DIVERSITY AND NEWS MEDIA IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND: A LITERATURE REVIEW

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I.   Introduction

The connection between public attitudes towards diversity issues and the way that news media outlets depict minorities has been extensively explored in the international academic literature, but this relationship continues to be debated in Aotearoa New Zealand.. The aim of this report is to provide a written account and evaluation of recent postgraduate research from New Zealand universities on patterns of diversity representation in national news media.

Investigating patterns of diversity representation is important for several reasons. Firstly, it provides valuable insights into the ways in which various social groups are portrayed and represented in the media, shedding light on potential biases, stereotypes, and gaps in coverage. This understanding is crucial for promoting media literacy and fostering a more inclusive and equitable media landscape. Secondly, the findings of such research can inform policymaking and industry practices aimed at improving diversity and representation in the media. By identifying areas for improvement and highlighting successful strategies, postgraduate research contributes to the development of more effective policies, guidelines, and initiatives within the media sector. Furthermore, the results of sound research can have broader societal implications by influencing public discourse and perceptions. Media plays a significant role in shaping public attitudes and beliefs, and research findings that reveal disparities or misrepresentations in media coverage can spark important conversations about diversity, equity, and social justice

In order to determine how events and issues related to diversity and the news media have been studied and analysed in recent postgraduate work, this review considers Master's and PhD theses written in English at New Zealand universities between 2016 and 2021 that were available on university library databases. For the purposes of this review, news media is taken to include print, web, television, radio, and social media news sources and outlets.

While we originally identified 45 theses that fit the search parameters, careful examination provided a shortlist of 21 theses that were considered relevant. These works all consider patterns of representation of minorities in New Zealand news media, and/or factors influencing this representation, and/or the broader effects of this representation. They cover

a range of diversity issues including ethnicity (or race), gender, religion, sexual orientation, income level (or class), disability, and immigration status.

This report has been prepared to assist the Media as Allies[4] group, hosted by Inclusive Aotearoa Collective Tāhono, to support the group in their advocacy for better media representation of all communities in Aotearoa New Zealand.

II.   Diversity issues

The focal point of the current research on media and diversity in New Zealand, as indicated by the examination of the 21 theses, largely centres on seven fundamental diversity concerns:

Shaping identities: This research seeks to gain larger-picture insights about how the New Zealand news media constructs different groups of people, as well as how audiences are influenced by exposure to different kinds of media. Research with either of these foci are particularly attentive to the way that minorities are othered or excluded by the news media.

Women in politics: The focus of this research is the news media's representation of women politicians, either with specific attention to gendered language or stereotypes, or by using gender as a starting point to consider other issues including ethnicity and income inequality.

Crime and incarceration: The research interest is directed at the news media's construction of people who commit crime, and especially the experiences of ethnic minorities and/or women who commit crime.

Income inequality and poverty: The research examines the news media's representation of beneficiaries and low-income earners.

Illness, trauma, and the workplace. Research focuses on distinct issues, such as the discourses of mental illness, disability and employment; and the nature of media coverage, which tended to commodify women's experience of sexual violence in the workplace without

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[4] Media as Allies: https://inclusiveaotearoa.nz/our-mahi/media-as-allies/

exploring the shame women experienced. In the case of the #MeTooNZ movement, there was a marginalisation of Indigenous women's voices.

Immigration: This research examines the experience of immigrants/migrants in Aotearoa, and/or how immigrants are constructed by the news media, and/or how immigrants are influenced by exposure to news media. These theses use a variety of research approaches, from a historical study of newspaper records of Muslim immigrants in the South Island, to the study of media treatment of sex workers (which is only partly about migrant workers), and the experiences of migrants who are exposed to Māori Television programming, exploring the possible affordances of indigenous or state-funded media to create a more positive social experience for migrants and for Māori.

Minority, indigenous, and "ethnic" media: These studies look at indigenous/state-funded media (Māori Television) or the news media that has emerged to cater to certain minorities in Aotearoa, including on ethnic Chinese language news media and Pacific news media.

These studies contribute significantly to the public discourse surrounding diversity in New Zealand's news media landscape. If indeed mainstream news outlets in New Zealand perpetuate hegemonic narratives that marginalize minorities and hinder diverse representation, as suggested by some of the findings, what actionable steps could be taken to address this issue? Before addressing the question, we offer a succinct summary of the studies examined in this report.

