

NOT OUR FUTURE

An Exploration of Pacific Cultural Identity through Targeted Television Health Advertising

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Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Roxanne Johnston, November 2016.

Signed: _____

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Ethics Approval

The approval of ethics (15/377) for this research study, by the AUT University Ethics Committee, was gained on the 4th of November 2015 prior to the commencement of data collection. Written informed consent from participants of the focus group was gained on the day that the focus group had taken place (26/01/16).

Abstract

This research study investigates how Pacific Peoples of New Zealand perceive and interpret their cultural identity through targeted television health messages and advertising. These health messages which portray Pacific Peoples are sponsored by the New Zealand Government and Non-Government Organisations (NGOs). A brief review of past and current significant literature regarding representation of people of colour on television, and specifically television advertising, is provided. The discussion then highlights the results extracted from the various data sets and the findings which emerged through the utilisation of a thematic framework of analysis.

Findings emerging from the data sets include that Pacific Peoples interpret their cultural identity as being portrayed in stereotypes and harmful caricatures; Pacific Peoples feel they are often unfairly grouped with Maori individuals within health messages; and that the most positive interpretation of their identity is through real-life narratives represented within health messages. The discussion further offers recommendations, especially for individuals who produce these health messages. Future recommendations include that Government and NGOs need to feature real-life stories in order to open the channel of communication with Pacific Peoples; representations of Pacific Peoples within these targeted advertisements should be diversified; and the reliance on stereotypes to convey health messages should be removed.

Chapter 1: Introduction to Research Study

1.1. Introduction

When George Gerbner (1976) told the world that “...television tells most of the stories to most of the people most of the time”, he was only adding to an extensive discourse of media communication theory on television and proclaiming the great influence of television on society. The television narratives which we consume and produce as a source of information, entertainment and income and which reflect the way in which we live our lives and interact socially (Signorielli, 2009). For example, product placement, which is seen through television dramas, possesses a certain influence over a society’s buying habits (Rubin, Perse, & Taylor, 1988). Television has been the subject of a wide scope of studies and research projects dating back to its initial inception (Shrum, 1999). Even though an extensive discourse has been established surrounding the analyses of television and its various parts, its effect as a media outlet still remains problematic (Shrum, Lee, Burroughs, & Rindfleisch, 2005). Television, and the social contexts which surround it, continue to drive forward into the future. However, there are facets of television which change at a slower pace, causing problematic aspects for society (Signorielli, 2009). One of these aspects is exemplification of individuals on screen, and, more specifically, individuals who identify (and who can be visibly identifiable as) People of Colour (POC) (Signorielli, 2009). This interjects a central question within the television discourse and the individuals who construct it: Who is allowed on screen and who isn’t? Therefore, this research study highlights the people who are either not represented on television, or who exist on television within harmful portrayals of representation. To further specify the context of this research study, an analysis of portrayals of Pacific Peoples within New Zealand television, especially in targeted health advertising, will take place.

As television and its impact on society has been dissected, a media communication concept specific to television has emerged entitled the ‘cultivation effect of television’, identified by George Gerbner (1976). At its utmost foundational nature, this concept explicates that as individuals watch and consume television over extended periods of time, it will slowly shape the way individuals perceive the world around them and the way in which they respond to these shaped perceptions and interact with other individuals in various social spheres of their lives. This research study closely adopts this media communication concept of cultivation, applying it to the analyses of data sets in order to produce key findings and recommendations. When individuals are consuming television content, there is often no conscious effort in supposing how it affects the way in which they think or behave (Rossmann & Brosius, 2004), especially in regard to POC, who have not always been represented in a positive light (Hall, 1996). This absence of positive representation can be traced from television’s initial inception to its current state, proving that it is an issue of imperative analysis for both the television industry and the study of media communication.

1.2. Problem Identification

The core investigation of this research study represents an endeavour to address several concerns surrounding the representation of Pacific Peoples within the content of New Zealand’s public television programming schedule. Initially, this research study highlighted the ‘People of Colour’ in general. However, further contextual research has enabled justification for Pacific Peoples of New Zealand to be highlighted as the central focus of this investigation.

To preface the purpose and objectives of this research study, it is imperative to outline the original identification of the research problem. At the initial stages, the broad idea existed of investigating the representation of POC within the wide landscape of New Zealand television content. Representation and positive portrayals of POC on television have long been a discussion topic in many social and academic circles (Jenkins, 2004). Be that as it may, a deficiency of healthy and diverse representation stubbornly remains (Signorielli, 2009), even though society has made attempts at equal opportunity for all individuals (Hall, 1996). This problem of representation, which lacks diversity, is what started this research project, and from this point it has been shaped and moulded into investigating the representation of Pacific Peoples within the New Zealand television landscape.

1.2.1. Identifying Gaps

The early problem of this research project was broadly identifying where, in the landscape of New Zealand television, there were gaps in terms of representation for POC. This process (which was a review of significant past literature) not only involved the identification of gaps, but the identification of where there was representation and whether or not it was negative or positive. What has been identified is that there is a very clear lack, or misrepresentation, of Pacific Peoples within New Zealand television (Michelle, 2012), especially within television advertisements (Dana & Sullivan, 2007). Portrayals of Pacific Peoples do exist within New Zealand television but their portrayals do not properly mirror their population statistics or their varied social lives and identities.

1.2.2. The Pacific Community of New Zealand

As the main focus of this research study has been placed on the Pacific community of New Zealand, and their representation within New Zealand television, it is important to further elaborate on and break down their role in terms of this research.

According to Statistics New Zealand and the recent census which took place in 2013, 7% of the total New Zealand population identified as belonging to one or more Pacific cultural or ethnic identities, and this percentage is projected to grow to 8% by 2016 (“Population Growth”, 2014). Of this 7%, the median age was 22.1 years. There has also been an 11% increase (since the year 2006) of individuals who have chosen to identify as belonging to a Pacific cultural or ethnic identity (“Population Growth”, 2014). Pacific migration to New Zealand began approximately post-WWII, and in 1945 the national census indicated that there were fewer than 2200 Pacific individuals living in New Zealand (“Population Growth”, 2007). However, it wasn’t until the 1960s when the Pacific population of New Zealand accelerated due to the demand for labour within New Zealand’s expanding secondary industries (“Population Growth”, 2007). The largest Pacific population groups living in New Zealand are from the Island nations of the Cook Islands, Niue, Tokelau, Samoa, Tonga and Fiji (“Multiple Ethnicity”, 2007). Of these Pacific population groups, the largest in New Zealand are individuals of the Samoan cultural community. Individuals from the Cook Islands make up the second largest Pacific population in New Zealand. As a result of the Samoan community being the largest Pacific group in New Zealand, they have a substantial impact on the characteristics of the wider Pacific population and they also tend to mirror the economic standing of the wider Pacific population as well (“Population Growth”, 2007). The majority of the Pacific community in New Zealand reside in Auckland City, where 97% of the Pacific population are urbanised (“Geographical Distribution”, 2007), and where a quarter of the city’s population is made up of Maori and Pacific individuals. This statistic has also resulted in Auckland being described as the “largest Polynesian city in the world” (“Population Growth”, 2007). In regard to New Zealand’s Government and Parliament, Pacific Peoples have held positions and seats since the year 1993 (Fraenkel, 2012).

While this study has organic roots in the wider discourse of representation of POC within television, this particular focus on Pacific Peoples is crucial as it has emerged as an issue specific to their community in terms of the targeted health advertisements. The Pacific community of New Zealand is significant and it is still a growing and emerging force within various sectors of New Zealand's society. In relation to television, Pacific Peoples can be seen regularly in health messages that have been sponsored by the Government or by NGOs (Dana & Sullivan, 2007). These health messages are typically part of a larger campaign where it is within the Government's best interests to keep people healthy and following good health advice (McCreanor & Nairn, 2002).

1.2.3. A Shift from Analysing Content to Analysing Personal Accounts of Individuals

Another major aspect of this research that has been identified as important is that there needs to be a shift from looking at the quantity of representations and analysing these through quantitative methods, to looking at how POC essentially internalise these representations and interpret them (Michelle, 2012).

Gray (2013) also explains that:

If we emphasized gender, sexuality, race, or geography in the gathering and assembly of concerns about security, safety, risk, and vulnerability without presupposing that any one vector and combination is fixed in advance (e.g., Arabs are terrorists; white males are providers) we would be in a position to examine how and where race and ethnicity are linked to issues of food insecurity, health risk, and environmental justice, and their circulation in the media. (p. 3)

Literature in the past regarding the representation of POC (Signorielli, 2009) has uncovered the number of representations of POC on television and has then applied various theories to interpret the findings. However, perhaps there needs to be a focus on how the people who are being portrayed view these advertisements and what perspectives and opinions they hold about them. This is crucial because identifying the quantity of representation does not fully uncover the specific effects that viewing such portrayals has on society. The requirement to count representations is rendered ineffectual if the focus of the research is to uncover internalised perceptions. If we can find out the internal thoughts of the individuals being represented, then we may come close to discovering further significant conclusions which supplement the discourse surrounding how POC are affected by their misrepresentation within the television landscape.

1.3. Purpose of Research Study

The purpose of this study is to examine targeted television health advertising and form an enhanced understanding of the effects of targeted television health advertising messages on the interpretation of cultural identity. Specifically, this research focuses on how targeted health messages from the New Zealand Government and NGOs, which are broadcast on public New Zealand television in the form of advertisements between programs, affect the way in which Pacific Peoples perceive and interpret their Pacific cultural identity. This study also extends further in regard to examining how the Pacific identity is performed through the interpretation of Pacific portrayals within targeted television health advertising.

Through the use of qualitative data-gathering methods and a thematic framework of analysis, key themes are identified and explored which aim to uncover the links between televised health messages that are targeted toward Pacific Peoples, and how they interpret their identity through these targeted portrayals.

The strategic line of inquiry throughout this research study is, “How do Pacific Peoples perceive their own cultural identity through Government and Non-Government Organisations (NGO) television advertisements specifically targeted toward their cultural demographic?”

As an extension of this key line of inquiry, further questions will be answered to fully investigate the central issue of this research study. These further questions are as follows:

Research Question 1 – How is cultural identity incorporated into targeted television advertisements which promote Government and NGO campaigns and messages?

Research Question 2 – Are these targeted advertisements manufactured by Pacific Peoples?

Research Question 3 – What effects do these portrayals of Pacific Peoples have on their own interpretation of their cultural identity?

All of these lines of inquiry are utilised in order to uncover the links between targeted television health advertising and the Pacific cultural identity of New Zealand.

1.3.1. Thesis Statement

There are many identifiable cultural portrayals within the New Zealand television landscape. However, these portrayals are not all equal in regard to intent, quantity and, moreover, quality. Specific to this, portrayals of Pacific Peoples within New Zealand television are mostly found within public health messages (Dana & Sullivan, 2007). These portrayals of Pacific cultural identity within health messages point to Pacific Peoples as being a community in New Zealand that is unhealthy and in constant need of health support and advice from the New Zealand Government and NGOs. By examining the links between these targeted health messages and the way in which Pacific Peoples interpret their culture through them, an assessment of effects can be shaped. This assessment of effects could be used to transform portrayals of Pacific Peoples on television, especially within future targeted advertising.

1.3.2. Objectives

The principal objective of this research is to determine in what unique ways the Pacific cultural identity is incorporated within public television health advertising and whether or not these incorporations of culture have any effect on the way in which Pacific Peoples of New Zealand interpret their cultural identity.

The second objective of this research study is to examine whether or not these advertisements are created by Pacific individuals or non-Pacific individuals. Identifying the content creators of these targeted television health messages will aid in examining their effects on Pacific cultural identity.

The final objective of this research study concerns the attempt to uncover the ways in which these representations of Pacific Peoples affect the way cultural identity is performed by the Pacific community of New Zealand.

It is crucial to note that while the main objectives of this research study are focused solely on the Pacific community of New Zealand, the researcher (who is not of Pacific origin) does not claim to speak for this community or assert authority in regards to concerns surrounding the Pacific community or the Pacific cultural identity.

1.3.3. Research Study Scope

This research study involved a sample of seven focus group participants, who were all from the region of Auckland. Focus group participants were randomly selected and recruited through a mutual contact of the researcher and through recruitment methods online. Contextual research was also conducted using selected targeted television health advertisements (with the earliest advertisement dating back to 1997) which were screened within the focus group in order to generate a response from participants.

1.4. Significance of the Study

The all-encompassing significance of this research study is to offer further understanding of how POC interpret their representation on television. It also includes uncovering how representations of POC on television affect the wider non-POC viewing public as well. Examining representations of POC is crucial, as viewing positive representations of cultural identity in a wide-reaching medium such as television can cause positive group reinforcement (Signorielli, 2009), especially for specific non-white cultural and ethnic groups (Greenwald, Banaji, Rudman, Farnham, Nosek, & Mellott, 2002). Further significance of this study revolves around its New Zealand-specific context, and the way in which it investigates representations of the Pacific community of New Zealand.

1.4.1. Television Broadcasting Industry

This research study has significant effects for the New Zealand television broadcasting industry. Specifically, findings from this research study may help to generate a template for distinct and positive representations of Pacific Peoples within the television landscape of New Zealand. This research not only provides significant findings for the advertising market within television, but could also be usefully applied to the television programs as well.

1.4.2. Public Health Promotion Industry

The public health promotion industry (which produces the advertisements for Government and NGOs) will also benefit significantly when considering the findings of this research study. As this study focuses specifically on targeted health advertisements, findings from this study can be used to generate future templates for diverse and healthy representation in public health messages, especially health messages which are targeted toward Pacific Peoples. Future public health messages can then better fit the needs of the Pacific community of New Zealand.

1.4.3. Pacific Peoples

This research study is also significant for the Pacific community of New Zealand. Pacific Peoples can benefit from this research study in numerous ways. The significance of this study for Pacific Peoples lies in the opportunity for their portrayals to be examined within a critical framework and to determine if portrayals of their Pacific cultural identity are functioning sufficiently to form positive group self-esteem and group vitality (Trepte, 2006).

1.5. Definition of Terms

To further understand the research study, the following terms are defined in relation to their use in the study.

People of Colour (abbreviated to POC): The term 'People of Colour' defines all individuals who identify as ethnically and culturally non-white. The term is broad, and is utilised for the purpose of encompassing a wide range of non-white identities.

Pacific Peoples: 'Pacific Peoples' refers to individuals of New Zealand who identify as belonging to a Pacific Island identity. The term 'Pacific' encompasses a wide range of Island nation identities. This study uses 'Pacific Peoples' to identify individuals of Pacific origin who live in New Zealand.

Targeted television health messages (or advertisements): This term refers to advertisements which air on public television in New Zealand, and which contain messages that promote the idea of public health.

1.6. Thesis Outline

The following is a guide to the ensuing chapters of this research study.

Chapter One has provided an outline of the purposes and objectives of this research study. This initial chapter has also outlined the context in which this research study emerged and the significance of the study.

Chapter Two provides an extensive review of significant literature surrounding the issue of representation of both POC and Pacific Peoples within televised content such as advertisements and programming. The review of the literature also sets up the relevant theoretical framework for which the results of this research study are to be analysed.

Chapter Three outlines the methodological approach used in gathering data and generating findings from the results of the data. Also contained within the chapter is an explanation of the use reflexivity within this research study.

