – May	THINNING & PICKING	KIWIFruit	December - January	PRUNING	WINE	February - April	HARVESTING
Comparative analysis of newspaper coverage at various times in regions that constitute the highest number of RSE workers								
Peak coverage times for the RSE scheme in NZ	Bay of Plenty Times (5)	Hawkes Bay Today (9)	Nelson Mail (8)	Marlborough Express (5)	The Southland Times (12)			
NOVEMBER 2007								
DECEMBER 2007			26 – Region's growers apply for overseas workers 29 – Nelson growers face dire workers shortage	19 – RSE scheme will iron out the creases	22 – Visa rules give fruit industry the pip 26 – Picker shortage blamed on Gov't 27 – Searching for a solution 28 – Orchards hesitant about scheme 29 – Publicity leads fruit workers south			
JANUARY 2008		18 – Pickers ask for better pay 22 – Crisis talks on labour shortage 24 – Growers hope government meeting will now bear fruit	23 – Desperate growers want rules moderated 24 – Speed required	25 – RSE scheme discussions ongoing	12 – Bumper cherry crop needs more pickers 15 – Seasonal worker shortage strategy discussed 16 – Mayors push for labour pick fix 23 – Labour gains could be over for growers			
FEBRUARY 2008	07 – Growers need to sign up to ensure seasonal labour force 26 – Tonga key to recruitment	01 – Back on the harvest trail 14 – Employment market growing 20 – Vanuatu PM checks out labour scheme 20 – Plenty of work for the picking 27 – Work trip a family affair	1 – Work visa change aid for pickers 19 – Apple season takes on Islands flavour 26 – Help for the harvest	29 – Sign up to RSE or lose out, growers told	1 – Seasonal labour rules amended 13 – Orchardists unhappy about extra charges 23 – Seasonal workers			
MARCH 2008	12 – Foreigners boost labour force 18 – Backpackers a hub for kiwifruit labour 26 – Labour shortage is declared	08 – Apple workers	24 – Growers finding plenty of pickers	10 – Scheme must move faster, says King 26 – Vineyard workers' permits extended				

SEASONAL SAMPLING – 2008/09								
Peak Months for RSE workers to be in New Zealand in every one year period, from November to March								
PIPFruit	November – May	THINNING & PICKING	KIWIFruit	December - January	PRUNING	WINE	February - April	HARVESTING
Comparative analysis of newspaper coverage at various times in regions that constitute the highest number of RSE workers								
Peak coverage times for the RSE scheme in NZ	Bay of Plenty Times (8)	Hawkes Bay Today (6)	Nelson Mail (4)	Marlborough Express (2)	The Southland Times (4)			
NOVEMBER 2008		27 – Pacific workers crucial for harvest	25 – Orchard builds quarters for employment scheme workers	12 – Change may ease seasonal worker housing				
DECEMBER 2008	20 – Bay holiday spot beckon 23 – A growing concern			26 – Ni Van leads celebration in Renwick Presbyterian church				
JANUARY 2009	24 – More NZers chase Bay kiwifruit work		29 – Fruit harvest workforce has big shortfall					
FEBRUARY 2009	03 – Industry still needs more workers 03 – Fever to come after lesson learnt 03 – Seasonal work is manna for village life	26 – Bay company benefits by providing housing for RSE workers	24 – Exporters face fall in apple price					
MARCH 2009	18 – No headline of kiwi 28 – Now builders and plumbers try luck with fruit-picking	19 – Early start for kiwifruit... sweet as! 21 – Pacific workers prove 'godsend' 23 – Pregnant woman 'let' 26 – Cold orchard workers' chance to pick bargains	10 – Crisp, juicy and harvested go masse		6 – But workers deny accepting pay cuts 9 – Foreign fruit picker charged with DIC after fatal crash 18 – Seasonal vacancies hard to fill 27 – No plea to seven fresh charges			

SEASONAL SAMPLING – 2009/10

Peak Months for RSE workers to be in New Zealand in every one year period, from November to March

PIPFruit November – May THINNING & PICKING KIWI Fruit December - January PRUNING WINE February - April HARVESTING

Comparative analysis of newspaper coverage at various times in regions that constitute the highest number of RSE workers

Peak coverage times for the RSE scheme in NZ	Bay of Plenty Times (0)	Hawkes Bay Today (4)	Nelson Mail (8)	Marlborough Express (10)	The Southland Times (2)
NOVEMBER 2009			06 – Unemployment		
DECEMBER 2009			06 – May the breezes be at our backs	08 – Let electorate judge me – King	08 – Ministry keeps mum over talks
JANUARY 2010		14 – Pipfruit industry seeks flexibility	13 – Overseas tourists flock to pick fruit		
FEBRUARY 2010		25 – Foreigners fill gap 25 – Common misconceptions 25 – Harvest bound for Asia	22 – Kiwis will be pick of the crop	16 – Tonga counts cost of cyclone Rene 22 – Nine hurt in van crash 23 – Overseas faces leaving her child 23 – Workers in van crash	
MARCH 2010			20 – We have got nothing to hide, says orchard boss 20 – Orchard 27 – Pick of the crop 30 – Accommodation claims rejected	10 – RSE scheme a success – report 17 – Jail ‘only option’ for drink-driver 24 – Mechanisation is on the move 24 – Welfare overhaul comes at difficult time 24 – Vineyard contractor ordered to pay fine and back pay	16 – Seasonal workforce focus on strategy

SEASONAL SAMPLING – 2010/11

Peak Months for RSE workers to be in New Zealand in every one year period, from November to March

PIPFruit November – May THINNING & PICKING KIWI Fruit December - January PRUNING WINE February - April HARVESTING

Comparative analysis of newspaper coverage at various times in regions that constitute the highest number of RSE workers

Peak coverage times for the RSE scheme in NZ	Bay of Plenty Times (5)	Hawkes Bay Today (3)	Nelson Mail (7)	Marlborough Express (4)	The Southland Times (0)
NOVEMBER 2010			30 – Higher RSE numbers defended		
DECEMBER 2010	21 – Rural round up	07 – Seasonal jobs scheme wins endorsement			
JANUARY 2011		20 – Imported workers key to local success	06 – More worker imports despite jobless increase	28 – Workers get credit for success of nursery	
FEBRUARY 2011	09 – Fruition of long-term plans 16 – Windfall for family	03 – Apples provide windfall for family	22 – Nod for jobs scheme	28 – Blenheim celebrates diversity	
MARCH 2011	16 – South’s jobless get kiwifruit work 16 – Close partnership growing well		01 – Early start to harvest hits growers 08 – Apple prospects looking good 08 – Island life easier with seasonal job 29 – Ethnic choirs at service	04 – Tribute paid to dead Kiritahi workmate 10 – Study looks at Pacific health access	