III.   What media matter?

Print sources and their online counterparts were analysed more frequently than television and radio, with 14 of the 21 theses focussing entirely on print and/or web publications. Only three were solely focused on television news, and all three of these were about the Māori Television Service. None of the theses was focused on radio only, although four papers analysed radio sources alongside television, print, and/or web sources.

It is interesting that television and radio outlets received significantly less attention than print and web, considering that NZ On Air's 2021 report found TVNZ's 1News to be the most popular and trusted news source in the country ("Where are the Audiences?"). Indeed, there was very little attention given to 1News or the other major commercially funded television news service, Newshub. Only five papers analysed TVNZ sources, some only briefly.

Considering that television news is still very popular among older age groups, the field may benefit from more research into the representation of minority groups and diversity issues specifically by commercially funded/mainstream television news outlets.

Many of the theses included in this literature review focused only or primarily on one or both of the two news outlets with the widest national circulation, the *New Zealand Herald* and Stuff.co.nz. The *NZ Herald* has the largest newspaper circulation (Roy Morgan); Stuff.co.nz publishes both original web content and content from the Stuff media company's many print publications (including, for example, the *Dominion Post*). In fact, almost a quarter of the theses reviewed only gathered data from one or both of these sources).[5] This is generally defended by scholars as the *Herald* and *Stuff* are both prolific and popular, but it is worth noting that there are consequences to limiting the sample to these outlets. For example, although studies in mainstream news media are more likely to be useful in making general observations about Aotearoa, regional and provincial outlets like the *Rotorua Daily Post* and *Wairarapa Times-Age* that hold prominence and popularity in particular areas are still significant, especially considering that New Zealand's mixed-member proportional representation system (MMP) gives voting power to smaller towns and centres.

IV.   Where does the research originate from?

Postgraduate research on media and diversity were done at seven of Aotearoa's eight universities (all except Lincoln University). Work from Victoria University of Wellington and Massey University accounted, collectively, for almost half of the 21 thesis reviewed (with six and four theses, respectively). Three theses each were from the Universities of Auckland and

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[5] One of these focused only on articles published by the Herald in 2007-8, and therefore provided an exceptional review of a single year and a single publication (Salahshour).

Waikato, two each from Auckland University of Technology (AUT) and the University of Canterbury, and one from the University of Otago.

Unsurprisingly, most of the postgraduate research into news media and diversity is being done at Master's and PhD programmes in Media Studies and/or Communications. Four theses of the 21 came from Victoria University's Media Studies programme (now known as Media and Communications), the most of any single programme. Less predictably, several of the theses came from Psychology programmes at Massey (Martin, Mackie, Shelton) and at Otago (Azeem). Business, Human Services, Linguistics, Political Science, and Sociology programmes across the country also contributed theses to the review.

V.   Methodological and theoretical approaches

Most of the theses reviewed used qualitative methodological approaches: 12 of 21 used qualitative methods, seven used mixed methods, and only two used purely quantitative methods. The most common qualitative methodological approach was, by far, discourse analysis, with 13 theses using some form of discourse analysis (including four using critical discourse analysis, three using Foucauldian discourse analysis, and one using feminist critical discourse analysis). Five theses used thematic analysis. Four theses used frame/framing analysis, and two used textual analysis.[6] Of the four psychology theses in the literature, two employed narrative enquiry as a method to study documents or participants' responses to news media. The most common quantitative methodological approach used was content analysis, with both quantitative theses and two of the mixed methods theses using content analysis to analyse their data.

A wide variety of theoretical frameworks were used to ground research on media and diversity, with many of the theses using more than one framework. The most commonly used theoretical frameworks were Kaupapa Māori, intersectional theory and framing theory. These were followed by critical theory, postcolonial theory, social constructionism, and feminist standpoint epistemology, which were each identified in two theses. It is apparent that the greater emphasis on qualitative over quantitative research in the field of media and diversity has encouraged the use of theoretical frameworks that place the notion of identity, counter-

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[6] Note that some theses used more than one methodological approach.

hegemonic discourses, and situated perspectives at their centre. Although quantitative research can, of course, be interpreted through a variety of theoretical lenses,[7] many of the research methods and theoretical frameworks that were most common in the review are attentive to discourses of power—an attention most naturally cultivated by and expressed in qualitative methodologies like discourse analysis. It is also unsurprising that discourse analysis was found to be combined with theories like Foucauldianism, intersectional theory, feminist theory, and postcolonial theory. Furthermore, all of the papers using Kaupapa Māori research theory used purely qualitative methods

VI.   Main findings

The current research on media and diversity in New Zealand, as evidenced by the theses reviewed, aims at opennig a critical dialogue about media and the voices represented, misrepresented or left out in news coverage.