Chapter Four contains the first part of the results. This includes data and the results from researcher notes, observations and background research on New Zealand public health messages.

Chapter Five contains the second part of the results, i.e. the discussion which surrounds the results of the focus group.

Chapter Six highlights the findings uncovered from the analytical examination of the data results. Key themes identified through the use of a thematic analysis framework are discussed and explored.

Chapter Seven summarises the results and findings and provides a conclusion to this research study. Within this chapter there is also a discussion on future recommendations regarding research surrounding the issue of representation of POC, especially POC within a New Zealand context.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

The visibility and representation of POC is a vital topic of critical research, especially when it concerns the media communication industry and its extended domain of television. This representation is especially important, as positive and diverse portrayals of POC on television provide group self-esteem and group vitality (Greenwald et al. 2002). Additionally, examining the effects of POC portrayals is important as the findings can be used to transform harmful portrayals into positive ones. Television has long been a part of the infrastructure of society and culture, providing us with knowledge, entertainment and popular culture (Hammermeister, Brock, & Winterstein, 2005). And as Signorielli (2001) also states, “television has become the nation’s primary story-teller” (p. 136). For POC, positive representations on television are often a validation of their existence and their humanity (Hogg, Terry, & White, 1995) within a society and culture that operates using past oppressive infrastructures and ideologies (Shrum, 1999). Yet, it is a well-established case that portrayals of POC on television in New Zealand (and internationally) have not been completely positive (positive portrayals being those that are diverse in nature and which do not rely on stereotypes), and this occurs even now, in what is termed a ‘post-racial’ society (Hardwood & Anderson, 2002). What POC do often find in the myriad of portrayals within the television landscape are harmful stereotypes and oppressive ideologies masked by entertainment aspects – or, in the majority of cases, no portrayal at all (Coltrane & Messineo, 2000). Further, examining these portrayals is important because how we interpret portrayals of ourselves through television affects the way in which we perform and maintain our cultural identity – which in turn influences how wider society and social out-groups (Hogg et al. 1995) view and interpret POC. Images and portrayals of POC on television also help in affiliation and differentiation, which is important as POC often define who they are by what they are not (Treppe, 2006). Therefore, analysing the ways in which television impacts on an individual’s perception of self is ever important

2.2. Theoretical Frameworks

The subsequent sections briefly outline the several theoretical frameworks utilised to provide an analytical account of the past literature. Theoretical frameworks identified and utilised include the ‘cultivation effect of television’ (Gerbner & Gross, 1976), ‘production of culture’ (Peterson & Anand, 2004), ‘stereotypes’ (Devine, 1989), ‘identity theory’ (Stryker, 1987), ‘social identity theory’ (Treppe, 2006) and ‘social cognitive/learning theory’ (Bandura, 1986).

2.2.1. Cultivation Effect of Television

The notion behind the concept of ‘cultivation’ has greatly impacted on this research study in many different ways. It is the main ideology which guides this research study, especially by providing explanations for the way in which Pacific Peoples interpret their portrayal within health advertisements on television.

Cultivation was formed as a concept by Gerbner and used as a theory to explain the effects of television consumption. The main component of this theory is uncovering the ways in which long-term television viewing has an effect on an individual’s perspective of their social world beyond the television screen (Shrum, 2005). ‘Cultivation’ within a modern context can also be utilised to explain the effects that long-

term consumption of media has on our social perspective. This can also be true for the internet, especially as television programming is now being consumed more frequently through streaming sites and online methods. Another scholar who has contributed significantly to the discourse on cultivation has been Signorielli. Signorielli's work (especially the research that she has conducted on representation) is also discussed as part of this review of significant past literature.

Cultivation has been used in this research to explain the effects of television consumption, and is applied in explaining the findings of the collected data. Cultivation is part of the fundamental theory that guides how the data is analysed and interpreted.

2.2.2. Production of Culture and Cultural Studies

Production of culture, and its related concept of cultural studies, is quite broad (Hofstede, 1980) and many scholars have provided varied and beneficial thoughts and voices on the concept. This research study more closely works with the 'production of culture' (Stryker, 1987) concept as a supplementary guiding theoretical framework. The 'production of culture' perspective has been utilised mainly within contexts that analyse media consumption. However, recently it has been utilised further to explain cultural production within industries that are not related to media or media technology (Scolari, 2009).

Production of culture can be approached through diverse ways as it is a concept which addresses a broad range of ideas. In the instance of this research study and the review of the background literature, 'production of culture' is defined as how the advertisements that are being analysed exist within an infrastructure that produces artefacts targeted toward a specific audience.

Production of culture is applied to this research study through the understanding that as we go about our daily lives, we do not question the artefacts that we consume as they become part of a mundane routine (Burgess, 2006). However, becoming consciously aware of what we consume enables us to fit cultural artefacts to specific contexts in our social world (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992) and allow us to then enact change within cultural and social spheres of society (Hofstede, 1980).

2.2.3. Stereotypes

There is a wide discourse surrounding stereotypes, especially in regard to ethnic or cultural minorities. For the purpose of this literature review and the wider research study, stereotypes are considered within a theoretical framework that correlates to the discourse surrounding POC and ethnic minorities. Stereotypes, fundamentally, are pre-determined judgements or perceptions about an individual (or cultural/social group) which are based on a set of schemata (Devine, 1989) or frequently occurring characteristics that are perceived to represent a group (Kunda & Thagard, 1996). Bret et al. (2004) also states that "...a stereotype is defined as a group's generalised beliefs about the personal attitudes of members of another group, where those members are viewed as a generic type, rather than as specific individuals" (p.29)

Throughout the extensive history and discourse on stereotypes, it has been established that the use of stereotypes and their effects are mostly destructive for the individuals and groups who fall victim to them (Gray, 2013). To illustrate this point further, the U.S. has widely adopted stereotypes to make pre-judgements on ethnic minority communities. This is especially true for the African-American and Latino

communities. In regard to these communities, persistent stereotypes include the perception of African-Americans as criminals (Curry, 2012) and Latino individuals as drug-users (Coltrane & Messineo, 2000). Stereotypes exist in New Zealand in much the same way as can be witnessed in the U.S. (Dana & Sullivan, 2007), especially in regard to the perceptions and depictions of ethnic minorities such as Maori, Pacific or South Asian peoples (Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002).

2.2.4. Identity Theory and Social Identity Theory

Identity theory and social identity theory are exclusive frameworks of understanding. Yet, they also possess parallel characteristics in their theoretical perceptions (Mummendey, Kessler, Klink, & Mielke, 1999). These theories provide a robust framework for interpreting results and findings on the representation of POC (Stets & Burke, 2000), especially in regard to how POC construe their representation (Mummendey et al. 1999).

Identity theory is a conceptual framework which addresses concerns and questions surrounding the way in which individuals construct and perform their identity within society (Hogg, 2001). Additionally, it explains how identity is constructed through social learning, social interaction and the identification of belonging to certain social groups and communities (Treviño, 2006). This framework also identifies that an individual can adopt a multitude of individual and diverse characteristics to shape and perform their identity within different social situations and constructs (Treviño, 2006).

Social identity theory provides an understanding of how individuals construct an identity within a social group. A social group can range from a particular ethnic community to a sports team (Mummendey et al. 1999). Understanding how individuals function within a social group also aids in understanding how wider society functions (Hogg, 2001).

These theoretical frameworks of understanding are applied to this wider research study in uncovering how Pacific Peoples may utilise portrayals within targeted health advertising to perform their Pacific cultural identity.

2.2.5. Social Cognition and Social Learning Theory

Social cognition and social learning theory provide a framework of understanding which describes that an individual learns to react in social situations by collecting social knowledge through observing other individuals within society (Bandura, 1986) then applying that same knowledge to future social situations (Bandura, 2002). This theoretical framework can also work alongside the identity and social identity theories in relation to explaining certain functions of identity formation and performance (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992).

This theoretical framework also interacts with the understanding and discourse relating to media communication concepts and theories, offering a unique perspective (Scolari, 2009). Furthermore, in regard to the portrayals and representations of POC, and specifically Pacific Peoples on television, social cognition and social learning theory can uncover the way in which Pacific Peoples learn from the knowledge that can be gained by viewing targeted health advertisements.

This theoretical framework is applied to this research study to uncover the links between portrayals of POC and how POC use information from the portrayals to interact in the social world (which exists beyond the reality of the television content).

2.3. Prime-Time Television Advertising

When critically exploring television content, especially portrayals of racially and ethnically diverse populations, delving amidst the 'prime-time' slot of the New Zealand and U.S. television networks is extremely useful. The prime-time of television networks is crucially important, as this is when popular television content is broadcast, major advertisements are viewed and when television networks maintain their largest and most varied audience (Hardwood & Anderson, 2002). Within the context of New Zealand, prime-time is positioned between the hours of 6 pm and 10 pm (Horrocks & Perry, 2004). Although this was identified 12 years ago, the prime-time hours of New Zealand remain the same (Dunleavy & Joyce, 2012). In comparison to this, it is between the hours of 7 pm and 11 pm for the U.S. (Yousman, 2009). As a result of the nine to five working day, prime-time remains a mainstay of evenings, as this is when individuals make use of leisure time (especially television viewing) (Yousman, 2009). Prime-time is also when advertisers pay the most amount of money to have their ads broadcast alongside popular television content (Horrocks & Perry, 2004), making the content of their ads a prized resource in turning television viewers into ensuing consumers. After all, "broadcast television receives all its income from advertising" (Johnson, 2012, p. 4). This is especially true for the New Zealand television industry where there is no significant public service broadcasting structure (Dunleavy & Joyce, 2012).

2.3.1. Advertising within the U.S.

In terms of discussing and analysing 'television portrayals of POC', the U.S. is perhaps the paramount nation from which to gain insight. America is rich with data as it is a country that is called 'home' by numerous ethnically and racially diverse individuals (Mastro & Greenberg, 2000). The two studies reviewed in relation to America are 'Race, advertising, and Prime-Time Television' (Henderson & Baldasty, 2003) and 'Representation of Race in Television Commercials: A content Analysis of Prime-Time Advertising' (Mastro & Stern, 2003).

For Henderson and Baldasty (2003), the objective of their study was to investigate the number and type of representation of POC on prime-time television advertising, and to compare the findings alongside the representations within television shows. Henderson and Baldasty (2003) outlined their method as "advertising across various types of prime-time shows ...the study is based on 62 program episodes and 825 commercials that include people" (p. 6). Henderson and Baldasty (2003) discovered that "POC are clearly visible in prime-time advertising; 37.5% of the 825 ads examined for this study showed POC. POC appeared in ads without whites, in lead roles among diverse characters, as equals among a small group of characters, and as secondary or background characters" (p. 7). An interesting finding was that the only minority group routinely represented in prime-time commercials was African Americans, whereas other minority groups were rare (at about 1%). This identification refers to portrayals on television between the years 1999 and 2001. Further conclusions made from the collected data included that POC appeared in mainly peripheral 'background' roles, white individuals dominated within ads for the 'home' or domestic products, POC appeared in ads for personal hygiene products and POC were often used to advertise affordable clothing brands but were clearly absent from higher end clothing brands, where white individuals were utilised instead.

The study by Mastro and Stern (2003) utilised a social cognitive theory (SCT) in order to analyse the portrayals of African Americans, Asian Americans, Latinos, and Whites within prime-time television commercials. This study quantified the portrayals of POC and the roles in which they were placed. Their methodology included “a one-week sample of prime-time television programming across six broadcast networks ...recorded over a 3-week period in February 2001” (Mastro & Stern, 2003, p. 3). As with Henderson and Baldasty (2003), Mastro and Stern (2003) came to an identical conclusion that African Americans were the minority group most consistently represented within commercials, and that their representation was in proportion with population figures. Other findings from this study included: White individuals were over-represented compared with population data, Asian Americans appeared in ads for technology, Latinos and Hispanics appeared within advertisements for soap/deodorant, and African Americans were depicted the most in financial services ads.

Both Henderson and Baldasty (2003) and Mastro and Stern (2003) arrived at similar conclusions on the representations of POC. Perhaps the most important of these conclusions is that while there was a definite representation of POC within U.S. television, their portrayals were often linked to harmful stereotypes and that the portrayals often maintained, rather than challenged, white social norms and dominance. A clear difference in these studies is that while Henderson and Baldasty (2003) linked representation in advertising to white consumerism and the maintenance of social norms, Mastro and Stern (2003) related their findings to SCT and concluded that individuals learned social behaviour from the various repeated images on television. In terms of Henderson and Baldasty’s link between portrayals and white consumerism, numerous types of POC representations served the notion that whites have wealth and, consequently, disposable income. This is also why whites are often identified in advertisements for higher end brands and products. The perseverance of stereotypes within television advertising are often a function of white racism and advertisers’ fear of offending white consumers (McDonald, 1992).

As Henderson and Baldasty (2003) stated:

As such, advertisers and programmers seem to be in a mutually reinforcing relationship. Advertisers seek out shows that will meet advertisers’ needs ...In this context, young, upscale Whites have emerged as the single-most desirable demographic target, and television shows reflect that emphasis. (p. 5).

Harmful advertising tactics were often employed, which resulted in stereotyping of POC. To illustrate this point, Latinos and Hispanics were in ads for soap/deodorant, confirming the association of POC as ‘dirty’ and whites as the representatives of ‘cleanliness’. For Mastro and Stern (2003), in examining the data using SCT, they emphasised that the production of stereotypes has harmful impacts on a POC’s sense of self and social knowledge. Because their findings showed that African Americans were represented proportionally to their population data, they were perhaps less affected by these portrayals, in the same way as white individuals were less affected than other groups.

Mastro and Stern (2003) explained:

Based on SCT, then, it would be expected that Black and White viewers might be less likely than others to develop harmful self-perceptions as a result of

exposure, especially when considering that characters' mere presence in ads suggests social relevance and group legitimization. (p. 10).

Nevertheless, even though African Americans were proportionate in representation, it is the quality of these representations which proves problematic. This means that African Americans could still have only negative portrayals with which to make sense of their identity.

2.3.2. Advertising within New Zealand

New Zealand is a unique case as its television industry has been fundamentally commercial in nature since its original inception (Horrocks & Perry, 2004), resulting in data that can yield new interpretations and perspectives. Some of the studies from New Zealand which look at the portrayals of POC on television advertising are 'Representation of Maori and Pacific Peoples in Television Advertisements' (Dana & O'Sullivan, 2007) and 'Co-constructions of Gender and Ethnicity in New Zealand Television Advertising' (Michelle, 2012).

The objective of Dana and O'Sullivan's study was to address the issue of how Maori and Pacific Peoples were represented during prime-time, free-to-air advertising in New Zealand. They set out to determine whether or not the representation of Maori and Pacific Peoples was in proportion to their demographic and to assess what kind of roles they appeared in. The findings concluded that in 2004, only 39 advertisements (out of 2202 in total) featured representations of Maori and Pacific Peoples, and of these advertisements, only 14 of them had Maori and Pacific Peoples in main roles. In 2006, the results showed that 48 ads contained Maori and Pacific Peoples, of which only 18 ads had them as main characters. Other findings showed that Maori and Pacific Peoples were mostly shown in ads for Government and NGO services, and were hardly ever seen in advertisements for alcohol, health/beauty and consumer goods.