SEASONAL SAMPLING – 2011/12

Peak Months for RSE workers to be in New Zealand in every one year period, from November to March
 PIPFRUIT November – May THINNING & PICKING KIWIFRUIT December - January PRUNING WINE February - April HARVESTING

Comparative analysis of newspaper coverage at various times in regions that constitute the highest number of RSE workers

Peak coverage times for the RSE scheme in NZ	Bay of Plenty Times (3)	Hawkes Bay Today (2)	Nelson Mail (2)	Marlborough Express (2)	The Southland Times (0)
NOVEMBER 2011	02 – Skills programme a benefit at home and abroad 19 – Pga-V takes it's toll on economy in Bay				
DECEMBER 2011					
JANUARY 2012		12 – Pipfruit boss optimistic rain will fuel BUMPER CROP			
FEBRUARY 2012			07 – Growers slow to take on RSE staff 07 – Job and money just the ticket for Samoan	13 – Workers fined for freedom camping 15 – Woman who set up sex trap sent to jail	
MARCH 2012	29 – Worker tuition help extended	01 – Seasonal worker contract extended			

Appendix Two: Summary description of key themes and sub-themes clustered to form each theme

Key Themes	Sub themes	Description	Article Citation
Labour shortage	<p>Subtheme (1) Labour crisis</p> <p><i>Fruit growers' fears that there will not be enough local workers to fill the jobs available and the projected numbers for each season is not enough</i></p> <p>Subtheme (2) Worker shortage</p> <p><i>RSE workers brought improved productivity and efficiency to the industry</i></p>	<p>Allowing seasonal workers from the Pacific Islands to work in NZ horticulture and viticulture temporarily which often suffer from a shortage of local workers</p>	<p>“Even if employers think they can get enough local labour, being registered for one of the schemes is a back stop in case there is a labour shortage. The advantage of this scheme is that it builds reliable, trained workforce as they return each year.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Jodi Johnstone, Industry Labour Coordinator (Bay of Plenty Times, 7 February 2008) <p>“We need to get the fruit off the trees.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Jerf van Beek, Horticulture NZ National Seasonal Coordinator (The Southland Times, 12 January 2008) <p>“It is a bloody disaster and I do not see how I am going to get enough pickers or packers.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Stephen Jefferey, Roxburgh orchardist (The Southland Times, 22 December 2007) <p>“We are going to take two weeks to hit peak with 8500 workers needed and in the greater horticulture sector we are talking about a peak of 12,500 needed.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - John van Boheman, Hawkes Bay Inc. Economic Development Manager (Hawkes Bay Today, 20 February 2008) <p>“Labour shortages in combination with other factors cost the kiwifruit industry up to \$100 million in 2006.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mike Chapman, CEO NZ Kiwifruit Growers (Bay of Plenty, 3 February 2009)

<p>RSE policy</p>	<p>Subtheme (1) Overstaying</p> <p><i>Had no or low rate of overstaying problems or serious breach of visa conditions</i></p> <p>Subtheme (2) Policy change</p> <p><i>Employment conditions and movement of workers between employers</i></p>	<p>The RSE policy allows accredited NZ employers to recruit Pacific Island workers and workers from other countries which a NZ employer have pre-existing relationships with to work in the horticulture and viticulture industry temporarily to plant, maintain, harvest and pack crops</p>	<p>“Its early days but we have a tremendous degree of confidence in it.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Shane Jones, Associate Minister of Immigration (Marlborough Express, 19 December 2007) - <p>“The Government also ran a recognised employer scheme, meaning pickers could be brought in for the season, largely from the Pacific Islands.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Clayton Cosgrove, Immigration Minister (Nelson Mail, 24 March 2008) <p>“The RSE scheme is a government scheme to use labour from the Pacific Islands in the viticulture and horticulture industries. It was introduced last year but and has been criticised for being too strict in its conditions.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ian McLean, Department of Labour spokesman (Marlborough Express, 25 January 2008)
<p>New Zealanders First</p>	<p>Subtheme (1) Industry concerns</p> <p><i>Supplement labour needs. Preference was to hire New Zealanders first, Pacific Island workers as second choice</i></p> <p>Subtheme (2) Unemployment</p> <p><i>Continue hiring of RSE workers while many New Zealanders are jobless</i></p>	<p>The number of RSE workers recruited from overseas is subject to the availability of suitable NZ workers and all suitable NZ labour supplies have been exhausted</p>	<p>“If you don’t get the fruit off then you don’t employ New Zealanders in the packhouse, so you end up compromising jobs for Kiwis.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gary Jones, Pipfruit NZ Membership Services Manager (Hawkes Bay Today, 14 January 2010) <p>“Immigration New Zealand work policy has always been based upon ensuring that New Zealanders have the first opportunity to take up work vacancies.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Debbie Hannan, Department of Labour spokeswoman (Hawkes Bay Today, 14 January 2010)

			<p>“Priority is always given to employing Kiwis and there are a number for work as many have lost their fulltime jobs elsewhere.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mike Chapman, CEO NZ Kiwifruit Growers (Bay of Plenty Times, 16 March 2011). <p>“You always hear they’re here taking Kiwis jobs but we can’t get Kiwis to do these jobs.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Andy McGrath, Owner of McGrath Nurseries (Marlborough Express, 28 January 2011)
RSE praise	<p>Subtheme (1) Godsend</p> <p><i>RSE workers being referred to as a blessing</i></p> <p>Subtheme (2) Reliable workers</p> <p><i>RSE workers in high demand for their reliability. Positive views on RSE workers performance</i></p>	<p>The RSE policy is highly commended based on the positive contribution of Pacific Island workers, creating more jobs for local community and often referred to as the triple win – good for the individual, host community and sending countries</p>	<p>“The value of the Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) scheme is in repeat availability of workers over the years, and in the vineyards, eight hours a day, six days a week.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Peter McLeod, Blenheim based wine industry representative (Marlborough Express, 24 March 2010) <p>“The RSE workers had a high work ethic and were essential to a successful harvest... RSE workers were essential to the industry.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Paul Heywood, Nelson Seasonal Employers Chairman (Nelson Mail, 30 November 2010) <p>“We truly are blessed to have them.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ruth Newman, congregation member (Marlborough Express, 26 December 2008) <p>“The RSE scheme exposes the flaws of the Ministry of Social Development”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gary Jones, Pipfruit NZ Membership Services Manager (Hawkes Bay Today, 14 January 2010)