General

Examining **how the news media constructs Aotearoa's political publics** and nonpublics in media texts, Anderson (2016) found that political parties, in press releases and in statements to the media, tended to blame "foreigners" for the economic crisis, a tactic that alienates immigrants from a unified New Zealand public. Furthermore, there was "a strong overlap" between the scapegoated groups and those overrepresented in non-voting statistics, observing real consequences of the discursive exclusion of migrants. There was a close correlation between the language used in press releases and in media coverage of the general election, finding similar terms redeployed in the latter outside of quotation marks. This demonstrates the mainstream news media's tendency to reproduce existing inequalities, giving "major parties [...] an agenda-setting role" (p.67). Furthermore, repeated use of third-person pronouns in the media indicates a tendency [for the press] to stand 'outside' the political process. This is problematic because it implies an objectivity that is not possible, and

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[7] One of the two papers using only quantitative methods was heavily grounded in and guided by intersectional theory (Sharan), which demonstrates that quantitative studies can and do work from non-hegemonic viewpoints.

it also limits the media's "ability to challenge the terms of political representation" (p.67). In this way, **the news media may exacerbate inequality and further exclude minority groups**.

Other studies (Azeem 2021) indicate that **ideological beliefs are an important factor in the reception of news media**, at least when it comes to *brief* exposure, which may challenge the presumptions of other work being done in the field. It follows that the persistence of entrenched 'social dominance orientation' and rightwing authoritarianism should be considered by broadcasters, policymakers, and regulators when attempting to improve outcomes for minority groups. Azeem's findings suggest that changing the media landscape alone will not necessarily alter the preconceived notions of New Zealanders; rather, there ought to be a broader, multifaceted strategy in place to support Aotearoa's diverse population.

Women in Politics

Studies of the media's response to Metiria Turei (Galy-Badenas 2021, Johnson 2020, Martin 2020, Sharan 2016) explore the way that the news media represents issues of poverty or income inequality and the nuanced ways that gender, ethnicity, class, and age intersect to create complex outcomes. The media's treatment of Turei suggests that her case effectively crystallises an important and repeated dynamic in the relationship between news media and diversity issues in Aotearoa. Namely, **the media's role in shaping mainstream attitudes towards low-income earners and beneficiaries is significant**. Beneficiaries were often associated both with laziness and with drug problems, misrepresenting the facts and distorting the issue of poverty. Researchers found that publicly-funded outlets were more balanced in their representation of Turei, but that their coverage received less attention than the conservative commentators who tended to find "individual-level explanations" for poverty rather than looking to systemic factors (Martin, 2020, p. 123). Furthermore, we might ask **whether publicly-funded news outlets generally give more balanced and accurate portrayals of diversity issues and minority groups**, or whether this is only the case in certain circumstances.

Sharan (2016) found that **Māori "experience marginal and negative coverage that often places race at the forefront of the story**" (Sharan 2016, p. 32). The news about Turei was presented from a consistently Pākehā perspective, resulting in Turei's depiction as a political outsider, and in the depiction of "Māori people and issues important to Māori" as

"trivial" or "negative" (43). Turei was frequently depicted as being easily offended on the grounds of ethnicity and was criticised for playing "the race card" (44). Although gendered stereotypes used by the media are a problem for all women in politics, Sharan's study provides evidence that "the extent to which they are of concern depends on other categories of social difference" (70).

It is noteworthy that media treatment of Māori women politicians is not the same. For example, Galy-Badenas (2021) found that Turei and (Paula) Bennett were treated differently from one another: for both politicians, gender was central to their public image, but Turei's Māoriness was more prominent than Bennett's, whose Māori identity was "foregrounded only in service to her party" (164). Where Bennett was disempowered in "primarily gendered terms" (48), Turei is disempowered by anti-Māori sentiment as well as in gendered terms.