For Michelle (2012), the main objective of the study was to quantify the representations of POC within New Zealand television advertising and compare how ethnicity and race intersect with gender. To collect data, "the sample consisted of 2120 advertisements screened during prime-time on TV1 and TV2. Advertisements were recorded in 2006" (Michelle, 2012, p. 6). The findings of this study concluded that white men were over-represented as a group within advertisements and that the lowest visibility within advertisements was for POC women, especially Maori and Pacific women. The study also found that in comparison to national population data, POC within New Zealand were not represented proportionally. This was especially true for Asians, as Michelle (2012) explains: "while Asians now comprise 9.2% of New Zealand's population, no Asians were featured as sole product representatives" (p. 18).

The major difference between these two studies is the fact that Michelle (2012), conducted an analysis with an understanding that ethnicity and gender intersect in regard to portrayals within television advertising, while Dana and O'Sullivan only analysed how Maori and Pacific People are represented. One of the major conclusions made in both of these studies is that the low representation of POC within New Zealand cultivates a culture of exclusion. As Higgs and Milner (2005) explain: "for subordinate group members, narrow and distorted depictions as well as scarcity of images have the potential to foster feelings of alienation and social exclusion" (p. 6).

Scott (1990), further emphasises this point:

By eliminating or negatively stereotyping Maori and Pacific Peoples the advertising industry tells their children not to bother with dreams of success and at the same time it may suggest to Pakeha that Maori and Pacific Peoples are not capable people. (p.10).

These two studies also confirm what has previously been found in U.S.-centric studies about the usage of harmful stereotypes and maintaining a certain social order. Michelle (2012) found that Maori and Pacific males were often featured in ads for sports or sporting goods, mirroring the stereotype of the Black male athlete in the U.S. (Henderson & Baldasty, 2003). As Signorielli and Bacue (1999) explain, “advertisements are important, too, because they are part of a media system that influences how people see themselves and others” (p. 13). Be that as it may, within New Zealand, a television network specifically catering for a Maori audience and accommodating Maori television content has been in existence since 2004. This network features advertising that contains diverse portrayals of Maori individuals, and this may obscure the data from New Zealand.

2.4. Impact of Television Representation

Television is a media outlet that not only affects us on an individual level, but also on a group and societal level (Trepte, 2006). In order to make adjustments within society, a critical explanation of television using theoretical frameworks is important. The main theoretical frameworks which can be utilised to explain the effects and impacts of television representations of POC are ‘cultivation theory’ and ‘social cognitive/social learning theory’ (SCT).

2.4.1. Television’s Cultivation and Social Cognition

The theoretical framework of cultivation is rather specific to television itself; in fact, it is a theory that examines and explains the effects of viewing television over an extended period of time (Signorielli, 2001). Mastro and Robinson (2000) define cultivation theory as “a social theory which examines the long-term effects of television ...which identifies that the more time people spend ‘living’ in the television world, the more likely they are to believe social reality portrayed on television” (p. 3). Beneath the lens of cultivation, television acts as an implicit and explicit guidebook that viewers can use to navigate the ‘real’ world existing beyond the television screen. As Hammermeister et al. (2005) stated, “...information gleaned from television, both accurate and inaccurate, is an important part of our knowledge of how individuals act, behave, look and feel” (p. 2).

Bandura (2002) outlined social cognitive theory (SCT) as the recurring, unpretentious, and rewarded messages that characterise television ads, and then postulates that viewers can and do learn from what they see in the media. As an extension of this, Hall (1981) articulated that “media produce representations of the social world, images, descriptions, explanations, and frames for understanding how the world is and why it works as it is said and shown to work” (p. 31).

For Mastro and Greenberg (2000), the objective was to find links between social perceptions of minorities and their respective television roles. The study had a particular focus on the portrayals of Latino characters. An examination of the data found that “80% of the main and minor characters were Caucasian, and 52% of the Caucasians were in main roles ...16% were African American and 56% of them were in

main roles ...3% were Latino and 44% of them were in main roles ...1% were Asian American” (Mastro & Greenberg, 2000, p. 5).

Signorielli’s (2009) study is significant as it examines data collected over the course of eight years. The main objective of this study was to analyse and explore the frequency and program diversity of minority portrayals, and show how such portrayals relate to the overall U.S. population. Findings from the study showed that “the percentage of white characters went from 75% in the fall of 2001 to 84% in the fall of 2006 and 83% in the fall of 2008. The percentage of Black characters, on the other hand, went from 17% in the fall of 2001 to 12% in 2008” (Signorielli, 2009, p. 6). This study also made the conclusion that if shows such as situational comedies were removed from the data, then the percentage of Black portrayals would decrease significantly.

Concerning the study by Matejowsky (2010), the aim was to replicate the research methods of the earlier Mastro and Greenberg (2000) analysis, which had been published a decade prior. As Matejowsky’s (2010) study was set up in replication, the method of gathering data mirrored that of Mastro and Greenberg, in which “Prime time television shows were content analysed during a two-week period beginning in early March 2007. During this period, a one-week sample of all shows and characters shown on ABC, NBC, CBS and FOX was recorded and content analysed” (p. 112). The most significant finding of this study was that, although a decade had passed since the original Mastro and Greenberg study, the results remained ominously unchanged. As Matejowsky (2010) states, “Over a period of ten years, the racial representation of television actors has not changed significantly...White actors continue to be in a distinct majority position, African American representation is in line with their percent of the U.S. population and the representation of Latinos continues to be in a distinct minority” (pp. 114–115).

In reference to Leslie’s (2012) study, the aim was to find answers to a range of questions, including: “Do heavy viewers of television have different social attitudes towards Blacks?”, “How does the cultivation effect differ for each of the four major ethnic groups of Brazil?” and “To what extent does the level of education of the Brazilian viewer moderate the cultivation effect?” (p. 4). This study was conducted in a similar fashion to those studies concerning the U.S., especially as “Brazil is a country which shares a history of Black slavery and marginalization with the United States” (Leslie, 2012, p. 3).

Leslie (2012) noted that the analysis of data for this study found that:

Heavy Exposure to Brazilian television correlates positively with belief in the racial democracy myth. Heavy TV viewers are more likely than light viewers to express liberal social attitudes towards Black Brazilians. However, they also seem to be more aware of the persistence of racial discrimination in Brazilian society. Thus, heavy television watching in Brazil seems to both sensitize viewers while intensifying belief in (or longing for) the democratic racial myth. (p. 8).

All of these studies in one way or another support cultivation theory. They all present findings which postulate that the repeated images of stereotypes, behaviours and associations have an effect on how an individual views themselves and the wider society. Henderson and Baldasty (2003) asserted that “media do not simply deliver ‘facts’ but also serve to define social ideals” (p. 5).

Goffman (1974) mentions that, “media images and messages work as a cognitive filter to help individuals make sense of the world” (p. 111). Therefore, it is not surprising that individuals often recall and make use of stereotypes and representations in which they have been seen to comprehend elements of and interactions within the outside world. When these stereotypes and representations are employed on a frequent basis, this is when processes of cultivation and social cognition come into play. However, it is not simply a one-way information loop of television content to viewer; in fact, television continuously feeds mainstream views over a period of time, with these views being placed back within the television landscape (Gerbner, 2002).

An additional facet to this analysis is to what extent does the educational level of an individual affect the interpretation of mediated messages from television? As Leslie (2012) postulates, “...educated and aware respondents may have been inclined to give the politically correct response, rather than to express their true feelings about blacks in response to each of these questions” (p. 7).

2.5. Effects on Society

The representations of POC on television provide an essential understanding of dominant ideologies within society and how they are maintained by a powerful white minority who hold oppressive dominant ideologies (Stewart, 2013). In order to maintain a particular social order, or a ‘White Hegemony’, media outlets like television are utilised to mask oppressive ideologies and encourage POC to assimilate within a white, heteronormative behaviour pattern (Coltrane & Messineo, 2000). This has often been through the use of subtle racial imagery to maintain and legitimise the status quo (Seiter, 1986). The representations of POC on television are also important because they inform the way in which various non-white groups view themselves and portray themselves to others (Trepte, 2006).

2.5.1. White Hegemony and Heteronormativity

Signorelli suggests that it is a well-accepted fact that there exists in society an infrastructure that supports the maintenance of a ‘White Hegemony’ and social norms that support the continued oppression of POC (Signorielli, 1999). Television has played a major role in perpetuating this societal infrastructure by portraying non-white persons in roles which contain negative connotations or roles which do not challenge dominant white social norms (Stewart, 2013).

Gray (1997) explains that:

Whiteness is the privileged yet unnamed place from which to see and make sense of the world ...relative to the hegemonic status that whiteness occupies in this discourse, Black-ness simply works to reaffirm, shore up and police the cultural and moral boundaries of the existing social order. (p. 87).

To further explain this point, Henderson and Baldasty (2003) outlined the following on white social dominance:

When POC have appeared, they have usually done so in ways that did not challenge the dominant White culture. As such, they either were presented as stereotypes, as peripheral characters, or as people who had assimilated into the larger White culture. None of these representations challenge White social dominance. (p. 3).

When examining the representations of POC within television, it is most likely that scholars will at some point encounter the idea of ‘white hegemony’ or ‘white heteronormativity’ as a cause for the types of representations that are available for POC. Mastro and Greenberg (2000), Henderson and Baldasty (2003) and Dana and O’Sullivan (2007) all explain that there is a strong correlation between television and the maintenance of a dominant white society. For these scholars, the perpetuation and preservation of white social norms through television is mostly rendered through the depiction of stereotypes which have harmful connotations. Mastro and Stern (2003) and Henderson and Baldasty (2003) summarised that the most prevalent stereotypes within US television are the ‘Latin Lover’ of Latinos and Hispanics, the ‘Athletic’ Black male and ‘Model Minority’ of Asian Americans. These stereotypes are used to maintain oppressive power structures within the infrastructure of society, by providing a constructed image which is repeated constantly. When this image is viewed on a constant basis, individuals often associate these representations with individuals in the real world (Mastro & Stern, 2003).

Recent studies have also been published which explore the idea of a white hegemony and social dominance, and of these studies ‘Deconstructing Subtle Racist Imagery in Television Ads’ (Shabbir, Hyman, Reast, & Palihawadana, 2014), has broken down and interpreted the subtleties of these harmful representations and how they maintain the status quo of white social dominance within the context of U.K. television ads. A standout finding of this study was that “Racial imagery – either overt or subtle – appeared in 68.3% of those ads ...of 425 ads identified as racially biased, 25.2% were classified as containing overt racial bias” (Shabbir et al, 2014, p. 11). In correlation with the concept of white social dominance and white hegemony, this finding suggests that specific racial imagery is utilised to maintain the dominant ‘white’ ideal of the controlling minority within society.

2.5.2. Social Identity and Group Identity

Along the same lines as social cognitive and social learning theory, social identity and group identity theory are very relevant to television viewing in regard to how it affects the formation of group characteristics and group functionality (Trepte, 2006). How individuals – especially POC – view various portrayals of themselves on television determines how they identify with their respective social group and how that group aims to present itself to wider society (Hogg et al., 1995). As Trepte (2006) explains, social learning theory (SLT) “...is a social-psychological theory that attempts to explain cognitions and behaviour with the help of group processes” (p. 256), and “SLT does not begin with assumptions considering the individual, but rather with assumptions referring to a social group” (p. 256).

The study which supports the concepts of social and group identity is ‘Television Portrayals of Ethnic Minorities in the United States: The Analysis of Individual Differences, Media Use, and Group Identity and Vitality’ (Pornsakulvanich, 2007). This study is unique in that instead of conducting a content analysis, it uses the findings from Signorielli (2009) and interprets the data in a qualitative manner. The conclusions made from this analysis includes the finding that ethnic groups and group members select the shows they want to view based on whether or not they feature positive representations of the group; positive representations on television can lead to higher group vitality; and negative representations lead to lower

group identity and vitality (Pornsakulvanich, 2007). An interesting finding from this study asserts that negative television representations only affect those who do not strongly identify with their group, whereas there is minimal to no impact on those who strongly identify with their respective group.

Additionally, the study 'Ethnic Minorities in the Mass Media: How Migrants Perceive Their Representation in Swiss Public Television' (Trebbe & Schoenhagen, 2011) attempted to explore the relationship between portrayals of migrants within Swiss television and how these portrayals formed a foundation for assessing social and group identity. One important factor to recognise about Trebbe and Schoenhagen's (2011) study is that their definition of migrant included white migrants alongside non-white migrants. However, Trebbe and Schoenhagen (2011) do recognise a separate analysis of non-white Swiss migrants. An analysis of data from this study revealed that "...many migrants feel like they are being marginalised in the media and thus are not being recognised as part of (Swiss) society" (Trebbe & Schoenhagen, 2011, p. 8). As an extension of this, it was also found that non-white migrant communities were often found in television content which was connected to themes of drugs, delinquency, refugees and Islam.

2.6 Concluding Remarks

In summary of this literature review, a key theoretical framework structure has been identified for this research study. This theoretical framework is used to uncover findings from the gathered data. Key concepts and ideas covered within the review of the background literature include that POC do exist within various television landscapes (including the New Zealand television landscape). However, their portrayals are often based on persistent and harmful stereotypes. Also identified within this review is the understanding that portrayals of POC, and especially of Pacific Peoples, need to be understood and analysed through the individuals that they represent. By achieving this, portrayals can be better understood and future templates of representation of POC can be constructed that provide more distinct and diverse images.

Chapter Three: Methodology

3.1. Introduction

The methodological approach is important for the design and execution of a research study (Bryman & Burgess, 1994). Selecting a methodology for a research study involves rigorous thought and thorough consultation with knowledge borrowed and derived from a range of varied sources. Choosing a methodology is also a decision which depends largely on whether or not a study fits within the qualitative framework or quantitative framework (Ruggunan, 2009). A place within one of these categories helps position oneself as a researcher and place the researcher within the research process itself. The methodology also aids in determining what the objectives of a study are and what needs to be explored or uncovered. The methodology forms the majority of the infrastructure for a research study and is the component we constantly consult in order to guide our research decisions and uncover the information we would like to find out (Alhojailan, 2012).

The methodology and all of its related parts and components should be decided upon within the beginning stages of the research study, because the methodology is a process which is called upon throughout the research process.

Methods are formed and decided upon according to whichever methodology is chosen. However, 'methodology' and 'methods' are often confused as being the same thing, even though they are entirely different (Aronson, 1995). Selecting the methods for a research study is as important as selecting the methodology. There are many factors to consider. These include asking questions such as 'is the research study strictly qualitative?' in which case, only qualitative methods and tools should be employed to collect data or analyse data. Aspects such as the researcher's perspective or adoption of reflexivity should also be considered, as these help determine whether the methods utilised should be qualitative or quantitative.

Choosing the appropriate methods and tools for your research study is essential, as the exact type and exact amount of data needs to be generated in order to produce a truthful analysis. When choosing methods, keeping in mind what kind of data is needed becomes a crucial aspect. Will textual, numerical or visual data be analysed? How much time is needed for an appropriate analysis? How much raw data is appropriate for the research study? These are further questions which need careful consideration.

Once a study arrives at the point of analysing the data and forming conclusions about the world and the individuals who live in it, both the methodology and methods of a research study need to have made the right impact. If you have chosen the most appropriate methods for collecting and gathering data, then your analysis should flow naturally as the next step and reveal truths effortlessly.