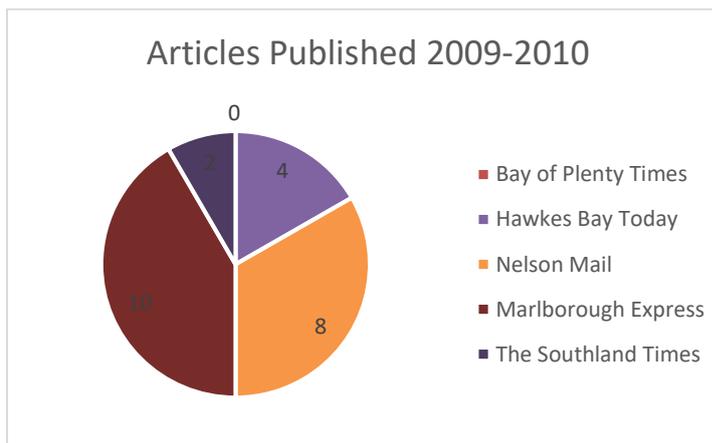
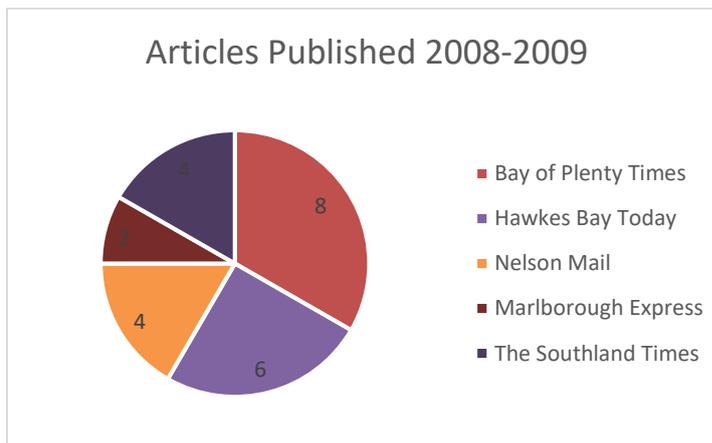
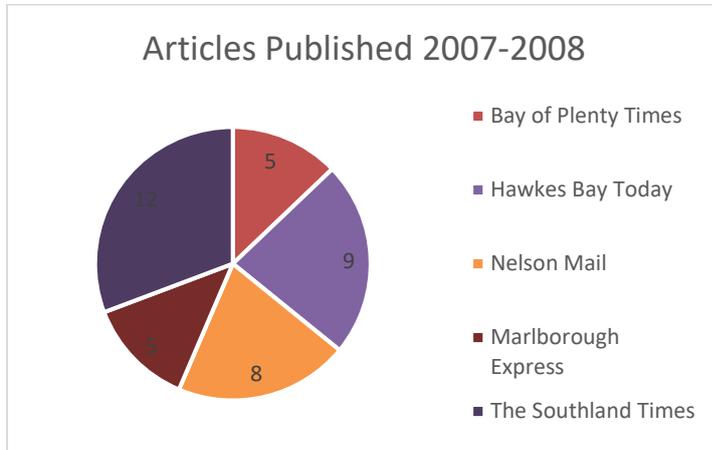
			<p>“The 232 Pacific Island workers from Vanuatu, brought in to work on Central Otago orchards through the co-operative, have been a blessing for some growers.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Basil Goodman, SummerfruitNZ Chairman (The Southland Times, 23 January 2008)
Pastoral care	<p>Subtheme (1) Community in action</p> <p><i>Contribution of RSE workers in local community activities</i></p>	<p>Matters relating to the support and pastoral care of workers</p>	<p>“It is a requirement for all RSE accreditation that workers are well cared for by their employers by providing pastoral care for their workers including suitable accommodation.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Dave Huslton, Department of Labour Central Workplace Regional Manager (Nelson Mail, 22 February 2011) <p>“We’ve built up a really good relationship with the Pacific Island workers so we have decided to invest in this building. We are responsible for them while they are in NZ and that’s always easier if they are staying on the property.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Richard Hoddy, Vailima owner (Nelson Mail, 25 November 2008) <p>“The biggest problem he had with the scheme was the cultural difference as, although there had to be a certain amount of understanding from both cultures, workers had to learn to adapt to New Zealand’s culture.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Jono Bushell, Vinepower Director (Marlborough Express, 19 December 2007) <p>“This scheme is not just pulling people into NZ but a guided process. Under the scheme employers have to provide a lot of pastoral care and support to their workers while they are in the country.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Jodi Johnston, Seasonal Labour Coordinator (Bay of Plenty Times, 12 March 2008) -

<p>Economic benefits</p>	<p>Subtheme (1) Wages benefit island</p> <p><i>RSE earnings are remitted to home villages and families. Scheme has transformed village life in the Pacific sending countries</i></p> <p>Subtheme (2) Research</p> <p><i>Study shows mixed effect of RSE contribution to individual, host country and sending country</i></p> <p>Subtheme (3) Technology</p> <p><i>Introducing the use of machines to assist workers during the picking, pruning and harvesting of crops</i></p>	<p>The financial benefits of the RSE scheme for workers, employers and the countries involved.</p>	<p>“We are aware of how significant the RSE scheme is for NZ horticultural industry, as well as for workers, their families and their communities back home.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sandy Scarrow, Fruition Horticulture (Bay of Plenty Times, 29 March 2012) <p>“Most of the RSE workers will again come from Vanuatu. The benefits the people of that Pacific country have achieved from employment in the kiwifruit industry are heart-warming. Churches have been built, villages have water and power and children are being educated. In return Vanuatu is providing us with a skilled and commitment workforce. It’s a win win.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mike Chapman, CEO NZ Kiwifruit Growers (Bay of Plenty Times, 16 March 2011). <p>“..a win-win situation particularly from an economic development perspective.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Shane Jones, Associate Immigration Minister (Marlborough Express, 19 December 2007) -
<p>NZ unemployment</p>		<p>RSE policies, including breaches of employment law in some cases and the recruitment of overseas workers while the unemployment figures in NZ remain high</p>	<p>“This season, because of rising unemployment, the number of RSE workers will be less than last season.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Marya Hopman, Pick NZ Regional Relationship Manager (Hawkes Bay Today, 25 February 2010) <p>“We are expecting to have a bigger number of Kiwi workers this season, due to rising unemployment here.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Clive Exelby, Aongatete (Bay of Plenty, 3 February 2009)