Crime and Incarceration

Investigating discourses in the *Herald* and *Dominion Post* about Māori offending, Farr (2019) found that news media fails to discuss the "active role of colonialism" that places Māori disproportionately in low socioeconomic positions (112). The media presents Māori offending as an individual problem rather than a symptom of a systemic issue, **failing to critically understand notions of institutional bias [...] that privilege Pakeha ways of being."**

Mackie (2016) also found discriminatory discourses in her study of the media's treatment of women who commit crime. Her discourse analysis of articles from the *Herald* and Stuff found that **media representations "ignore[d] the conditions of women's gendered location in the social hierarchy,"** encouraging the idea that "angry women are a threat to the moral order" by "pathologis[ing] women's emotions" (60).

The studies of media representation of crime point out that **official sources (including political sources) ought to be accountable for the way that they present prisons and prisoners, as they are the primary source for media coverage**. The crimes or offences being discussed in the media items were given as individual or isolated (or, in the case of women offenders, sensational) occurrences that had individual causes (often identified as being the pathology of the offender themselves). Social and institutional factors were typically occluded, undermined, or ignored entirely, allowing for the continued othering of prisoners and, in particular, women and Māori offenders.

Income Inequality and Poverty

The dominance of official sources influences the meaning of news. Wright's (2015) thesis analyses the way that gender, ethnicity, and income level are represented both by political parties and in the news media (sources from the *Herald, Scoop*, and from the online television platforms of *One News* and *Three News*). Wright found that **the voices of those who would be most affected by the legislation (parents and, in particular, mothers) were marginalised**, and that it was politicians rather than those who would be receiving the payments who were given the largest platform in the media (147-48).

Immigration

Immigration into New Zealand has received significant attention over recent years in postgraduate scholarship. Five of the 21 theses reviewed focused on immigration status as a diversity issue. Some maintained a general focus: Salahshour (2017) explored the *Representation of Immigrants in New Zealand Print Media,* and Shum-Kuen-Ip's (2019) thesis investigated the news media's depiction of migrant workers and immigration law. Nemec's (2018) thesis *Migrants Reading Māori Television* studies the response of migrants to New Zealand's publicly-funded, Māori-led television news service. The research for these theses are mostly carried out through the analysis of media text, but Nemec primarily uses material gathered from interviews, surveys, and focus groups, shifting her focus from the media itself to its effects.

In her analysis of articles from the *Herald* in 2007-8, Salahshour (2017) found an ambivalent representation of immigrants. The analysis pays particular attention to **the use of "liquid metaphors" like 'trickle' or 'inflow', which tend to denote the uncontrollability of migrants** (229-30). Surprisingly, Salahshour found that rather than using this language to dehumanise migrants, these metaphors were often co-located with positive words like "skilled" (244). Salahshour found that the articles often positively depicted migrants as "playing an important role in filling skill shortage," but also **repeatedly imagined them as an "economic resource which ought to be capitalized"** (ii, 248). This ambivalent representation may be partially a consequence of New Zealand's "relatively small economy," which values the skills brought by immigration more highly, but in more starkly economic terms (249). In contrast to this ambivalence, Shum-Kuen-Ip's (2019) study, focusing on *Stuff* and the *Herald*,

found that a recurring theme was that "New Zealanders are negatively impacted by migrants" (2). The thematic analysis found the "use of strong negative words" to describe immigration (57), and that discourses of immigration fraud were common (61).

Nemec's study of migrant responses to Māori Television is one of several theses reviewed that moves away from an analysis of media items to focus on their reception. Nemec investigates Māori Television's ability not only to "revitalise Māori language and culture" (iii), but also to counter the often discriminatory or hegemonic discourses of the mainstream media and help new migrants navigate New Zealand society. Nemec's findings were that Māori Television provided migrants with "te reo learning opportunities, recognising affinities with Māori cultural concepts, [and] an appreciation of the Treaty [...] as the basis for the assertion of indigeneity, and new ways to consider issues of identity and belonging." These findings were "consistent with research from Canada and Australia that highlights **the ability of indigenous media to build bridges of cultural understandings [...] with non-indigenous audiences**." Nemec found that migrants' "sense of belonging" was improved or nuanced during the study, especially through participants' exposure to programming about the text and context of the Treaty/te Tiriti (161). In particular, the concept of tūrangawaewae was identified as being a useful one for migrants, who found themselves included in this idea of having 'a place to stand' (169). Nemec also found that some participants believed that Māori Television's Waitangi Day programming gave them "discursive resources to enter into dialogue about possible futures for a bicultural and multicultural nation" (172). "The ability of Māori Television to challenge 'mainstream' Eurocentric normativity was discussed by all the participants throughout the research" (211).