3.2. Methodological Approach

As mentioned previously within the background to the research of this study, previous studies on this topic of representation within television content have been conducted within the confines of quantitative methods and theory, with assumptions revolving around the interpretations of numerical data, rather than the interpretive nature of 'people-centred' qualitative methods.

The methodology of this research study is strongly based within a qualitative framework of understanding. A qualitative framework is often described as one which is used to gain a deeper understanding of underlying perspectives, reasons and motivations (Duberley, Johnson, & Cassell, 2012). It is a methodology which is guided by its exploratory nature and ability to provide insight into various research issues, topics or dilemmas. A significant element of qualitative methods is delving beyond the face-value of data and illuminating findings through a variety of analytical frameworks (Grix, 2002).

The benefit of utilising a qualitative framework is that it can be 'people-centred' (Chenail, 2012). The topic of this research study revolves around how Pacific people are portrayed within television advertising in New Zealand and how they internalise these portrayals. This topic of study aligns naturally with a qualitative framework.

In terms of a qualitative methodology, some limitations are that the analysis of the data is subjective and, depending on the researcher's own guiding theoretical understanding and framework of analyses, the data can be formed to serve a certain purpose or aid with bringing forth a certain argument to readers (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). However, to alleviate issues of researcher-bias, reflexivity is employed through the different components of this research study. The use of reflexivity enables the researcher to critically evaluate decisions made within the research process (Koch & Harrington, 1998) and subsequently generate solutions for dealing with unfavourable or difficult decisions.

At times, there may be no objective answers or conclusions formed through qualitative data (Sandelowski, 2000). However, this will only happen if the framework of analysis applied to the data has not been selected properly. In terms of the objectives of the research being conducted, the subjective nature of a qualitative methodological framework, or the researcher's guiding frameworks of understanding, can have a pronounced affect as well (Berg, 2004).

3.3. Methodological Tools

The methodological tools or 'methods' of a research study are dictated by the methodology that is chosen and the frameworks of understanding which guide the principal objectives of the research study (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Methods should be selected with great care and consideration, as methods are the ways in which data are gathered, ultimately leading to how researchers are able to analyse and generate assumptions which validate either the hypothesis or objectives of a research study (Sandelowski, 2000).

The methods chosen for a research study also largely depend on whether or not a study is qualitative or quantitative (Blaikie, 2007). There are many different methods that are only suitable for either a qualitative framework or a quantitative framework. For example, 'people-centred' methods such as focus groups, interviews and observations are far more appropriate for qualitative research focusing on generating meaningful assumptions from the opinions and perspectives of individuals (Duberley et al. 2012).

As this study is qualitative, there are some strict guidelines by which methods have been selected. All methods chosen for this research are firmly rooted within a qualitative framework so as to extract meaningful information from participants. Essentially, the methods that have been chosen are 'people-centred'.

The use of various methods during this research study has been a learning process. Some of the methods that were adopted earlier on within the initial stages of data collection were neglected when it came to data analysis as they did not provide the appropriate data, especially for a qualitative study. This will be explained further.

3.3.1. Focus Group

As this research fits within the boundaries of a qualitative framework, a focus group was preferred to gather discussion data. Focus groups have been an integral component of conducting qualitative research, specifically due to the fact that focus groups offer researchers the opportunity to interact with individuals and listen to their perspectives (Rabiee, 2004). The context behind selecting a focus group for this research study was to gather transcript and discussion data which could then be utilised in order to extract themes using a thematic framework of analysis.

Many different scholars have contributed to the literature on focus groups, and Kitzinger (1995) and Krueger (2006) have had the most significant contribution. This research study closely follows the ideas of Kitzinger (1995). Kitzinger's discourse on focus groups was chosen as she describes focus groups as an interactive and interpretive process. Kitzinger encourages researchers to be active participants within the process of conducting a focus group and to understand that a focus group is affected by various influences, which results in nuanced data (Kitzinger, 1995).

A range of methods were used to advertise the focus group to the Pacific community. These included flyers, personal contacts of the researcher and online advertisements. The most successful method of gathering participants was through the use of online advertisements on Facebook community groups. The second most successful method was using a personal contact (a Pacific work colleague of the researcher) to help recruit participants. Because most of the interest in the focus group arrived from online sources, there were not many people older than the age of 40 who responded.

The focus group was held at AUT's Wellesley campus within the WG Building in a small classroom, which had resources that would allow for the advertisements to be screened. This included a data show projector system.

There were seven participants recruited for the focus group. Of these seven participants, three were men and the remaining four were women. The age range of the focus group participants were 18 – 35 years of age. The three main Pacific ethnic identities of the group make-up included Cook Island Maori, Samoan and Tongan.

The major challenges faced in regard to organising and conducting this focus group was recruiting participants and selecting an appropriate time to hold the focus group. The focus group was originally going to be held as early as November 2015, but the preparation of the ethics application pushed this date forward. Recruitment of the focus group also took quite a long time.

The focus group would have been more accessible if it had been organised by a Pacific person (or a Pacific liaison person), subsequently making it easier for the Pacific community to come forth and participate within this research study. However, the decision was made not to use a Pacific liaison person as there may have been an unexpected research cost and the researcher felt that the task of recruitment could be accomplished using personal contacts. In terms of using a personal Pacific contact, the researcher employed a Pacific colleague who was able to reach out within the Pacific community and recruit people for the focus group.

Even though there were many issues faced with putting the focus group into motion, the focus group did provide many beneficial rewards for this research. The biggest reward is that participants of the focus group had no problem in sharing their thoughts and opinions, resulting in rich and meaningful data.

3.3.2. Researcher Notes and Diary

Throughout the processes of gathering and analysing the data, a diary was kept by the researcher in order to record various notes regarding the research study. This diary of researcher notes was significant, especially during the focus group. During the focus group, the researcher (who also acted as the moderator of the focus group) recorded observations of the participants and recorded notes of anything that was expressed by participants as being important.

3.3.3. Survey

In the early stages of this research project, a 10-question survey was created. This survey was to be distributed to Pacific people online and in physical places in various communities across Auckland. The survey was available at all times of the day on the official research website (notourfutureresearch.com) and had been created using Google Forms. Participant recruitment for the survey included online promotion and messages, flyers, and reaching out to the Pacific community through attending various Pacific festivals and Pacific markets in Auckland. This survey, however, was not a success.

The most significant reason why this survey failed to address the research question is that it seemed better suited to a quantitative study. Additionally, the answers from the online participants were mostly short, one-word replies, which did not allow for a meaningful analysis. This survey also proved to be difficult to work with and distribute to Pacific people for the previously mentioned reason of not having a Pacific liaison person.

However, discarding the survey data was not a significant loss. The focus group discussion data proved to provide a significant amount of data whereby meaningful conclusions could be made.

3.4. Analysis and Interpretation Process

Another important aspect of the methodology process was to implement the most suitable analysis framework for the interpretation of the data. Once again, the analysis and interpretation frameworks were decided upon through the methodology and main theoretical frameworks of understanding of the researcher.

3.4.1. Thematic Analysis

A thematic framework of analysis is a central constituent of this research. It is the framework of analyses upon which the guiding lines of inquiry are answered through unravelling themes and findings from within the raw data sets. Thematic analysis is also important for this study due to the fact that this research study interacted with research participants and extracted from them discussion data.

Thematic analysis can be described as examining for themes or categories within textual data (for this research study it was transcripts of focus group discussion data) (Alhojailan, 2012). Diverse themes can hold different weights in terms of their importance in telling the narrative of the findings (Attride-Stirling, 2001). Many different scholars have provided thoughts within the discourse surrounding thematic analysis, and the scholars who have informed this research study are Braun and Clarke (2006) and Boyatzis (1998).

In regard to Braun and Clarke (2006), their discourse on the thematic framework of analysis for this research consists of utilising a six-phase process of analysis.

This following is provided by Braun and Clarke (2006):

Phase 1 – Familiarising yourself with the data.

Phase 2 – Generating initial codes.

Phase 3 – Searching for themes.

Phase 4 – Reviewing themes.

Phase 5 – Defining and naming themes.

Phase 6 – Producing the report.

(p. 87–93)

The initial step in conducting the thematic framework of analysis for this research study included transcribing the focus group discussion. This was completed in the time frame of two weeks, and since the focus group discussion was recorded on video, observed behaviours were recorded within the transcription as well. Next, an attempt was made by the researcher to understand the data and familiarise herself with its contents. Subsequently, initial themes were extracted from the data and these were separated into categorical hierarchies. Finally, the themes were confirmed and the discussion of the results took place.

In regard to uncovering themes and categories from the data, the themes and categories were separated into what was the main overall theme and what were the sub-themes.

The main form of thematic analysis adopted for this research study embraced an inductive process. This inductive process includes mining the data sets without any theory or concepts informing the coding and analysis process beforehand (Aronson, 1995).

According to Braun and Clarke (2006):

Themes or patterns within data can be identified in one of two primary ways in thematic analysis: in an inductive or 'bottom-up' way or in a theoretical or deductive or 'top-down' way. An inductive approach means the themes identified are strongly linked to the data themselves ...they would also not be driven by the researcher's theoretical interest in the area or topic. Inductive analysis is therefore a process of coding the data without trying to fit it into a pre-existing coding frame, or the researcher's analytic preconceptions. (p. 83).

A limitation of implementing a framework of thematic analyses includes the way in which it allows for data to be manipulated into various outcomes and findings. Depending on the intentions of the researcher, thematic analysis can provide the opportunity to shape the results toward a specific agenda (Lunt & Livingstone, 1996). However, this was remedied through the use of reflexivity and using an inductive method of uncovering themes (Boyatzis, 1998).

3.5. Reflexivity

Reflexivity can be a fundamental aspect of qualitative research, but at times it may not be necessary, which is why the need for reflexivity has been debated a great deal (Lynch, 2000). It is also a concept and practice which ultimately is decided upon by the researcher themselves (Adams, 2006), or dictated by their chosen methodology (Holmes, 2010). It is identified as an important part of this research study due to its nature and its specific focus on people (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003) and their emotional outputs and inner perspectives (Watt, 2007). There are many ways in which reflexivity has been incorporated throughout the entirety of this study, and these are outlined in the following sections.

To begin this journey of reflexivity it is important to assert that conducting a reflexive process is one where the researcher looks within his or herself and asks important questions (Adams, 2006) regarding how they relate to the study, the people being studied, the process of collecting data and how that data is being analysed (Rosenberg, 1990). Initiating reflexivity within a study is important because a researcher is asserting that they have a very complex and intricate relationship with every step of the research process (Perry, 2001) and that the research process itself is not a singular, objective journey (Holmes, 2010). It is also very important to note here that the researcher herself does not identify as part of the Pacific community, even though the researcher focuses on Pacific People. The researcher identifies as a Cape Coloured South African who has a research interest in how POC exist within the different spaces of the television landscape and industry.

An important aspect of reflexivity is its nature of being a form of activism (Maxey, 1999). When a researcher asserts him- or herself as having a complex identity and standpoint in relation to their research, and their research participants have a complex relationship as well, then you are making a political statement (Maxey, 1999). By questioning the nature of your research and all of its connected parts you are participating in a form of activism (Maxey, 1999). Questioning is the core of reflexivity and the engine that makes it work as smoothly as it does (Lynch, 2000). This nature of questioning allows researchers the opportunity to be at the forefront of activism within an academic sphere. Activism in relation to reflexivity is also important for this study because it revolves around the lack of representation on television for POC, and especially the Pacific community of New Zealand. By pointing out the lack of representation, there is an expectation for change or a reaction, which transforms this research into an act of activism.

3.5.1. Incorporation of Reflexivity within the Study

Having reflexivity incorporated within this study is important, and an effort has been made to address it at nearly every stage. It is an important part of this study that every decision of the research process has been questioned from the position and interpretation of the researcher (within reason and where necessary), and that thought and understanding has gone into the validity of these decisions and the results that have emerged. These moments of reflexivity will be placed at the end of every chapter within this research study, making it easier to account for the reflective nature of the components of this research study. It is also important to note that an effort to be reflective was begun at the very initial stage of this research and has continued throughout until the conclusion. This reflexivity has happened in the form of field notes, research notes, numerous meetings with supervisors and other researchers, and in the researcher's own ability to reflect on components of the research in order to confirm its validity.

Chapter Four: Results Part 1 – Advertisements and Researcher Observations

4.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses and arranges the key results from background data research into the targeted health advertisements and the observations noted by the researcher which were compiled within a ‘research diary’ as the research progressed (including during the focus group).

Data gathered from background research conducted on the targeted health advertisements was initially piloted prior to the event of the focus group, and was brought into the processes of data gathering, data analyses and evaluation of the findings.

4.2. Advertisements for Screening

The primary intention of this research study is to report on how Pacific People respond to advertisements that are targeted toward them, and the way in which these advertisements affect the attitude and perception they have of their Pacific culture. In order to measure this objective, Pacific People were recorded and probed regarding their opinions and perceptions of the advertisements. The most appropriate way to approach this situation was to solely screen these advertisements in a controlled setting and directly query participants for their responses to the advertisements. This was accomplished through selecting diverse advertisements from the chosen health promotion campaigns to screen. These advertisements were then screened during the primary stage of the two-hour focus group.

4.2.1. Every Cigarette is Doing You Damage

This opening campaign, entitled ‘Every Cigarette is doing you Damage’, was the oldest set of advertisements selected for the research participants to respond to. The advertising campaign was initially broadcast across all public New Zealand television networks in the years 1997 to 2000 (Wilson, Grigg, Graham, & Cameron, 2005). Furthermore, these advertisements were broadcast for an abbreviated period of time during the years 2002 and 2003 (Wilson et al., 2005). The particular ‘Heart Attack’ advertisement (which was specifically targeted toward Samoan smokers) was one in a seven-part campaign of different advertisements showcasing the detrimental properties of smoking.

At the time that this advertising campaign was broadcast on New Zealand television, it was controversial for the use of ‘threat-appeal’ (Wilson et al. 2005), as the additional advertisements within the campaign featured real bodily organs, such as lungs, being dissected and cut open, with the additional graphic onslaught of tar poured over them to visually shock television audiences. This use of threat-appeal messaging was a tactic espoused by health organisations in Australia, which had proved the method fruitful and effective (Hancox, Milne, & Poulton, 2004). The campaign at large had a dark undertone in its communication, and was anticipated to principally scare smokers into quitting their habit. This campaign was produced by the advertising agency Brown Melhuish Fishlock and exported for a New Zealand audience through the Government-funded organisation Quitline. Brown Melhuish Fishlock is an advertising agency, which in the period of creating the campaign did not employ a Pacific person within

the creation process. There is also no evidence to suggest a consultation with Pacific individuals had taken place in regard to the specific 'Heart Attack' advertisement.

There is little contextual information or market research from the campaign accessible to deliberate further, especially as it is now nearly 20 years since it was first aired on New Zealand Television. Due to its longevity on television, the campaign proved to be effective in both its message and intended purpose (Wilson et al., 2005), even though it utilised the 'threat-appeal' method of pushing its communication across to television audiences. The purpose of including it within this research study has been to showcase and get responses to an advertisement that was older, and well established as both popular and successful.