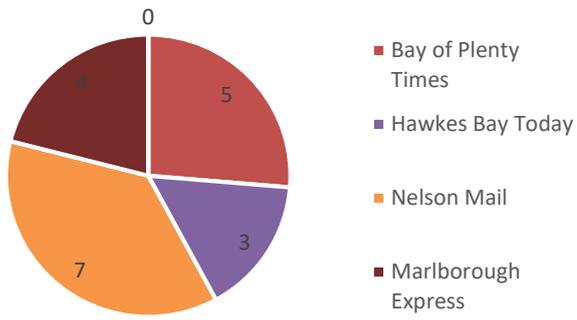
			<p>“For the coming season there will be a significant increase in the number of Kiwis employed for harvest as the industry is committed to employing Kiwis first.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mike Chapman, Chief Executive Officer of NZ Kiwifruit Growers (Bay of Plenty Times, 18 March 2009) <p>“Employers must give preference to NZ unemployed when taking on seasonal staff.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Asher Nikora, Labour Department’s Market Knowledge Manager
RSE cap	<p>Subtheme (1) Natural disasters</p> <p><i>Generally positive views on how the RSE policy assist RSE workers and their homelands at times of natural disasters</i></p>	<p>The optimum number of overseas workers to bring to NZ under the RSE policy should not exceeded its restriction. This is about the level of the cap for RSE workers.</p>	<p>“The RSE enables NZ employers to recruit up to 5000 Pacific Island workers a year to meet labour shortages in the horticulture and viticulture industries.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Richard Hoddy, Vailima owner (Nelson Mail, 25 November 2008) <p>“The current scheme is geared towards Pacific states and is capped at 5000 places a year.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Jonathan Coleman, Immigration Minister (The Southland Times, 28 March 2009) <p>“The scheme aims to meet labour shortages in rural industries by bringing in workers from the Pacific Islands into the country to work for a single employer for up to seven months a year.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Shane Jones, Associate Immigration Minister (Nelson Mail, 26 December 2007)
RSE incidents		<p>Incidents involving RSE workers</p>	<p>“English is not the first language for many of these workers so understanding instructions and having the courage to say they don’t understand can be hard. We teach that it’s OK to ask.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sandy Scarrow, Fruition Horticulture (Bay of Plenty, 29 March 2012)

			<p>“Naabwe Tabiita, 32, who was working here under the recognised seasonal employer (RSE) scheme, died in his sleep at Triple Links Accommodation on February 4.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tamaroa Koniri, Kiribati spokesman (Marlborough Express, 4 March 2011) <p>“Paul Dick, who is in New Zealand on the recognised seasonal employer (RSE) scheme, was travelling too fast and too close to the vehicle in front. When the vehicle in front suddenly braked, Dick lost control of the van and it flipped on to its side and slid several hundred meters.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Seageant Steve Frost, NZ Police (Marlborough Express, 17 March 2000) <p>“We have a no-drinking policy because their capability for alcohol is quite low. We discourage the consumption of alcohol but we can’t stop grown men doing what they want to do.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Basil Goodman, Seasonal Solutions Director (The Southland Times, 9 March 2009).
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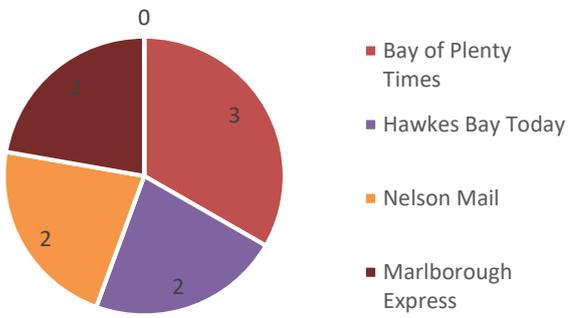
Appendix Three: Number of articles published per newspaper per season



Articles Published 2010-2011



Articles Published 2011-2012



Appendix Four: List of Sampled Newspaper Articles, 2007 – 2012

- A growing concern. (2008, December 23). *Bay of Plenty Times*.
- Apple workers. (2008, March 8). *Hawkes Bay Today*.
- Accommodation claims rejected. (2010, March 30). *Nelson Mail*.
- Apple prospects looking good. (2011, March 8). *Nelson Mail*.
- Apples provide windfall for family. (2011, February 2). *Hawkes Bay Today*.
- Apple season takes on Islands flavour. (2008, February 19). *Nelson Mail*.
- Back on the harvest trail. (2008, February 1). *Hawkes Bay Today*.
- Backpackers a hub for kiwifruit labour. (2008, March 18). *Bay of Plenty Times*.
- Bay company benefits by providing housing for RSE workers. (2009, February 26). *Hawkes Bay Today*.
- Bay holiday spots beckon. (2008, December 20). *Bay of Plenty Times*.
- Blenheim celebrates diversity. (2011, February 28.) *Marlborough Express*.
- Bumper cherry crop needs more pickers. (2008, January 12). *The Southland Times*.
- But workers deny accepting pay cuts. (2009, March 6). *The Southland Times*.
- Change may ease seasonal worker housing. (2008, November 12). *Marlborough Express*.
- Close partnership growing very well. (2011, March 16). *Bay of Plenty Times*.
- Cold orchard workers' chance to pick bargains. (2009, March 26). *Hawkes Bay Today*.
- Common misconceptions. (2010, February 25). *Hawkes Bay Today*.
- Crisp, juicy and harvested en masse. (2009, March 10). *Nelson Mail*.
- Crisis talks on labour shortage. (2008, January 22). *Hawkes Bay Today*.
- Desperate growers want rules moderated. (2008, January 23). *Nelson Mail*.
- Early start for kiwifruit - sweet as!. (2009, March 19). *Hawkes Bay Today*.
- Early start to harvest hits growers. (2011, March 1). *Nelson Mail*.
- Employment market growing. (2008), February 14). *Hawkes Bay Today*.
- Ethnic choirs at service. (2011, March 29). *Nelson Mail*.
- Exporters face fall in apple price. (2009, February 17). *Nelson Mail*.
- Fewer to come after lessons learnt. (2009, February 3). *Bay of Plenty Times*.
- Foreign fruitpicker charged with DIC after fatal crash. (2009, March 9). *The Southland Times*.
- Foreigners boost labour force. (2008), March 12). *Bay of Plenty Times*.
- Foreigners fill gap. (2010, February 25). *Hawkes Bay Today*.

Fruit harvest workforce has big shortfall. (2009, January 29). *Nelson Mail*.

Fruition of long-term plans. (2011, February 9). *Bay of Plenty Times*.

Growers finding plenty of pickers (2008, March 24). *Nelson Mail*.