Easterbrook-Smith's (2018) study of the news media's representation of "acceptable" sex work in New Zealand has a partial focus on migrants. Easterbrook-Smith notes that "migrant sex workers are one of the few groups who are not granted the right to have their work decriminalised" by the Prostitution Reform Act (125), and therefore they become a focus for generalised anti-prostitution sentiment in the news media in a post-reform New Zealand. Easterbrook-Smith's study explores how, in the wake of a reformed sex work industry, the illegality of migrant sex work (compared to the legal sex work of those who are not migrants) allows for the persistence of "rhetorical appeals to the illegality of sex work" in the news media. The study analyses 15 media texts (spanning print/web, radio, and television), and finds the recurrence of negatively-charged terms to refer to migrant sex

workers and international students working in the sex work industry, including "illegal foreign prostitutes," and "foreign sex workers" (126). The analysis found that migrant sex workers were sometimes imagined as "vector[s] of disease" (127). Furthermore, Easterbrook-Smith found that "When [migrant] workers are not being constructed as vulnerable and victimised, they are portrayed as manipulative and devious [...] with [...] no exploration of the reasons why migrants [...] may decide to engage in sex work" (153). **It follows that ethnic and racial stereotyping is allowed to continue (or even encouraged), as (nonwhite) migrant workers become the subject of scapegoating for mainstream society's stigma towards sex work.**

Pacific and "Ethnic" Media

Tara Ross's (2017) study of Pacific news media in New Zealand seeks to understand its influence on Pacific audiences in Aotearoa. In particular, Ross investigates (and complicates) the dominant idea of 'ethnic media' as a having a "fixation on difference (4). Ross's thematic analysis of Pacific media outlets *Tagata Pasifika* and *Spasifik* found that **'inclusive' Pacific media (outlets that attempt to speak to a broad range of Pacific peoples rather than one nationality or group) can sometimes, in an attempt to construct a pan-Pacific identity, deploy "narrow" "identity practices," drawing on "dominant ideologies of 'race' or ethnicity,"** and at times excluding certain Pasifika people, including New Zealand-born Pasifika people, non-speakers of Pacific languages, urban dwellers, and mixed-ethnicity Pasifika people (233-34). Although Pacific media, Ross shows, is "self-consciously a media of identity," their mandate to tell "Pacific stories" is far from simple, considering the diverse experiences of Pacific people in New Zealand (163). Ross uses her findings to show that **viewing 'ethnic media' "within categories of ethnicity and culture" is not always helpful,** and it would be better to view these kinds of media as constructing a particular identity that is connected to, but not the same as, ethnicity or culture (212, 230). She found that Pacific media is important to the New Zealand Pacific community's sense of identity, but that "audience frustration with the amount and quality of Pacific journalism [...] and the lack of for a for well-informed debate on Pacific news and current affairs" demonstrates that "state funders, policy makers and regulators [ought] to rethink how they support Pacific media interests" (241).

Hoyle (2020) found the **New Zealand-based ethnic Chinese-language media's political coverage to be unbalanced**. This is of concern as it limits the access of Chinese-

speaking migrants and residents to unbiased news coverage. Hoyle's content analysis of the coverage of the 2008, 2011, and 2014 elections (in the *Chinese Herald, Home Voice,* and the *New Zealand Messenger*) found that the ethnic Chinese-language media deviates from a normative civic ideal of political representation, giving disproportionate coverage to National and ACT compared to the Labour Party and others. Chinese speakers who do not have access to media in other languages are put at an informational disadvantage, and residents' voting decisions may not be consistent with their social or political preferences. Furthermore, this particularly disadvantages new migrants who, Hoyle notes, are "primarily associated" with ethnic media (15). Hoyle shows that the Chinese-language media in New Zealand operates under very little regulation, meaning that it is far easier for coverage to lack "accuracy, fairness or balance" (15-16).