4.2.2. Cervical Screening

The 'Cervical Screening' campaign is conceivably the most prominent of all the targeted advertisements elected to be screened for the research participants. This campaign had an extensive breadth of content and messages. This campaign also, at the original stage of communication, was targeted mainly at Pacific and Maori women in advance of being transformed into a campaign for the entire population of New Zealand women. The core message of this campaign was that women should take responsibility for their personal health and subsequently attend a cervical screening appointment with a health professional ("Humour in cervical smear ads seems to be working", 2010). The target age range of women for the campaign was 18 to 69 (a range that is all-encompassing). The campaign aired across all public networks of New Zealand television from the years 2009 to 2013. The specific advertisements chosen for the research participants to respond to were screened during the years of 2009 to 2011, and were the preliminary advertisements within the larger campaign to be broadcast. These advertisements included 'Van', 'Socks', 'Magazine' and 'Whanau'. This advertising campaign was created by the Ministry of Health through the National Screening Unit and the advertising agency responsible for producing the advertisements was GSL Network ("National Cervical Screening Programme", 2011).

There was an in-depth and extensive research process in the background of the construction of this advertising campaign. This involved consulting a range of New Zealand women through focus groups and interviews ("National Cervical Screening Programme", 2011). However, the advertising agency itself, which was GSL Network, did not have Pacific People employed as content creators during the creation process of this advertising campaign.

This campaign and its specific advertisements were involved in this research study because it was a successful campaign which aired on public television for an extended period of time. The campaign also intensely targeted 'Polynesian' (Pacific and Maori) women ("Humour in cervical smear ads seems to be working", 2010), and featured very explicit cultural references.

4.2.3. Crayons

'Crayons' is a recently created anti-smoking advertising campaign. Like the previous two advertising campaigns, there is a range of advertisements and messages within the wider campaign itself. The 'Crayons' campaign also targets different audiences (e.g. 'parents' and 'children'). This campaign featured a 'Phase 1' and 'Phase 2' ("Crayons", 2015). Phase 1 of the 'Crayons' campaign was instantly rewarding due to the large number of individuals who contacted the Quitline call centre. This is why Phase 2 was initiated. This campaign, as with the 'Every Cigarette' campaign, triggered a great deal of public and media debate about the message content which it aired on public television. The content of

the flagship advertisements within the campaign featured children using crayons as substitutes for cigarettes (and the children were depicted smoking the crayons), in an attempt to impersonate their parents and older family members who chose to smoke. This advertisement caused division in public attitude as a result of the depiction of children (minors) smoking (“Crayons”, 2015). The advertising campaign was introduced to the public by the organisation Quitline.

‘Phase 1’ of this campaign was produced by Maori Television, and ‘Phase 2’ was produced by ScreenTime Productions. The Executive Producer of both Phase 1 and Phase 2 was Toni Urlich. The Producer of both phases was Valentine Taylor. As Maori Television were the general producers for the first phase, this is evidence to suggest that an ethnically diverse team was responsible for creating the initial half of the campaign. However, this ethnic and cultural diversity was mostly due to the involvement of Maori. Before the production of Phase 2, it was acknowledged through market research that Pacific Peoples were responding to the advertisements, even though Maori were the principal target of Phase 1. As a result of this, Phase 2 featured a greater spotlight on Pacific individuals, and this may suggest that there could have been a process of consultation with a person of Pacific origin during the production of the advertisements for Phase 2. In spite of this, the lead producers of this ‘Crayons’ campaign were not Pacific Peoples.

The advertisements from this campaign were included within this research study as they were recent and intensely featured the depiction of children and the effects that smoking had on them. The previously mentioned campaigns chosen for this research project were aimed mostly toward older and mature Pacific Peoples. The ‘Crayons’ campaign also featured strong cultural references, similar to the ‘Cervical Screening’ campaign.

4.2.4. Rheumatic Fever

The ‘Rheumatic Fever’ campaign, a popular and modern campaign (“Rheumatic Fever”, 2016), was chosen for this research study in order to analyse audience response. This campaign is broadcast on television during the months of winter (with a lead up in the final weeks of autumn) in order to convey attentiveness to the symptoms of the devastating disease rheumatic fever, and is exclusively for Pacific parents. The advertising campaign has been broadcast on all public television networks within New Zealand from 2014 to the present day. The leading tagline of this particular campaign is that a sore throat can lead to rheumatic fever, which is why you should take your child seriously if they tell you they have a sore throat. This advertising campaign features the real life story of a Pacific family and their struggle with rheumatic fever through their twin sons. The campaign had two versions. The first advertisement featured the family speaking in English (mainly the father), and the second advertisement featured the family addressing television audiences in the Tongan language (mainly the mother). This campaign was commissioned by the Ministry of Health, but the creation and promotion of the campaign was controlled by the Health Promotion Agency (HPA) (“Rheumatic Fever”, 2016), which is also supported by the New Zealand Government.

The reason that this campaign has been incorporated within this research study is that there are two versions, one in English and one in Tongan. Both versions were screened for the focus group participants.

4.3. Researcher Notes and Observations

Throughout the countless processes of this research study, a research diary was maintained by the researcher. Many distinctive notes and observations filled this research diary, and these notes and

observations have been utilised to assist the analytical process of generating findings from the data. The following section provides brief considerations surrounding the key notes and observations created during the research process.

4.3.1. Not Just Health Advertisements – Public Service Announcements

A significant observation made in the course of the focus group session was that research participants were not only aware that specific health messages were ‘targeted’, but that Government public service announcements such as ‘Safe Driving’ advertisements were targeted as well. During the focus group session numerous references were made to targeted advertisements not specifically relating to health communication. These separate advertisement messages referenced by research participants included communications relating to road safety, fitness and alcohol tolerance.

4.3.2. An Emphasis on Family

An additional noteworthy observation made during the focus group session was the emphasis that research participants placed on the issues of family and community. The researcher noted that research participants expressed candid sentiments when providing anecdotes and stories concerning their family or their Pacific community. This observation supports results which indicate that the idea of ‘community’ is powerfully ingrained within Pacific cultural attitudes and traditions (Cave, Ryan & Panakera, 2003). It was also observed by the researcher that this emphasis on community and being part of a group enabled focus group participants to feel safe while sharing with individuals who were strangers.

4.3.3. Extended Campaigns

During the contextual research of the targeted advertising campaigns, it was acknowledged that these campaigns extended beyond what the researcher already knew about them. To further clarify this, each health advertising campaign had an intriguing history and often this history was long. Many of the advertisements, such as the ‘Cervical Screening’ campaign, had a lifespan of five years containing many significant campaigns, which meant that a complete analytical processing of the campaign would take a considerable amount of time. An analysis encompassing all significant advertising campaigns would be better suited for a larger study, which would fully utilise a cultivation effect analysis of television.

It is also acknowledged that, due to the longevity of these campaigns, they can be utilised for specific cultivation effect analyses (Romer, Jamieson, & Aday, 2003). In reference to the ‘Cervical Screening’ campaign of health messages, this particular campaign contained a myriad of distinctive messages and narratives, so the campaign could have been used to explore long-term effects of the cultivation of television.

4.4. A Reflexive Account and Conclusion

In regard to the results that have been discussed extensively within the boundaries of this chapter, it is very apparent to the researcher that having kept a research diary to record notes and observations has been significant in identifying aspects of the analytical process. The research diary has also enabled the researcher to reflect back on analytical decisions and their significance (and whether or not these decisions called for alterations). For example, the observation that research participants could identify separate public television advertisements meant that advertisements do fulfil a function within society (Wilson et al. 2005). To further illustrate the reflexive nature of the research diary, the non-utilisation of the survey

data (previously explained within chapter three), was significantly influenced by observations made and recorded within the research diary detailing its insufficiency. These observations aided in the decision to remove the survey data from the analysis stage.

The process of contextual research was not linear. Contextual research was conducted through what the researcher noted as an 'organic' process. At the initial stage of contextual research, it was imperative to navigate the extensive amount of information regarding the advertising campaigns. Nonetheless, further information was sought as the need arose. At times, this meant consulting information from the initial contextual investigation during the analytical processes or continuing to consult new sources of information.

Chapter Five: Results Part 2 – Response to Advertisements and Focus Group

5.1. Introduction

The following chapter addresses the results of the collected data from the focus group and the focus group reaction to the screened advertisements. The discussion surrounding the findings of the data is separated into two parts. The first part concerns the focus group participants' responses to the targeted television health advertisements. The second part of the findings discussion is concerned with the content analysis of the targeted television health advertisements.

As mentioned within the methodology discourse of this research study (Chapter 3), a thematic framework of analysis was utilised to disclose findings within the collected data sets. Through the use of a thematic framework of analysis, an aggregate of seven fundamental themes emerged from the collected data sets. Sub-categories within the seven key themes will be explicated further as well.

5.2. Stereotypes

Stereotypes prevail within New Zealand society (Holmes, Murachver, & Bayard, 2001) and are utilised by many individuals to cope as part of a functioning society. Therefore, it is no surprise to find stereotypes establishing points of access and representation across the television landscape, especially considering that television is a medium which directly reflects back to society the way in which it functions (Hall, 1996).

Within the focus group discussion, participants acknowledged stereotypes as an insistent and relentless element of their everyday life and a concern which adversely impacts on how they conduct certain aspects of their lives.

Within the focus group, the discussion of stereotypes revolved around the targeted television health advertisements and the depiction of stereotypes within other media outlets (such as social media and print media).

New Zealand is no stranger to the perpetuation and use of harmful stereotypes. Within New Zealand there exists an extensive range of harmful stereotypes, not only for Pacific Peoples, but for many other cultures and ethnicities as well (Loto, Hodgetts, Chamberlain, Karapu, & Barnett, 2006). Many of the stereotypes which exist for Pacific Peoples also exist in the same way for Maori individuals. For example, both Maori and Pacific Peoples are often portrayed as criminals within different media outlets (Pearson, 1999).

5.2.1. Jokers

Within the focus group discussion the initial stereotype identified by research participants was that of the comedian, although the term 'Joker' was utilised by research participants. Participants perceived that their Pacific cultural identity was often used within a comedic context or situation, where they were the

ones conceiving the jokes. This identification of the ‘Joker’ stereotype was in direct relation to the ‘Cervical Screening’ campaign, and specifically the advertisement where a number of women are being picked up from their homes in a red van and then taken to receive their cervical screening. This particular advertisement will be referred to as ‘Van’.

Participant 7: It’s all over the media, all over the television. Like it’s the perception of Pacific Islanders ...is to make us look like we’re jokers.

[All participants agree]

Participant 7: But, actually, we’re hardworking people.

[All participants agree]

Participant 7: Like on Shortland Street, with Vinnie, they make him look like a “dumb-dumb”.

[Everyone laughs]

Participant 1: Oh yeah like—nah he’s right though. If you listen to him on radio, he’s actually like not how he is [*in reference to his character ‘Vinnie’ on ‘Shortland Street’*] ...I know its acting but they just go—

Participant 3: –It’s like stereotypes.

Participant 1: It’s close to like...

Participant 6: It’s almost like they have to demean us so that other races stay above us sort of thing. Like sometimes it comes across that way.

Participant 7 clearly makes a connection between his perception of how Pacific Peoples are portrayed as comedians within the advertisements and the perception of having to then fill that role of the comedian within a social sphere. Participant 7 also makes reference to Vinnie Kruse, a recurring character on the television show Shortland Street, who he perceives as being portrayed as an individual who is less smart than his peers depicted within the show. This is followed with a confirmation from Participant 1, adding that Pua Magasiva (the actor who plays Vinnie) is actually smart outside of his Shortland Street character, as witnessed on his FLAVA FM radio show ‘SnP Show’.

As the discussion progresses, Participant 3 clearly states that she perceives these portrayals to be stereotypes, and there is an implicit tone in her statement which leads to the interpretation that these stereotypes are negative in origin.

Additionally, in reference to the ‘Van’ ‘Cervical Screening’ advertisement, participants also admit that not only is the advertisement humorous for the New Zealand public, but it is also humorous for them. This leads further toward the identification of the ‘Cervical Screening’ campaign as becoming cultural entertainment.

Participant 6: I find the ladies funny and stuff like that, so I kind of just watch it for a laugh.

Participant 6 acknowledges that they watches the ‘Cervical Screening’ advertisements (especially the ‘Van’ advertisement) for its entertainment value. During the focus group discussion, this was further reinforced by the remaining participants who agreed that when these humorous advertisements air on television, it is not unusual for them to laugh along at the narrative being portrayed.

5.2.2. Athleticism

As mentioned earlier, the stereotype of the ‘Athlete’ is a resilient image to contend with in New Zealand for Pacific Peoples. Many Pacific individuals who are in the national spotlight in New Zealand are often involved in the sports industry. Additionally, these popular sports women and men are often featured within targeted health advertising in order to reach out to their respective Pacific cultural community. This can be witnessed in the 2015 ‘Love Too Much’ advertising campaign, where national and beloved athlete Valerie Adams provides personal support for an anti-childhood-obesity message.

Amongst the discussion with research participants, there was an active perception of Pacific Peoples as being in the national spotlight if they were the best in their chosen sport.

Participant 7: They only like us for jokes and sport.

[Everyone laughs]

Participant 6: It’s almost like that’s all the public wanna know us for. You don’t really hear of a successful Pacific Island or Maori person unless they’re already established within television or something like that.

Participant 6 explains that unless Pacific Peoples are praised for their sports or athletic contributions, there is no other interest in the achievements of Pacific People. This is specifically true in relation to academic, scientific, artistic or other non-sporting achievements.

Participant 7: The only time like you see in the newspapers, like in that kind of media, like Pacific Islanders are praised is when they play sport.

Participant 6: Yeah like Steven Adams.

Participant 7: Like Maria Tuta'ia or Jonah Lomu or...things like that. It’s the only time.

[All participants agree]

Participant 7: Not like basing us on community success or academic success they always seem to target the sporting success, but we have a lot of scholars in our communities.

Participant 6: I think they do that well—I personally think like...they do that because the athletic side of things puts New Zealand as a country on the map.

Participant 1: On the map...

Participant 6: And it makes other countries recognise that New Zealand has talent.

[All participants agree]

Participant 6: But in New Zealand they're only recognised because they're athletic. They're not recognised for who they actually are yeah...and stuff like that. And that's the only time they wanna claim them as "Kiwis" or "New Zealanders" is when they're successful, and people overseas will look at them with like "oh wow look we can go there and find this talent there".

Participant 6 makes reference to Steven Adams (who is also related to sports woman Valerie Adams mentioned above), who has featured across many media landscapes in both positive (for his team's successful game wins) and negative (in regard to his controversial use of the term 'monkeys' when referring to African-American players) lights. His appearances within media have for the most part come as a result of his accomplishments within his American Basketball team the Oklahoma City Thunder and their recent victories against the Golden State Warriors, who have held onto a season-long winning streak. This further reinforces the perception of the research participants that New Zealand media, and the New Zealand public, tend to spotlight Pacific Peoples for their athletic ability, rather than other equally deserving achievements.

Also mentioned within the excerpts is the fact that research participants know that within the Pacific community there does exist intellectual and academic success, it is just not highlighted as being important within the media landscape.

5.2.3. Crime

The stereotype of being a 'Criminal' or having been involved in criminal activity is the most persistent stereotype of Pacific Peoples in New Zealand (Pearson, 1999) and the most destructive in terms of Pacific Peoples performing their cultural identity (Devine, 1989). Television shows like Police Ten 7 have become infamous for consistently featuring a criminal suspect who has been described as Pacific or Maori. As a result of this, the cultural landscape within New Zealand tends to view Pacific Peoples as having some sort of criminal habit or trait. This 'Criminal' stereotype was also identified and introduced within the discussion by focus group participants. This is important to note as the chosen advertising campaigns did not reflect themes of criminality.