Growers hope Government meeting will now bear fruit. (2008, January 24). *Hawkes Bay Today*.

Growers need to sign up to ensure seasonal labour force. (2008, February 7). *Bay of Plenty Times*.

Growers slow to take on RSE staff. (202, February 7). *Nelson Mail*.

Harvest bound for Asia. (2010, February 25). *Hawkes Bay Today*.

Help for the harvest. (2008, February 26). *Nelson Mail*.

Higher RSE numbers defended. (2010, November 30). *Nelson Mail*.

Industry still needs more workers. (2009), February 3). *Bay of Plenty Times*.

Imported workers key to local success. (2011, January 20). *Hawkes Bay Today*.

Island life easier with seasonal job. (2011, March 8). *Nelson Mail*.

Jail 'only option' for drink-driver. (2010, March 17). *Marlborough Express*.

Job and money just the ticket for Samoan. (2012, February 7). *Nelson Mail*.

Kiwis will be pick of the crop. (2010, February 22). *Nelson Mail*.

Labour pains could be over for growers. (2008, January 23). *The Southland Times*.

Labour shortage is declared. (2008, March 26). *Bay of Plenty Times*.

Let electorate judge me – King. (2009, December 8). *Marlborough Express*.

May the breezes be at our backs. (2009, December 26). *Nelson Mail*.

Mayors push for labour pick-fix. (2008, January 16). *The Southland Times*.

Mechanisation is on the move. (2010, March 24). *Marlborough Express*.

Ministry keeps mum over talks. (2009, December 8). *The Southland Times*.

More NZers chase Bay kiwifruit work. (2009, January 29). *Bay of Plenty Times*.

More worker imports despite jobless increase. (2011, January 11). *Nelson Mail*.

Nelson growers face dire worker shortage. (2007, December 29). *Nelson Mail*.

Nine hurt in van crash. (2010, February 22). *Marlborough Express*.

Ni-vans lead celebration in Renwick Presbyterian church. (2008, December 26). *Marlborough Express*.

No headline: ef-kiwi. (2009, March 18). *Bay of Plenty Times*.

No plea to seven fresh charges. (2009, March 27). *The Southland Times*.

Nod for jobs scheme. (201, February 22). *Nelson Mail*.

Now builders and plumbers try luck with fruit-picking. (2009, March 28). *Bay of Plenty Times*.

Orchard. (2010, March 20). *Nelson Mail*.

Orchard builds quarters for employment scheme workers. (2008, November 25). *Nelson Mail*.

Orchards hesitant about scheme. (2007, December 28). *The Southland Times*.

Orchardists unhappy about extra charges. (2008, February 13). *The Southland Times*.

Overseas tourists flock to pick fruit. (2010, January 13). *Nelson Mail*.

Overstayer faces leaving her child. (2010, February 22). *Marlborough Express*.

Pacific workers crucial for harvest. (2008, November 28). *Hawkes Bay Today*.

Pacific workers prove 'godsend'. (2009, March 21). *Hawkes Bay Today*.

Pick of the crop. (2010, March 27). *Nelson Mail*.

Picker shortage blamed on Govt. (2007, December 26). *The Southland Times*.

Pickers ask for better pay. (2008, January 18). *Hawkes Bay Today*.

Pipfruit boss optimistic rain will fuel BUMPER CROP. (2012), January 12). *Hawkes Bay Today*.

Pipfruit industry seeks flexibility. (2010, January 14). *Hawkes Bay Today*.

Plenty of work for the picking. (2008, February 20). *Hawkes Bay Today*.

Pregnant woman 'lied'. (2009, March 23). *Hawkes Bay Today*.

Psa-V takes it's toll on economy in Bay. (2011, November 19). *Bay of Plenty Times*.

Publicity leads fruit workers south. (2007, December 29). *The Southland Times*.

Region's growers apply for overseas workers. (2007, December 26). *Nelson Mail*.

RURAL ROUND-UP. (2010, December 21). *Bay of Plenty Times*.

RSE scheme discussions ongoing. (2008, January 25). *Marlborough Express*.

RSE scheme a success – report. (2010, March 10). *Marlborough Express*.

RSE scheme will iron out the creases. (2007, December 17). *Marlborough Express*.

Scheme must move faster, says King. (2008, March 10). *Marlborough Express*.

Searching for a solution. (2007, December 27). *The Southland Times*.

Seasonal labour rules amended. (2008, February 1). *The Southland Times*.

Seasonal jobs scheme wins endorsement. (2010, December 7). *Hawkes Bay Today*.

Seasonal work vacancies hard to fill. (2009, March 18). *The Southland Times*.

Seasonal work is manna for village life. (2009, February 3). *Bay of Plenty Times*.

Seasonal worker contract extended. (2012, March 1). *Hawkes Bay Today*.

Seasonal worker shortage strategy discussed. (2008), January 15). *The Southland Times*.

Seasonal workers. (2008, February 23). *The Southland Times*.

Seasonal workforce focus of strategy. (2010, March 16). *The Southland Times*.

Sign up to RSE or lose out, growers told. (2008, February 29). *Marlborough Express*.

Skills programme a benefit at home and abroad. (2011, November 2). *Bay of Plenty Times*.

South's jobless get kiwifruit work. (2011, March 16). *Bay of Plenty Times*.

Speed required. (2008, January 24). *Nelson Mail*.

Study looks at Pacific health access. (2011, March 10). *Marlborough Express*.

Tonga counts cost of Cyclone Rene. (2010, February 16). *Marlborough Express*.

Tonga key to recruitment. (2008, February 26). *Bay of Plenty Times*.

Tribute paid to dead Kiribati workmate (2011, March 4). *Marlborough Express*.

UNEMPLOYMENT. (2009, November 6.) *Nelson Mail*.

Vanuatu PM checks out labour scheme. (2008, February 20). *Hawkes Bay Today*.

Vineyard contractor ordered to pay fine and back pay. (2010, March 24). *Marlborough Express*.

Vineyard workers' permits extended. (2008, March 26). *Marlborough Express*.

Visa rules give fruit industry the pip. (2007, December 22). *The Southland Times*.

Welfare overhaul comes at difficult time. (2010, March 24). *Marlborough Express*.

Workers in van crash. (2010, February 23). *Marlborough Express*.

We have got nothing to hide, says orchard boss. (2010, March 20). *Nelson Mail*.

Work visa change aid for pickers. (2008, February 1). *Nelson Mail*.

Workers get credit for success of nursery. (2011, January 28). *Marlborough Express*.

Windfall for family. (2011, February 6). *Bay of Plenty Times*.