VII.   Conclusions

Although the 21 theses reviewed investigate the media's relationship to a range of diversity issues, some areas are much more researched than others. In particular, the media's representation of women, especially Māori women, has proved to be a popular topic for research in the field. Conversely, there is a notable lack of research about the media's coverage of certain diversity issues, especially religion, sexuality, and disability. Transgender and gender-queer minorities are also underrepresented in discourses around gender.

Importantly, there are several gaps in the literature, and some areas that are clearly ripe for future study. Typically, the studies either analysed media texts *or* analysed responses to those texts (through interviews, focus groups, or surveys), with few theses doing both. Furthermore, while some looked at both commercial and independent or publicly-owned news outlets, there is room for more research that contrasts their coverage. There is also space for more research that attempts to account for the concrete influence of news media coverage on voting decisions or policy changes: while several theses speculated or assumed the connection between media and actual outcomes for minorities, very few used evidence to define the relationship.

Although mainstream or corporatised news media items were analysed far more than those from publicly-owned or funded outlets, there was a discernible trend in research seeking to shift focus from mainstream representation to the potential affordances of smaller, indigenous, publicly-funded, or 'ethnic' medias. It appears that these outlets might be able to offer counter-hegemonic discourses, challenging some of the more problematic discourses of mainstream outlets.

In general, the research included in this report tends to find that the mainstream news media continues to be dominated by hegemonic discourses, adhering to or positioning itself from a Pākehā, white, high socioeconomic perspective. It is unsurprising that many of the researchers recommend foregrounding the voices of diverse groups in the news items which most concern them, rather than media commentators and politicians.

In addition, many of the researchers noticed the news media's tendency to repeatedly portray systemic issues, stemming from New Zealand's sociohistorical and political contexts of settler-colonialism, institutional racism, and neoliberalism, as individual-level problems. Even when subjects facing discrimination or hardship are treated sympathetically, their situations are seldom framed as being connected to a broader system of exclusion. This limits the news media's ability to hold the powerful to account.

Some studies suggested that, while media outlets are accountable to produce media that does not worsen social outcomes for minority groups, it is also important for researchers, advisors, regulators, and policymakers to *hold* media outlets accountable, and to be accountable themselves. Media consumption does not occur in a vacuum; preconceived notions about minorities, political leanings, and education all pay a significant role in how effective the media can be in influencing mainstream views about minorities, and influencing the experiences of minorities, in Aotearoa.

VIII.   Recommendations

Based on the findings of this report, we offer the following recommendations:

1. Media Accountability: Encourage media organizations to promote responsible reporting through the education and training of journalists on social issues. This would include highlighting systemic factors and engaging with diverse perspectives.

2. Diversity and Representation: Advocate for diverse representation in media coverage, ensuring that the voices and experiences of Maori, women, migrants and other marginalized groups are included in the narrative.

3. Education and Awareness: Develop educational programmes and initiatives to enhance public and media understanding of the complexities of specific issues, such as crime, poverty and inequality, sex work, gender and disability, addressing stereotypes, and promoting empathy and rehabilitation rather than perpetuating stigmatization.

4. Collaboration and Consultation: Foster collaboration between policymakers, researchers, media professionals, and affected communities to ensure that policies and media representations align with the realities of issues.

5. Partnerships: Establish partnerships between academia, media organizations, and policymakers to ensure the application of research insights in shaping media policies and practices.

6. Publicly-Funded News Outlets: a. Increase funding and resources for publicly-funded news outlets to enhance their capacity for in-depth reporting and diverse perspectives. b. Strengthen collaboration between publicly-funded news outlets and independent media platforms to amplify the reach and impact of balanced and accurate reporting.

7. Political Education and Empowerment: a. Integrate gender equality and diversity education into the curricula, raising awareness among future politicians, journalists, and policymakers. b. Encourage journalists and political parties to support equity and diversity measures and recognise the importance of increased representation of women and minority groups in politics.

8. Indigenous Media: Recognize the value of Indigenous media in fostering cultural understanding and inclusivity, and support collaborations between mainstream and indigenous media outlets to challenge Eurocentric normativity and promote diversity.

9. Ethnic Media: Engage and collaborate with Chinese-language media to ensure accuracy, fairness, and balance in political coverage, minimizing informational disadvantages for Chinese-speaking migrants and residents.

10. Pacific Media: Support Pacific media to continue to explore diverse narratives and experiences within the Pacific community.

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