Participant 7: It's like when they have murderers or rapists and they're Maori or Pacific Islanders, they are front page. But when it's a European it's the middle of the paper or the back.

Participant 1: Sometimes they even hide it.

Participant 3: They don't say if it's like...let's say its European, they say that "this person". If it's an Islander...a Pacific Islander...yeah...[nods].

Participants 1, 3 and 7 clearly perceive the media landscape of New Zealand as having a bias against Pacific Peoples when the topic of criminality is discussed. What is implied within the discussion is that white New Zealanders ('Europeans') are never directly named and are often times given the benefit of the doubt, or their crimes are described as less serious than they actually are.

5.2.4. Expectation of Fulfilling Stereotypical Roles

Often with stereotypes, individuals are expected to fill these harmful perceptions (Kellner, 2011). This becomes problematic due to the fact that within a social group or culture there is more diversity within its borders than outside of it (Grossberg, 1996). The expectation to fill a certain role can have damaging effects on an individual's perception of their cultural identity (Trepte, 2006).

Participant 7: Because your perception like a Pacific Islander has to look a certain way and they have to act a certain way um like over the telephone Pālagi's think I'm [*makes gesture*]...but when they see me "Oh whoa!" which is cool...

[Everyone laughs]

Participant 7: But it's that perception, that mentality they have that I was supposed to sound like this and I'm supposed to look like this, instead of just accepting me as just a human they already were pre-judging from what I should be or what I shouldn't be.

Within the above excerpt, Participant 7 shares a personal experience from his life where the use of stereotypes has led to individuals having an entirely different perception of who they are. While Participant 7 does make light of the situation by mentioning that it is 'cool', there is also the perception that others utilise stereotypes to pass judgement.

This perception of Pacific Peoples being expected to perform in stereotypic ways was seen in research participants' responses to the 'Disrespect' advertisement of the wider 'Crayons' campaign and the 'Cervical Screening' campaign. Participants interpreted these advertisements as encouraging Pacific Peoples to assume identity performances such as being 'Staunch' or a 'Joker'.

5.2.5. Self-awareness and More than Just Stereotypes

Focus group participants were vocal in bringing up the issue that they are more than their stereotypes. For example, in response to the 'Disrespect' Crayons campaign advertisement, participants perceived that the use of the 'Staunch' Pacific male stereotype was in use. However, this portrayal did not resonate with them as this was not the experience they had in their everyday life.

Participant 7: The crayon one was overboard...I think it was yeah...like they always have to make Pacific Islander men look staunch—

[Moderator makes a comment]

Participant 7: Yeah you're like "respecting me" but it's not even like that because my dad wasn't like that yeah.

Moderator: Anything anyone else wants to add?

Participant 2: Same as them.

Participant 7 and Participant 2 both agree that the narrative of the 'Disrespect' advertisement unnecessarily utilised the 'Staunch' Pacific male stereotype to deliver the core message. Participant 7 especially goes on to explain that their experience and relationship with their father was not what had

been depicted within the advertisement. This anecdote provided by Participant 7 may be true for many Pacific individuals, especially as the advertisements utilise assumptions of Pacific identity.

5.3. Monolithic Culture

Another key theme identified from the thematic analyses was the perception that Pacific Peoples and their culture were portrayed as monolithic. To further illustrate this perception and interpretation, participants perceived there was a uniform portrayal of their identity through the ‘Disrespect’ advertisement, and the ‘Mother’ advertisement belonging to the ‘Crayons’ campaign.

In regard to the decisions that are made when creating these targeted health advertisements and campaigns, the Pacific identity in New Zealand is treated as though it is a monolith and one-dimensional. However, within the ‘Polynesian’ umbrella, there is a multitude of unique Pacific identities (Pearson, 1999).

5.3.1. Variety under the Polynesian Umbrella

The distinctive Pacific cultures which exist in New Zealand are congregated under the same ‘Polynesian’ umbrella. Pacific Peoples are also grouped under this ‘Polynesian’ umbrella with Maori, further blurring the lines of separate cultural groups and identities.

Participant 7: I think the whole “disrespecting” is that stereotype that like some kind of culture but I don’t think it was appropriate.

Participant 7: Yeah because it’s like because people say if they’re like that or they think we’re like that, so they put it out there.

Participant 2: Yeah.

Participant 7: But not every Pacific family is like that.

Participant 1: True.

In reference to the ‘Crayons’ campaign, and specifically the ‘Disrespect’ advertisement, participants perceived that the advertisement made it appear as if all Pacific families operated in the same way. Participants identified that not all Pacific families treated the act of smoking as disrespectful. This identification also relates to the previous discussion on stereotypes, whereby the advertising campaigns portray a certain image of what the Pacific family is.

5.3.2. Separate from Maori

A foremost concern that arose from the discussion with participants was the way in which Pacific Peoples were persistently grouped together with Maori. However, participants discussed how they felt the need to have a detached channel of communication when it came to targeted health advertising in order for the message to appear relevant.

Participant 6: But um that cervical one where she's reading the magazine I always thought that was targeted at Maori women I never actually thought they targeted Pacific women.

Participant 6 discusses how they perceived one of the 'Cervical Screening' advertisements as being targeted toward Maori women. Participant 6 was correct in making this perception, as the particular advertisement in reference was targeted toward Maori women, but it was once again placed under the 'Polynesian' umbrella of identification for the viewing audience by the advertisement content creators.

Participant 1: Like Police Ten 7 aye...Maori or Pacific Islander.

In the above excerpt, Participant 1 makes reference to the television show 'Police Ten 7', which consistently and unfailingly groups Pacific Peoples and Maori together in descriptions of crime suspects.

Participant 6: Sorry the ad where they don't show with the mother leaving the kids inside she to me looks Maori...that's why I just look at it and be like and same with the other one where the kids are smoking the crayons their Maori to me so I can't relate to them as Pacific Island.

Participant 6 once again perceives one of the 'Crayons' advertisements as being targeted toward Maori, therefore making the narrative and message less relevant for them in regard to following the health advice or applying it to their personal lives. This was an important discussion point for participants who felt that being grouped together with Maori resulted in the messages within the advertisements being ineffective and fruitless.

Participant 7: And the Maoris too.

Participant 7: Yes...call us like coconuts and stuff like that.

Moderator: So do you guys feel kind of separate from them?

Participant 7: Sometimes...like sometimes.

Participant 6: Yeah I...I think the more bush you go, they get...and then you've got the real uptight ones in the city, but they're really...but the more bush you go...cause they're quite stuck in their little mentality.

Participants also highlighted the fact that another reason for wanting to be portrayed separately from Maori was the result of a separation in a real-life social context. Participants perceived that Maori also feel separate from the Pacific community, making the need for a distinction in target audiences a mutual one.

5.3.3. Pacific Hierarchy

Within the focus group discussion and following on from the discussion surrounding being separate from Maori, the participants perceived that there is a hierarchy within the Pacific community itself. This

hierarchy stems from certain communities being afforded more privileges and the perceptions of non-Pacific individuals.

Participant 6: I think also with the different Pacific Island communities some Pacific Island like cultures are more accepted than others but so I like just from where I come across like I find that a lot of Cook Island culture is a lot more accepted than say the Samoan or the Tongans.

Moderator: Would you say there's a hierarchy?

Participant 6: Yeah.

[Everyone agrees].

Participant 6: I don't know if it's that or just... I think it's also related towards the whole when Cook Island people come to New Zealand they don't have to apply for visas and stuff.

Participant 7: Yeah.

Participant 6: The other Pacific Islanders have to go through that process of it's almost like we're in there cause we're part of New Zealand but not.

Participant 7: And I also think that a lot of Cook Islanders have been here for a long time.

Participant 1: Sometimes I've mistaken them for ...

Participant 7: ...Maoris...

Participant 1: Yeah, Maoris.

The focus group participants discussed how privileges such as not having to apply for a visa and go through the structured immigration process for people from the Cook Islands creates a sense of hierarchy. This sense of cultural hierarchy is not only perceived by Pacific Peoples, but also by non-Pacific individuals. Participants also explained how there have been significant times when Pacific individuals who are from the Cook Islands are mistaken for individuals of Maori origin.

5.4. Inclusion and Exclusion

Within a cultural landscape like New Zealand, it can be demanding to reach a certain level of inclusion within the national "Kiwi" identity, especially if an individual's cultural values do not line up (Pearson, 1999). This is especially true for immigrants to New Zealand and individuals who have been brought up in a culture other than the hegemonic 'Kiwi' culture (Dana & Sullivan, 2007).

When it comes to an individual's own perception of their cultural identity, forming a positive perception and living out that perception usually involves the feeling of belonging and being included within a specific group (Trepte, 2006). Acceptance within a cultural group helps to reinforce a positive interpretation of cultural identity (Kellner, 2011) and in turn being able to perform that identity with confidence (Trepte, 2006).

Focus group participants perceived that these advertisements created a sense of exclusion and they felt that being of Pacific origin (or belonging to the Pacific cultural identity) meant being excluded from the national 'Kiwi' identity.

5.4.1. A Feeling of Exclusion from National Kiwi Identity

Part of experiencing a certain level of exclusion from the nation Kiwi identity, participants discussed how those who create the advertisements go to specific areas to collect statistics that support the need for targeted advertisements and health campaigns.

Participant 6: I think also they target certain areas.

Participant 1: Yeah certain areas.

Participant 6: So I think specifically they target South Auckland cause they know that they're gonna get that easy stats they want to see rather than the stats that are reality.

Moderator: So then they're looking...

Participant 6: They're looking with the intention of finding yeah so they're going back to the places where they know it's going to prove their case sort of.

Below, Participant 3 explains how these targeted advertisements enable non-Pacific individuals to view certain health issues as being specific to the Pacific cultural identity and experience, even though the opposite may be true.

Participant 3: And I think when they...when they use Pacific Islanders in the ads like that then other nationalities other cultures see if like oh they're just targeting them, let's not watch it...let's not care like which is like most of all the ads are targeted using Pacific Islanders so the Asians the Caucasians will be something like oh who cares we don't have a problem that problem isn't our problem that's just yeah.

Participant 6: "Theirs" they have the problem.

Participant 3: Yeah even though they have the same problem as us but it's our problem like no that's just their problem like with themselves.

Participant 6 further reinforces this idea that these health issues within targeted campaigns and advertisements become a problem for the 'other', in which the 'other' in this situation are Pacific Peoples. This discussion was in specific reference to the 'Crayons' campaign, where there was an explicit perception that the use of Pacific culture to communicate the message of ceasing the habit of smoking cigarettes could be interpreted by non-Pacific individuals as specific to the Pacific cultural identity.

5.4.2. Other Races do the Same Thing

Another aspect of the feeling of exclusion is that focus group participants discussed how the particular health issues that are targeted toward them are also experienced by other cultures within New Zealand.

However, the advertisements would seem to suggest that certain health issues are only experienced by Pacific Peoples.

Participant 7: It's kind of tricky because they're talking to us but the general population also has the same problem so why are they making it just the Pacific thing why are they not making it like a New Zealand thing?

Participant 7: Because we've been here for ages.

Participant 1: I think it's just like they should target Kiwis instead of just like...

Participant 7: Yeah.

Among participants, there is a confusion as to why only Pacific Peoples are targeted, when other cultural communities within New Zealand experience the same health issues.

Participant 7: Because we don't really have...we have Pacific islanders, but we class ourselves as Kiwis so to be accepted as the general population these ads need to be more mobilised towards Kiwis...

Participant 7: ...in general.

Moderator: So you do feel like you are a New Zealander before you are Pacific Islander?

Participant 7: Oh, I'm a New Zealander. Born in New Zealand...we're born in New Zealand whether you're from the Islands as a kid, we do fit into society here, so if we are paying our taxes and everything the same as other Kiwis then we should not be targeted out as a minority um cause it's not.

Participant 7 discusses how he feels like a New Zealander and identifies as a New Zealander, even though he exists within a Pacific cultural context. There is a clear feeling of needing to be treated the same as non-Pacific individuals, especially in order not to feel excluded.

5.5. Taboos

Taboo issues are almost always exclusive to the culture in which they originate (Bénabou & Tirole, 2011). Taboos are a cultural or social practice that restrict the exercise of certain manners and forms of behaviour or restrict the meeting of people (Hofstede, 1980). All practices and ideas considered taboo have deep rooted historical origins and are therefore not easy to amend (Bénabou & Tirole, 2011). However, they do evolve over time as a culture progresses into the future and develops (Hofstede, 1980), and at times practices and ideas once considered of a taboo nature eventually transform into accepted cultural practices (Evans, Avery, & Pederson, 1999).

Focus group participants identified that with Pacific communities, certain issues are thought to be taboos. Be that as it may, things are gradually changing for these communities and the ideas that are being held.

Outreach programs that are held within churches have been identified by research participants as one of the ways many taboos are being dispelled in the Pacific community. This is rather important, as the Pacific community holds church and the religious experience as something very culturally significant and important to their cultural identity (Ernst, 2006).

5.5.1. Culturally Specific Taboos – Suicide and Mental Health

Within the focus group discussion, the issues of mental health and suicide were identified as having a significant cultural presence, but they are issues that are not often spoken of within the community.

Participant 1: Suicide...that's a big...

Moderator: You feel that's a big issue?

Participant 1: Yeah cause like before I don't really go to church but before—um cause um apparently studies show aye that Pacific Islanders especially Tongans aye it's a big thing.

Participant 3: The last three years.

Participant 1: It's like suicide...and back then we never used to talk about it but now it's slowly making its way into the church like the church is like adapting to the way now like instead back then it was tough yeah.

Participant 3: They're making people more aware.

Participant 1 shares their experience of being exposed to the issue of suicide through church, even though they did not particularly attend church as a regular member. Participant 3 confirmed that this way of approaching Pacific Peoples through a familiar environment enables Pacific Peoples to become more aware of these issues, which are often never talked about.

Participant 7: I think it's like a Pacific Island thing...cause the Cook Islands have like a huge suicide rate as well.

Participant 1: Yeah.

Participant 7: Because the mentality within like to be a Cook Islander when you're younger you have to respect were not allowed to talk about how we feel inside you know our parents don't want to hear it the only time they know is when we crying or when we're in trouble so like there's a lot of things going on within the person that the family doesn't know but that's because the doors are not open from the parents cause there's a mentality that you have to be staunch but slowly it's starting to change like we're starting to talk about it now.

Participant 7: We need to stop thinking that when someone tries to commit suicide that they're sick...like there's this perception that they're sick.

Participant 6: Or they're attention seekers.

[Everyone agrees]

Participant 7: But they don't see behind the scenes how the person is doing...what did that person do...to this person.

Participant 6 and 7 shared their thoughts regarding suicide as being a significant issue for the Pacific community and one which is ingrained within their Pacific culture. Participant 7 interprets that within the Pacific community certain perceptions are held of the person who commits suicide, and often times these are negative perceptions.

Participant 6: It think it's also a lack of knowledge too. Because like you know for Pacific Islanders people and families and cultures for so long they just they didn't really go out and seek outside advice for a lot of things. So when a family member got sick say like mentally sick they just put it down to oh it's just a ghost someone that passed away is...instead of so and then they get into that rut where their they just don't ask and they just tend to stay within themselves and their family and they all give their like reasoning for why that person is sick and they all come to a conclusion that why.