Woman who set up sex trap sent to jail. (2012, February 15). *Marlborough Express*.

Work trip a family affair. (2008, February 27). *Hawkes Bay Today*.

Worker tuition help extended. (2012, March 29). *Bay of Plenty Times*.

Workers fined for freedom camping. (2012, February 13). *Marlborough Express*.

Appendix Five: Case Study Article 1 - Lured by broken promise

By Simon Collins

5:00 AM Saturday Mar 8, 2008

NZ Herald

When Saia 'Aholelei was asked to join one of the first groups of Tongans heading to New Zealand under a new seasonal work scheme, he agreed to go to help out his community.

He had worked on foreign merchant ships and the town officer in his part of Nuku'alofa, Kolomotu'a, considered that he knew something of the world and would be able to help look after the other 19 men in his group.

'Aholelei, 38, had a job servicing machinery for the Nuku'alofa Water Board to support his wife and two children aged 11 and 6. But he was happy to come to New Zealand under the new Recognised Seasonal Employer scheme, which lets horticulturists bring in up to 5000 seasonal workers from 11 Pacific countries for up to seven months a year.

"The concept of the scheme is very good because there are lot of people in Tonga who don't have jobs," he says.

"They thought they were coming to New Zealand as a civilised country."

What they actually came to was not what they expected. They were employed by Kerifresh and accommodated at Kerikeri's Aranga Backpackers in what 'Aholelei says were 12ft by 16ft (3.7m x 4.9m) cabins, five men to a cabin.

They had the use of the camp kitchen, but "there were too many people there", so the camp put up a tarpaulin outside their cabin and they cooked their food there.

"Where I live in Tonga is way better. My kids don't sleep together with the pots and the dirty clothes," 'Aholelei says.

After three days on the minimum wage of \$11.25 an hour, the men pruned fruit trees on piece rates varying from \$2.50 to \$8 a tree depending on the size of the trees.

Out of their wages, Kerifresh deducted income tax, \$100 a week each for rent, \$40 a week to repay their airfare from Tonga and \$105 a week for health insurance, plus savings under a scheme which aimed to help each man save \$7000 in their seven months.

'Aholelei ended up with only \$100 to \$200 a week in the hand to buy his food and support his family back in Tonga.

He had to borrow from his sister in Auckland to eat. He pulled out of the savings scheme and in January he quit the job.

His work permit was revoked immediately, but he has appealed through Otahuhu lawyer Nalesoni Tupou to Associate Immigration Minister Shane Jones to be allowed to stay until his original seven months is up next month.

“I didn’t plan to stay in New Zealand,” he says. “I’m just staying to get justice.”

Sadly, ‘Aholelei’s story is typical of what growing numbers of migrants from poorer countries are finding at the bottom end of what is supposed to be our civilised society.

Filipino unionist Dennis Maga has documented cases where registered nurses have been recruited from the Philippines and bonded to work for up to three years in minimum-wage caregiver roles in rest homes, paying back loans for exorbitant fees to recruitment agents.

Counties Manukau District Health Board project manager Sue Christie describes some private rest home contracts as “almost like slave labour”.

Despite an immigration policy geared mainly towards luring rich, skilled migrants, our low unemployment rates are driving employers to bring in surprising numbers of relatively unskilled workers. Work permits issued in 13 low-wage sectors ranging from horticulture to hotel messengers and doorkeepers (see table) have leapt more than 10-fold from 1443 to 15,235 in the past five years.

In the Marlborough vineyards, Amalgamated Workers Union organiser Steve MacManus estimates that 3000 out of a seasonal workforce of 5000 are from overseas.

Censuses show that overseas-born caregivers have risen from 19 per cent of personal care workers in 1996 to 26 per cent a decade later.

Employers such as Dwayne Crombie, the former Waitemata District Health Board boss who now runs rest home conglomerate Guardian Healthcare, complains that Immigration NZ has capped the number of caregivers being recruited overseas each year to five per employer, unless specifically approved by Associate Minister Jones.

“It’s really hard to get New Zealand people willing to do this kind of work,” he says.

“The first preference of most employers is that, if the Government was willing to fund it, we would love to pay the same minimum rate as the public hospitals of \$14-\$15 an hour.

“Our second choice, if the Government doesn’t want to fund it, is to go overseas.

“Why are they putting up barriers to trying to get these people in?”

Work permits are in fact easy to get under certain schemes such as the new seasonal work scheme, working-holiday agreements with about 20 mainly rich countries, and special quotas for some Pacific island states.

But, in general, the official policy is that employers can bring in unskilled workers only if they can prove that they have tried, and been unable, to recruit New Zealanders.

WHAT CAN BE DONE?

The Government has already tightened the rules in many ways to try to protect vulnerable migrants, as well as low-paid New Zealanders whose jobs they might fill. But clearly there is still a problem.

Measures taken so far include:

Raising the minimum wage from \$7 an hour in 1999 to \$12 from next month.

Raising the minimum for foreign fishing crews to \$1.25 above the minimum wage from January 2007, rising to \$2 above the minimum by next January. The table shows that this has effectively stopped immigration of fishing crews.

Raising funding for aged care last year on the basis that the money had to be passed on in higher wages to caregivers. Rest homes spokesman Martin Taylor says the average caregiver wage has gone up as a result from \$11.86 an hour last year to \$13.15 now.

Requiring ministerial approval for any approval in principle to recruit more than five workers overseas in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs from January 2005.

Requiring RSE employers to have “human resource policies and practices of a high standard”, show a “commitment to recruiting and training New Zealanders” and provide a wide range of “pastoral care” including suitable accommodation and transport to and from work.

Requiring all immigration agents to be licenced by 2010.

Prosecuting agents who have exploited migrant workers, mainly in horticulture. Seven have been convicted so far. The latest was a Vietnamese supervisor with labour supply company Contract Labour Services, Ngoc Viet Dang, who was sentenced in Nelson this week to home detention for seven and a half months for aiding and abetting illegal workers to stay in New Zealand. He allegedly threatened them with a machete.

Part-funding a new group, NZ Master Contractors, which was launched in Hawkes Bay yesterday to promote a stronger code of practice among contractors.

Unions argue that the way to stop continuing abuses is to keep going in the same direction. “The only way to stop it is to address the pay parity issue,” says Nurses Organisation analyst Marilyn Head.

More generally, the Council of Trade Unions (CTU) suggested last year that employers granted approval to recruit workers from overseas should be required to train one NZ worker for every five imported, or to spend a percentage of the wage bill for the migrant workers on training.