For the focus group participants, these issues of mental health and suicide are perceived to have come from a lack of knowledge and the avoidance of seeking professional medical advice when it is needed. Participant 6 further explained this by discussing how mental health issues are often treated as an issue of supernatural occurrence, rather than a personal well-being issue. Participant 6 also further explained that these issues are kept close within the family. This may be a result of a fear that the Pacific community may hold negative perceptions if they were to find out, due to mental health and suicide being taboo topics.

Participant 3: Like depression, Tongans...there's no depression.

Participant 1: Like there's no such word.

Participant 3: There's no such significant sickness as depression in Tonga.

Participant 1: No there is, but there's no word to define it like there is depression in Tonga like...

Participant 3: There is...there is but they don't see it as depression, it's not depression.

Participant 1 and 3 explain that mental health and suicide are as ingrained within their Pacific culture as a taboo, and that there is no fitting cultural description or word for the term 'depression'. This may also lead to the interpretation that Pacific Peoples are avoiding seeking help for issues of mental health because the dominant English discourse on mental health does not correlate with the Pacific discourse on mental health.

This discussion on issues of mental health by the research participants arose from various responses to the 'Cervical Screening' advertising campaign, where the narrative within the advertisement clearly depicted the issue of avoidance in regard to personal well-being.

5.5.2. 'Swept under the Rug' Feeling and Avoidance

Following on from mental health issues being treated as taboos, identified within the focus group discussion was the tendency of Pacific Peoples to avoid situations where professional medical advice is needed to maintain their well-being. There is a cultural-wide feeling of “she’ll be right” and that health issues will often resolve on their own or through alternative methods.

Participant 6: That mentality just to put things off you know “She’ll be right, It’ll go away” sort of thing so we procrastinate the inevitable.

Participant 6 reinforces this idea of avoiding certain situations until it is no longer an issue.

Participant 3: My dad has diabetes but he drinks and they give him pills to take for his diabetes but he doesn’t take the pills he drinks the Tongan medicine like it’s just something to clean your stomach out like a detox so he doesn’t take his diabetes medicine.

Participant 3 provides a personal story in which they described a family member as avoiding an issue by treating it through traditional Tongan medicine. However in this case, it is implied that the identified problem of diabetes is still an issue regardless of the traditional medicine.

Participant 6: I think it’s also the mentality of the older generation that they think the medicine does more harm than good cause our nana she...she should be taking medicine but she will say she takes that Panadeine or like herbal medicine and say that that’s doing better for her the proof is in your blood pressure is high but come on like your medicine is working she still thinks that the Panadeine that herbal stuff that’s costing an arm and a leg is much better than the \$5 prescription the doctor just gave you sorry it’s just that they’re stuck in their stubbornness.

Participant 7: Yeah you just can’t get through to them about it.

Participant 6 also provides a personal experience where they also have a family member who avoids professional medical advice in order make a significant health issue seem like it is insignificant. In the case of Participant 6, the avoidance is related to the older generation of Pacific Peoples and their reluctance to follow new professional medical advice over older traditional methods.

5.5.3. Traditional and Cultural Medicine

Touched upon in the previous section, traditional and cultural medicine is still a practice among Pacific Peoples. Especially among older Pacific Peoples, traditional and culturally-specific medicine provides an opportunity to maintain cultural identity and cultural practices. It also acts as a type of safety net for Pacific Peoples who may not feel comfortable with seeking professional medical advice.

Participant 1: My parents they rip out the Tongan medicine...the Tongan medicine and I'm like...So they don't yeah...that stuff first go to you know how their like you know you should go and do this and that...that my mums that last...they gotta go to the Tongan medicine and then from there.

Participant 1: And then you work your way up from there so maybe they should target not going straight to the Tongan...

Moderator: ...doctors?

Participant 1: No...yeah...yeah instead of like don't try fix it yourself. With your own medicine, come to the professionals instead of like this might happen this might happen.

Participant 1 explains how their parents, in the event that a family member is sick, will first utilise the Tongan medicine before going to consult with a GP. However, Participant 1 also mentioned that this may not be the best option, and that perhaps the targeted health advertisements and campaigns should encourage Pacific Peoples to avoid the traditional medicine in order to ensure well-being.

Participant 3: When it comes to like medicine with like English and Tongan some like I would go there and some I would go there like whatever I think this and it doesn't work I'm like oh okay but I think sometimes it just comes down to the individual, like individually I feel like sometimes it's in your head if you think you're getting better in your head and it's like oh if it still works.

Participant 3 also provides a personal anecdote whereby they described how selecting between professional medical advice and traditional medicine is a personal choice. While this is correct, and individuals have the right to make decisions for their well-being on their own, a single individual still cannot know everything there is to know about health and well-being. Therefore, it seems the common sense decision is to seek professional medical advice.

In regard to the targeted health advertisements, participants responded to the 'Rheumatic Fever' campaign as an example of communication that would encourage them to overcome the sentiment of avoidance and to re-consider the use of traditional cultural medicine.

5.6. Necessary Evil

A major theme to emerge out of the collected data sets is what has been specified as a 'necessary evil'. This term refers to something which is not particularly good or positive in nature, but that is essential in order for society to function properly (Dalton & Weldon, 2005). For example, as individuals of a functioning society, people may not want to give taxes from their hard-earned money, but taxes are necessary in order for services like a public health system to exist.

In regard to the campaigns and their advertisements, research participants perceived these ads as necessary to inform individuals about certain health issues. There were also particular issues that participants felt were necessary to raise because they were embedded to a certain extent within their Pacific cultural identity. These issues existing as part of the Pacific cultural identity were perceived as negative, and

therefore providing specific targeted advertisements on these issues would put into motion a cultural transformation toward a healthier cultural and social identity.

5.6.1. Gambling and Obesity

Two main issues perceived as being integral to the Pacific identity by the participants were gambling and obesity. These two issues were perceived to be the issues they viewed most through advertisements (although advertisements relating to these specific issues were not part of this research study) and were the issues they had to navigate through in terms of performing their cultural identity.

Participant 7: And...like how it can affect someone's life like the struggles and what they go through um and how it affects the family yeah and so how someone is obese can affect your family yeah.

Participant 7, after being asked by the moderator what they would like a targeted advertisement to be like, explained that he would like to see information on how one individual's obesity can affect a wide range of other individuals around them.

Participant 3: I think it's um, think why like me personally why they see Islanders is because with the gambling ads or any other ads it's we're the ones that gamble...we gamble our money and there's nothing left for the kids but with the Asians they have all the money in the world to gamble they don't come back home like you know like on the street or something you know think that's why they're targeting um Pacific Islanders more maybe we're the ones that need more of the help that's how I see it.

...we the ones struggling the most like you know spending our money say the gambling is targeted at us because we're probably the ones going out you know using the machines then we come home then there's our kids are going to school with no lunch.

In the above excerpt, Participant 3 describes a situation whereby Pacific Peoples may be targeted in terms of the issue of gambling because Pacific Peoples may be disadvantaged in a socio-economic way (Loto et al., 2006) in contrast to Asian people living in New Zealand. They describe a clear difference between Pacific People gambling and Asian people gambling, with the reason (from the participant's point of view) why Asians are not targeted being that they have a secure financial situation to fall back on.

5.6.2. Advertisements have Function

All participants in the focus group agreed that these targeted health campaigns all have a function. This function is to provide information on relevant health issues and to raise awareness.

Participant 7: But maybe it could be like also a recognition cause our women don't really do that stuff so maybe that's why they put a brown female out there cause our women are too shy you know sometimes.

Participant 6: We'd have that uh um...

Participant 7: ...like pride.

In reference to the cervical screening advertisements, participants 6 and 7 perceive that the use of 'brown' females is to encourage Pacific women to go for cervical screening, especially as there is an observation that Pacific women may avoid these check-ups due to pride or something of that nature.

Participant 1: Nah but I swear they only use like play around the weekends kind of thing you know like they like so they're kind of smart targeting before you go out...be a legend one kind of thing.

Participant 1 also makes reference to a safe driving ad that is played during times when people tend to go out in motor vehicles. This reinforces the notion that these advertisements do have a specific function, that function being public health and safety.

5.7. Community

Many Pacific cultural practices and traditions often revolve around a community centred goal or structure, therefore it can be said that community is one of the most important cultural signifiers for Pacific People. It is integral to both their cultural identity and cultural practices. The idea of community exists in many different forms for Pacific People. For example, this could be through immediate and extended family, church, residential areas or social events.

Focus group participants perceived community and its various forms to be important for how they perform their cultural identity. Participants also perceived that many of the advertisements targeted toward them tried to showcase this aspect of Pacific culture. However, most of these community representations were often too explicit and did not have a lasting impact on focus group participants. In contrast to this, the 'Rheumatic Fever' advertisement portrayed a community connection using a real family, and this is what affected the participants the most in a positive way.

Participant 1: Yeah those actors— I don't know...it's just a job for them. Like they have to act like that, but like you know, I'm already proud of you know like my culture and that...like...but ads...but I don't find that one...sports, yeah...like if I, you know want to sports I can be proud of that you know it's me but ads never make me feel proud of my culture.

Participant 7: Yeah, it cannot show you what you already know like the love you have for your culture.

In the preceding excerpt, Participant 1 and Participant 7 discuss how the advertisements do not influence their love for their culture. They clearly state that they already possess a strong link with their specific

culture, further explaining that the advertisement cannot portray what Pacific individuals know and love about their cultural community.

Participant 7: They should get Pacific Islanders to film Pacific Island ads, because then its real, it's not scripted...it's not fake.

Participants discussed that because there is a strong connection to elements of community, a Pacific content creator would be much more suited to the task of producing targeted television health advertisements for Pacific Peoples. A Pacific content creator would already possess the required knowledge for providing a diverse and healthy portrayal of Pacific Peoples and their connection to community.

5.7.1. Respect for Elders

The idea of respect was portrayed in many of the advertisements shown to the focus group participants. Some of these included the 'Disrespect' Crayons advertisement and the 'Rheumatic Fever' advertisement. The act of respect is one of the many ways a sense of community is fostered within the Pacific community.

Participant 6: I think also just like uh I don't know about anybody else but with me like my grandma nana is like a big must so like I have to stay in close contact with her I'll just be over the phone or just a visit you know like I don't know with me it's family and with us it's our family that keeps us with me it's family and with us it's our nana cause obviously I'm Pacific so on our dad's side we don't really have much to do with anyone else but so we just like our nana we stay in close contact with her we always have that connection to the culture sort of thing. And I think it also builds up with respect like you have to respect you're the old people and stuff like that so...I think that's also a cultural thing. Respect is cultural thing.

Moderator: For the elders?

Participant 6: To be honest, an aunty or all my uncles and stuff I'm just like yeah whatever like you don't know better than me so don't talk to me sort of thing but when it comes to the older ones like a grandparent or my nana it's like okay well you're totally wrong right now but I'll let you have this cause you are who you are sort of thing.

Participant 1: Yeah.

Participant 3: Yeah.

Participant 6 acknowledges that respect is an important lifestyle choice and practice for the Pacific community. However, Participant 6 emphasises that showing and giving respect is most important with individuals who are grandparents or significantly older.

5.7.2. Role Models

Many of the targeted advertisements try to encourage parents to act as role models, especially in the presence of children. For example, this can be clearly seen within the Crayons campaign where the overall implied message is that if you do not want your children to smoke, then you (as a parent) should not either.

Participant 4: But in a way it's good because it actually shows that um...how other kids see their parents as role models. So like when they see them go for a smoke "oh hey it's all good to smoke" that's why they did it in the first place – so role modelling parents...cause it's real like kids do see their parents smoke. They don't know if it's good or bad so they just like copy and follow.

Participant 4 correctly perceives the message of the 'Crayons' campaign, and emphasises that you cannot encourage a child to avoid smoking cigarettes if their parents are smoking as well.

5.7.3. Language and Cultural Artefacts

Concerning language and cultural artefacts within the advertisements, participants were able to identify what they perceived as being culturally significant, especially in regard to what they have seen in real life. Many of the cultural artefacts identified by focus group participants related to their own lived experiences and the things they saw in their everyday lives.

Moderator: Which aspects of those campaigns would you identify as being culturally specific? So for example – it could be clothes, language, how people look, items that you've seen within the ad, anything like that...what do you think is culturally specific about these ad campaigns?

Participant 6: A lot of the way they dressed and how they talked...that cervical ad in the van.

Participant 1: Even that van is Islander, we have a van like that too.

[Everyone laughs]

Participant 1: It was a white one like that was even like kinda like...It's a Toyota or something aye.

Moderator: So you would say that...um just going back to what you said about the way they talked...

Participant 6: No its just FOB talk (laughs).

Participant 4: The first ad um you could see they were Samoans because the guys wearing church clothing and the ladies with her church hat picking up kids and stuff.

Moderator: So...religious wear?

[All nod and agree]

Participant 4: Church attire...

Participant 1: The taro leaves.

Participant 4: *[laughs]*.

Participant 6: Even like the background houses...

Participant 5: Oh yeah.

Participant 6: ...that they pull up to just in that setting.

Participant 3: Everything was kind of like...

Participant 6: ...identifies with Pacific

Participant 3: Pacific.

The participants had a dynamic discussion in reference to the 'Cervical Screening' and 'Every Cigarette' advertisements in regard to what they perceived were cultural images and artefacts. Interestingly, participants felt that many of the background settings within the advertisements were settings that they were familiar with, eventually interpreting that they may have been used to create a Pacific image for the advertisements.

5.8. Real Narratives

The 'Rheumatic Fever' advertisement campaign affected the focus group participants in the most positive way. It was the advertising campaign that they responded to the most and took action after viewing. This reaction to 'Rheumatic Fever' stems from the fact that the campaign featured a real Pacific family who had survived the harmful effects of Rheumatic Fever.

Not only popular with the focus group participants, 'Rheumatic Fever' had a significant impact on the New Zealand television viewing audience ("Rheumatic Fever", 2016). As mentioned before, the real narrative of the advertisement added a layer of emotional significance and enabled individuals to connect with the message.

5.8.1. Rheumatic Fever versus Disrespect

Within the advertisements that were shown to the focus group participants, two stood out as contrasting in terms of one being a narrative that connected with the Pacific audience and the other being a narrative that felt forced and did not enable Pacific Peoples to relate at all. Both the 'Rheumatic Fever' and 'Disrespect' advertisements exist on opposite ends of a spectrum. The 'Rheumatic Fever' advertisement is an example of a narrative which is effective because it utilises a true story with a hopeful message. On the other side of the spectrum, 'Disrespect' is an example that does not resonate with the Pacific audience due to having an exaggerated narrative.

Participant 1: You know that um disrespect one? Do you know if that got heaps of response cause when I first seen that I didn't like it. I don't know how it felt like a bit...not off like...it felt like it was tryna get a point but it was fake...

Participant 1: ...was like, you know, usually the dad will just smack...it felt like if I was almost there and then they just lost me at the end kind of thing.

Participant 2: I was like um didn't feel realistic.

Participant 6: Like I don't really buy it?

Participant 5: Yeah.

The focus group participants perceived the 'Disrespect' advertisement to be disingenuous and not at all realistic. This led to the communicated message not creating enough impact to encourage the Pacific audience to quit smoking.