That suggestion came to nothing in the Immigration Bill which is now before Parliament. But CTU research officer Andrew Chick says the Labour Department is now reviewing its temporary labour migration policy.

“They are aware that demand for temporary labour is increasing,” he says.

“So they are making sure that they have the policy tools that are going to work.”

LABOUR, HOUSING FAIL TO KEEP UP WITH BURGEONING HORTICULTURE

Steve MacManus in Marlborough expresses exasperation with the way fruitgrowing and winemaking have spread like wildfire through most rural districts of the country in the past decade or two, apparently oblivious of the lack of people to harvest the vines when the fruit matures.

“As far as the eye can see there are vines everywhere _ new development, new development, new development all the time,” he says.

“They know there is going to be a shortage of labour, so why do they keep doing it?”

Not only is there an absolute shortfall of local workers in places like Marlborough and Kerikeri, but there are also simply not enough houses to accommodate a seasonal influx of 5000 people in such places. So, for New Zealanders as well as migrants, seasonal work often means staying in cramped conditions, sometimes in tents.

“We’ve heard of 15 or 20 people in a house. That’s overcrowding with one toilet,” MacManus says.

Auckland restaurateur Graham Sanders says two Thai men, part of a group recruited by contractors Marlborough Horticulture, turned up at his Thai restaurant late last year because they resented staying in a house with 20 people and getting only sporadic, weather-dependent vineyard work.

MacManus agrees that some of Marlborough’s 120 contractors are not following the rules, but ironically he says Marlborough Horticulture is not one of them.

“They are my top contractor. They pay premiums for their workers and really look after their workers.”

He says other Thais who ran away to Nelson, around the same time as the two who absconded to Auckland, are now back with Marlborough Horticulture, picking apples in Nelson until the vineyards need them.

In Tonga, recruitment for the RSE scheme has been organised by the Tongan Government, with quotas allocated to each village. Town officers and village committees have picked suitable people in each district, and employers such as Kerifresh have made their own selections from the community shortlists.

About 5000 of Tonga’s 67,000 working-aged adults have put their names forward for the scheme and about 600 have come here to date.

Nalesoni Tupou says two groups, each of about 20 people, have gone home early so far because they were unhappy with the conditions here.

He says the cost of medical insurance is scandalous and that, although the migrants are covered by accident compensation, there has been at least one case where an employer failed to report an accident when a man fell off a ladder.

“The manager said you’ll be okay overnight, but overnight his leg swelled up and the workers had to arrange medical care for him _ not the employer. He was never given ACC.”

Because they are here for only a few months, the RSE migrants should normally get tax rebates when they leave, but Tupou says some of those who left early were not given tax returns.

Former Auckland journalist Sefita Hauoli, who is now one of two local Tongan Government representatives responsible for “pastoral care” of Tongan RSE workers, confirms that one group at Kerifresh went home early in late January, after replacing another group who were “unproductive”.

“Those who went home early came as a three-month contract to replace a group of AIP workers (where the employer was given “approval in principle” to recruit overseas) who proved unproductive,” Hauoli says.

“When they came here they asked for a pay increase which the company said they couldn’t meet. They were getting \$45 a bin. They wanted \$70.

“In spite of several meetings with them, they said no, they would rather go home.”

Hauoli says the five-person cabins that upset Saia ‘Aholelei were actually designed for six people, and that the camp bent over backwards to accommodate the Tongans’ cultural needs with the outside cooking area, even though there was room for them in the camp kitchen.

“They said, ‘we are embarrassed to cook our food in front of people who cook in a different way,’” he says.

Hauoli says their rent of \$100 a week each includes free transport to work, and that the savings scheme is not compulsory but is designed to make sure the men bring money back to Tonga.

“We know that some of the heaviest smokers would smoke more than what they would normally pay in rent,” he says. “We think if they were encouraged to put the \$100 aside as savings, rather than look upon it as their smoking ration, life might change for their health as well as their savings.”

He says tax rebates when the men go home are an issue which was raised at a meeting with the Labour Department two weeks ago.

“The department is approaching Inland Revenue to see if there can be a special tax rate for RSE workers.”

Appendix Six: Case Study Article 2 - Woman who gave birth on plane likely to be charged

4:46 PM Friday Mar 20, 2009
NZ Herald

Police are likely to prosecute a woman who allegedly abandoned her newborn baby after she gave birth en route to New Zealand to pick kiwifruit.

Police began an investigation following reports that the woman abandoned her newborn baby shortly after a Pacific Blue flight from Apia to Auckland landed about 5.20am.

“Police are currently investigating the mother’s actions after the birth of the child,” a Counties-Manukau police spokeswoman said this afternoon.

“A likelihood of this investigation is a criminal prosecution.”

The woman, believed to be a Samoan citizen, and her child were taken to Auckland’s Middlemore Hospital after they were reunited at the airport.

The woman had reportedly tried to exit the airport but had forgotten her passport. She sought help from authorities, who noticed she was pale and bloodstained.

An Auckland Airport spokeswoman said “the baby was found on the aircraft” after landing.

One report quoted sources as saying that the baby was born in the plane’s toilet and then abandoned in a rubbish bin.

The woman underwent surgery yesterday before police were able to speak to her.

Pacific Blue’s website said pregnant women needed medical clearance to board a flight if they had experienced complications or had passed the 36-week mark.

It also trained staff to check whether passengers are pregnant, though the airline did not say if these checks were carried out on the woman in question.

Radio New Zealand International reported that the 29-year-old woman was a regional seasonal scheme worker, and flew to New Zealand to start picking kiwifruit,

The incident would mean more careful screening of woman applicants in the future, the assistant chief executive of Samoa’s immigration department, Fata Uili Kapeteni, said.

The New Zealand Immigration branch in Apia dealt with all visa applications.

Samoan lawyer Olinda Woodroffe, who is based in Auckland, said she was frustrated police and hospital authorities had refused to let her or Samoan church leaders visit the woman in hospital.

“Our hearts go to her. We want her to know we care.

“She is probably feeling we don’t care but we do. How can we get to her?” she said.

- NZPA

Appendix Seven: Case Study Article 3 - Jobless Kiwis reap seasonal work

By Jarrod Booker
4:00 AM Friday Jan 22, 2010
NZ Herald

A severe shortage of workers to harvest fruit has now become a plentiful supply, but the horticulture industry insists it is putting jobless New Zealanders first.

The industry which has faced the prospect of fruit rotting on trees because of labour shortages is now having to turn away some prospective casual workers away.

“This year, so far anyway, there are plenty of workers,” said Horticulture New Zealand spokeswoman Leigh Catley.

“Thanks to international unemployment rates, the increasing attractiveness of New Zealand as a working holiday destination and the retraction of casual employment in our own hospitality and tourism sectors, we have the people we need, when we need them.”

Ms Catley said some reports had given the impression the industry did not need New Zealanders because it had plenty of overseas workers to choose from. But this was wrong.

“Growers will always take Kiwis first, if they are committed to working and have the ability to do the job.”

While there was a steady demand for jobs from thousands of visitors to New Zealand on the Working Holiday Scheme, most had no interest in fruit-picking or associated work.

Horticulture NZ chief executive Peter Silcock said they wanted to work in the main centres, in cafes and bars. “That appeals to a young person on holiday more than fruit-picking, packing or thinning vines.”

Seasonal Solutions supplies workers to harvest summer fruit in Central Otago, and says it is having no trouble finding people.

More New Zealanders were looking for work than in previous years and they were given priority, said general manager Craig Howard.

But with only about 10,000 people living the region, and only about 85 registered unemployed, employers had to turn to visitors.

“It takes 3000 people to pick, pack and ship a cherry crop out of here. We can’t do that with locals. So we always have relied on other New Zealanders who are travelling around ... and then the (foreign) workers and backpackers.”

In the Bay of Plenty, the kiwifruit harvest begins in mid-March and demand for jobs is expected to be high.

Kiwifruit Growers chief executive Mike Chapman said fewer foreign workers were needed as more New Zealanders showed an interest.

FRUITS OF LABOUR

- * New Zealand's horticulture exports have grown from \$100 million in 1980 to \$2.2 billion in 2008.
- * The horticulture crops are grown over a total area of 90,000ha.
- * Including domestic sales, the horticulture industry is valued at \$5 billion and employs 50,000 people in eight key growing regions.

Appendix Eight: Case Study Article 4 - Seasonal migrant plan proves a triple winner

By Lincoln Tan

5:30 AM Thursday Dec 9, 2010

NZ Herald

New Zealand's seasonal migration scheme is helping some migrants to boost their household income back in their home countries by almost 40 per cent, a University of Waikato researcher told an immigration conference yesterday.

Professor John Gibson said research by the university found that New Zealand's Recognised Seasonal Employer scheme proved a triple winner - benefiting the local horticulture and viticulture industry, the seasonal workers and the country's economy.

The scheme draws up to 8000 workers annually, mostly from Pacific nations, but Professor Gibson says more countries should be let in on the scheme.

Nearly three-quarters of workers are from Tonga and Vanuatu.

"Our research provides further evidence that migration is one of the most effective ways to boost development in poor countries," Professor Gibson said.

"Coupled with analysis which shows improvements in productivity for growers that hire these workers and very low rates of overstaying and modest impacts on the native labour force, these results suggest more countries should give season-worker programmes a chance."

The study, which Professor Gibson conducted with Dr David McKenzie of the World Bank, looked at the impact of the scheme on the countries the participants came from.

The researchers worked on a sample of 900 households in Tonga and Vanuatu between 2007 and this year, and visited the households four times over three years.

They found per capita incomes of households sending workers were about 40 per cent higher than those who did not have workers recruited.

"They are more likely to make dwelling improvements, to open bank accounts and to make major purchases of durable goods," said Professor Gibson.

"And in Tonga we found substantial increases in secondary school attendance for 15- to 18-year-olds in households participating in the scheme."

The two-day Pathways, Circuits and Crossroads conference was run by Massey University, the University of Waikato and the Department of Labour.

Massey University sociologist Paul Spoonley, who delivered the closing remarks, said the "general feel" was that New Zealand's immigration policies were working "far better" than most other countries'.

“New Zealand isn’t seeing the anti-immigrant politics that we see in the USA and Europe, where we have seen a rise in anti-immigrant sentiments in the last year or so mainly because of the recession,” said Professor Spoonley, an immigration specialist.

Big gains

- * 8000 workers come each year on the seasonal employee scheme.
- * 40 per cent increase in household incomes of some of the workers.
- * 900 households in Tonga and Vanuatu studied.

Appendix Nine: Case Study Article 5 - US concern over Pacific Island workers

By Michael Field

Last updated 05:00 24/07/2011

Sunday Star Times

New Zealand is risking an American rebuke over one of this country's pet aid projects, which brings hundreds of Pacific Islanders here to work for minimum wages picking fruit and grapes, warn high-level US sources.

Wellington sees the recognised seasonal employer scheme as charity, but Washington views it as verging on human trafficking and debt-bonded labour.

This comes as the US State Department's latest international report on human trafficking condemned the use of forced labour on foreign charter fishing boats, exposed by the Sunday Star-Times.

Last week US Human Trafficking Ambassador Luis CdeBaca came with a delegation to talk with government officials, unions and lobby groups.

No statement followed, but sources say the Americans were alarmed at a lack of recognition of trafficking in New Zealand.

The Americans are investigating bonds used to bring minimum wage workers from Tonga, Samoa, Tuvalu, Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands.

"The burden of illegal costs and debts on these labourers in the source country, often with the support of labour agencies and employers in the destination country, can contribute to a situation of debt bondage," a source said.

Seasonal Solutions Cooperative, the largest importer of seasonal labour, says in its annual report that bringing in seasonal labour gives farmer members of the cooperative a real choice over workers.

"As a consequence, these growers have seen their productivity elevated to unprecedented levels," Seasonal Solutions says.

The company did not return calls for comment on human trafficking.

The Americans also believe trafficking of sex workers – especially from Asia – is taking place.

But Catherine Healy of the Prostitutes Collective told them the collective does not believe this.

"We haven't come across sex workers who are victims of trafficking yet," she said, adding the word trafficking was "such a dramatic catch-all".

"What we are asking for is old-fashioned labour rights.

“We explained that sometimes sex workers are made to work exceptionally long shifts and have their money withheld by some brothel operators.”

Healy said some managers and operators are “dreadful to work for” and the Department of Labour should deal with them.

The collective told the Americans it was pleased sex workers had the right to say yes to sex work and that this was getting rid of exploitation.

“(CdeBaca) acknowledged it was important to not conflate prostitution and trafficking, as has been our recent experience in dealing with the American administration and their overall response to sex work.”

The American delegation told New Zealand officials that slavery at sea remained prevalent and may have increased, and that some owners of Asian fishing fleets and seafood companies were relying on forced labour to harvest ever-diminishing fish stocks.

They capitalised on unclear jurisdictions and difficulties inspecting boats in deep water.

The Americans said fishing was becoming unsustainable economically, and needed semi-slave crews to survive.

Without a coordinated effort, the enslavement of foreign migrants would continue.