5.8.2. Triggers and Getting into Action

Through the focus group discussion, it was identified that if an advertisement featured a real story, it would act as a trigger and then the participants would take action. If a real story was utilised to communicate a health message, then participants would be more likely to listen and take the appropriate steps necessary to ensure their health and well-being.

Participant 1: There's like certain ways you advertise to certain people like us I think I reckon Islanders and that or like kind of thing true stories like that will that will of a picture of someone like you know like when I think when they target Pacific Islanders they should like use real stories like.

Participant 6: At least be realistic.

Participant 1: Yeah, and that's like true stuff cause then we'll be more likely to be more like well feel for that person.

Moderator: So is that why you like the rheumatic fever story?

Participant 1: I think for rheumatic fever...I think their trying to look at us like oh how relate to culture and that but they should really like at us like oh we're like if anything were more caring so like they should attack...not attack our heart but they should like...

[Everyone laughs]

Participant 1: They should come at us like with feeling like true and then when we see that it's fake it just pisses us off like the acting's not good and then you start to get see like little things and you start to like "just stop it"

[Everyone laughs]

Research participants explained that they would like to see realistic depictions of Pacific health concerns within the advertisements. Participant 1 further explained that what they perceive as 'fake' advertisements create a negative reaction and response. Therefore, it can be said that many health messages portrayed through these advertisements are ignored, simply because the communicated messages are not received positively.

5.8.3. Not Enough Information

Another aspect of the advertisements which was identified by focus group participants was that the ads were so short that there was not enough information. Due to this lack of information, once again Pacific Peoples were not enabled to take action and respond to the messages that were being communicated to them.

Participant 6: I would put different nationalities, I wouldn't just target Pacific Islanders, I would target all cause then you're...it doesn't feel like you're singling out a particular race or thing so...I'd have Pakeha, Asians...everyone.

Participant 1: True.

Participant 6: ...Africans, you know, all of them why not? Cause New Zealand's made up of a diverse group of people...it's only fair to do it that way.

Within the above excerpt, Participant 6 is responding to a prompt by the moderator as to what they would like to see within the ads (with more issue-based information already established). Participant 6 clearly identifies a need for diverse representation within the advertisements, with this diversification meaning more cultures and ethnicities being featured within the ads.

5.9. A Reflexive Account and Conclusion

The process of conducting a thematic framework of analysis and critical inspection of the data proved to be very informative. However, it did take a while to ensure that the right analytical conclusions were made.

During the focus group discussion, participants touched upon advertisements that were not specifically health-related, but were possibly targeted towards them. This indicates that Pacific Peoples have a significant level of awareness when it comes to cultural ideologies and messages being disseminated on television.

As recorded within the moderator notes, it was observed that participants identified advertisements that had been aired on television over 10 years ago. Most significant of the advertisements identified was the 'Push Play' campaign. This campaign featured a message of keeping fit, and was also targeted towards Pacific individuals.

Chapter Six: Discussion and Findings

6.1. Introduction

The following chapter takes the results from the different data sets explored earlier and provides discussions about the principal findings which have transpired. The principal findings presented within this chapter are based on analytical results and outcomes from the unique data sets that included researcher observation notes, advertisement contextual information and focus group discussion transcripts. The principal findings are also based on the ‘themes’ which emerged from the use of the thematic framework of analysis.

The findings within this chapter collectively aim to provide answers and future recommendations for the core objective of this research study, which is to uncover the ways Pacific Peoples perceive and interpret their cultural identity through targeted television health advertisements. The findings of this research study are also supported by the identified theoretical frameworks from within the literature review (Chapter Two).

Following from the data results and the applied thematic framework of analysis, six key themes were identified within the various data sets. These key themes (and their subsequent findings) include that (1) there is a clear disconnection in terms of communication between advertisement content producers and the Pacific viewing audience, (2) Pacific Peoples interpret their portrayals as stereotypes, (3) advertisements feature an unnecessary amount of focus on culture, (4) the Pacific cultural identity is strong, (5) positive cultivation of Pacific culture can occur through advertisements, and (6) the national identity can be transformed.

6.2. Miscommunicated Messages – A Clear Disconnect Between Targeted Audience and Content Creators

During this research process, and especially during the consideration of the focus group data set, a key finding that emerged is that there is a strong disconnection regarding how Pacific Peoples interpret portrayals of themselves through targeted health messages and the way in which the content creators of targeted health messages intend the portrayals to be accepted. This disconnection is evident and obvious within the diverse constituents that frame the targeted health messages and advertisements – including constituents such as narrative, symbols of Pacific culture, visual cues, auditory cues, selection of performers and use of language (whether that is English or a Pacific language). This disconnection also exists within the wider enclosing campaign in which these targeted health advertisements belong. These disconnections are also, in part, due to the standardisation of television networks as a result of media conglomerate ownership and expanding technologies.

This disconnection has a clear correlation with the media communication theory of ‘encoding’ and ‘decoding’ (Hall, 1973). The components used to encode messages and symbolic meanings within the advertisements (by the advertisement content creators) are clearly in contrast with the messages that are decoded by Pacific viewing audiences.

The disconnection is of both an explicit and subtle nature. For instance, there is a discernible disconnection in regard to the narratives or 'story-lines' contained within the health advertising messages. Since these targeted health advertisements are mostly 30 seconds in length, in compliance with television broadcasting standards, the narratives within the advertisements tend to be short and provoking. As there is an absence of convincing televised 'build-up' to the climax of the narratives contained within these advertisements, television audiences may not accurately follow the messages being represented or the 'story-line' (Pervan & Martin, 2002). This orientation establishes the necessary factors for a disconnection between the Pacific viewing audience and the advertisement content creators.

To emphasise this point further, the targeted health advertisements of 'Disrespect' and 'Crayons' provide examples of where a disconnect between the Pacific viewing audience and the advertisement content producers is evident. In 'Disrespect', the brief narrative of the advertisement portrays a Pacific father reprimanding his young (minor) son for smoking with his friends. The message within this 'Disrespect' advertisement calls for parents to assume the role of 'role models' to their own children. However, the way in which this message was interpreted and decoded by the Pacific audience is that Pacific men are staunch. The 'Crayons' advertisement was perceived by Pacific Peoples as promoting an underlying message that Pacific parents are acting as bad role models, even though the advertisement itself attempts to inspire Pacific Parents to become positive role models for the children. The narrative within this advertisement enabling this interpretation had children smoking crayons as cigarettes in an attempt to imitate adults who chose to smoke.

In contrast to the 'Disrespect' and 'Crayons' advertisements, 'Cervical Screening' left the Pacific viewing audience with the notion that the concern about their health was a joke. While the 'Cervical Screening' advertisement intentionally employed an unambiguous form of cultural humour to convey the message of health, the advertisement itself eventually transformed into a fleeting piece of cultural and societal entertainment.

In the 'Crayons' campaign, and especially the 'Van' advertisement, the central message of taking responsibility for personal health was obscured by the way that it was conclusively decoded within the parameters of cultural entertainment.

The consequences of these advertisements and the disconnection that is evident between their health messages and the Pacific viewing audience is perpetual. Over an extended period of time, these advertisements transform into cultural products with a certain entertainment value (Hesmondhalgh, 2006). This is particularly evident in the 'Cervical Screening' advertising campaign. As Burgess (2006) explains "...cultural production (that is, the creation and dissemination of cultural artefacts) is now increasingly part of the logics of everyday life" (p. 3).

When these targeted health messages transform and lose their initial function of providing supportive public health messages, Pacific Peoples are not fully enabled to use these messages for their benefit, as their value is enduringly positioned as a cultural product. Once the advertisement is decoded as a cultural product, or in the case of 'Cervical Screening' a cultural joke, the health messages lose their weight of importance (Rossmann & Brosius, 2004).

Not only are these targeted health advertisements transformed into cultural products with a high entertainment value, but they also lose the ability to function as a tool to provide the Pacific community of the wider society with proper health information. As Pacific Peoples view these advertisements as fleeting pieces of cultural entertainment, the significant health message is lost and the ability to apply the information to real world situations becomes problematic for Pacific individuals.

6.3. Perception of Harmful Stereotypes

A substantial finding exposed by this research study is the acknowledgement that Pacific Peoples recognise and deduce their Pacific cultural identity as stereotypes. These stereotypes are also perceived as subversive and damaging for Pacific Peoples and are also contradictory to the images Pacific Peoples maintain of their cultural identities.

Participants in this research study, with assured conviction, perceived the stereotypes within the advertisements that were screened for them to respond to. The stereotypes that were identified have been long-established within New Zealand society (Pearson, 1999). The stereotypes identified as part of the findings for this research study include 'The Athlete', 'The Joker', 'Staunch', 'Criminal', 'Lazy' and 'Irresponsible'. Many of these perceived stereotypes have been part of a discourse on issues of race, identity, cultural assimilation and immigration within New Zealand.

Diefenbach and West (2007) provide a brief discussion on messages (and subsequently stereotypes) learnt from television:

We learn a lot from television. Some of these lessons are positive, but many lessons embedded in the content of television are potentially negative. Television has perpetuated many stereotypes throughout its history, including unrealistic portrayals of racial groups and gender roles. Networks are now, arguably, more sensitive to these criticisms than in decades past, but there are still areas of concern to scholars and critics. (p. 181)

This finding also confirms conclusions by Dana and Sullivan (2007) and Michelle (2012) that stereotypes of Pacific Peoples have a correlation to stereotypes of African-American individuals in the U.S. This is in particular reference to the stereotypes of 'The Athlete', 'The Joker' and 'Criminal'. This correlation is further cemented by the fact that Pacific Peoples and African-Americans share similar status in regard to being ethnic minorities within a post-colonial nation (Hall, 1996).

To further illustrate the stereotype identification by Pacific Peoples, in the 'Cervical Screening' campaign, the most significant stereotype perceived by Pacific Peoples is that of the 'Joker'. Pacific Peoples observe that the persistent and frequent use of comedy within the advertisements creates an image of Pacific Peoples as instigators of jokes or as comedians. Supplementary to this finding, it was also observed that Pacific Peoples treat serious issues such as personal health in a humorous way. This was clearly identified in the way that the research participants perceived the specific 'Van' advertisement of the larger 'Cervical Screening' campaign.

Another significant stereotype perceived was countersigned within all of the targeted television advertisements selected for this research study, and this specific stereotype was that of Pacific Peoples as 'unhealthy' and 'lazy'. This specific stereotype is not new or contemporary for Pacific Peoples within New Zealand (Pearson, 1999), and has been persistent throughout the majority of Pacific migration history in New Zealand. These stereotypes are detrimental as they are often exploited by non-Pacific individuals to fabricate cursory judgements in social situations (Greenwald et al. 2002).

In relation to stereotypes, individuals have the ability to unconsciously and consciously activate or deactivate the use of stereotypes within social situations. The activation of stereotypes, or schemata, can be a natural function (Devine, 1989) for individuals, especially if an individual has been conditioned to view a group of characteristics in a certain way (Kunda & Thagard, 1996). However, individuals also possess the ability to consciously disregard the automatic interpretation of characteristics as a stereotype (Devine, 1989). Supplementary to this, individuals can also make a conscious effort to replace meanings attached to characteristics and develop new schemata for assessing characteristics in social situations (Devine, 1989). Moreover, an individual of a specific cultural community can identify the same stereotypic characteristics in out-group members. Nonetheless, they may reject these interpretations, as their own experience with their specific cultural group has provided evidence which underlines the knowledge that their group possesses a wide range of unique and individual group characteristics (Devine, 1989). In conjunction with the Pacific cultural identity, Pacific People possess the ability to recognise specific stereotypes about their Pacific culture. Be that as it may, they make the conscious decision to control the interpretation of cultural characteristics and replace harmful schemata with affirmative interpretations instead.

To further illustrate this point of the automatic and controlled elements of stereotypes, if a non-Pacific individual were to have an encounter with a Pacific individual, they might automatically and subconsciously activate the 'Joker' stereotype. However, this automatic activation can be controlled (Devine, 1989) and the non-Pacific individual has the opportunity to replace the negative stereotype with a contrasting set of information specific to the individual they are interacting with.

Furthermore, stereotypes play a significant role in the functions of identity formation and social identity formation (Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002). In regard to identity, and subsequently identity theory (Treppe, 2006)), viewing these portrayals of Pacific identity within the targeted advertisements disempowers Pacific individuals in how they select their performance of identity. Constantly perceiving and absorbing stereotypes of Pacific culture limits Pacific Peoples in performing socially accepted (Hogg et al. 1995) roles or roles which may display their own solitary (Stets & Burke, 2000) identity. Pacific Peoples are restricted in terms of the roles they perform. This is due to the fact that the only options they have at their disposal are harmful stereotypic roles utilised by non-Pacific individuals who base judgments on immediately activated schemata, or healthily diverse roles which allow Pacific Peoples to act out individual characteristics that are separate from the Pacific group identity.

As described by Stets and Burke (2000):

Much of social identity deals with inter-group relations—that is, how people come to see themselves as members of one group/category (the in-group) in comparison with another (the out-group), and the consequences of this categorisation...Having a particular social identity means being at one with a

certain group, being like others in the group, and seeing things from the group's perspective. (p. 226)

Rapport and inclusion within particular social groups are just as important as individual identity formation (Hogg, 2001). As mentioned previously, stereotypes possess the ability to disempower both individuals and certain groups (Eagly & Steffen, 1984). Pacific stereotypes such as 'Criminal' and 'Lazy' can affect elements of group identity such as group self-esteem and group vitality (Trepte, 2006) in a detrimental way. When the Pacific community encounters a decrease in group self-esteem or group vitality, Pacific Peoples may feel the need to identify less as part of the Pacific cultural identity so as not to be perceived adversely by wider society. However, this injurious effect on group identification will only be encountered by Pacific Peoples who do not feel a resilient sense of connection with the Pacific cultural identity (Trepte, 2006).

6.4. Too Much Emphasis on Culture

As this research has scrutinised the concept of cultural identity, especially the Pacific cultural identity of New Zealand, a key finding to have emerged is that there is perhaps an excess of Pacific cultural elements contained within the targeted health advertisements. To further clarify, Pacific Peoples perceive their Pacific culture as being exaggerated due to the magnification of Pacific cultural artefacts and symbolic references within the targeted health advertisements.

As these targeted television health advertisements contain a substantial number of cultural symbols and artefacts, there is a sense that Pacific Peoples are alienated from the messages that are addressed to the wider New Zealand public. In reference to the concept of social identity, the more that these health advertisements are viewed by both the Pacific and non-Pacific viewing audience, the more society will interpret certain health issues as being markers for the Pacific cultural group identity. For example, common health issues perceived as belonging to the Pacific identity include obesity, gambling and alcoholism. While these issues are experienced by a wide variety of different individuals within society (McCreanor & Nairn, 2002), the emphasis on culture within the targeted health advertisements allows for non-Pacific individuals to pass responsibility and focus into the hands of the Pacific community of New Zealand. In other words, the emphasis on portraying culture as explicitly as possible enables out-groups to differentiate themselves (Hogg, 2001) from the Pacific cultural group by identifying certain health issues as being 'Pacific'. While it is true that social groups utilise contrasting group characteristics to identify themselves as having a unique group identity, these contrasting characteristics can be harmful (Trepte, 2006) (such as the harmful stereotypes of Pacific Peoples).

A further finding of this key theme was that the emphasis on culture creates a context whereby Pacific Peoples are treated as 'The Other' within society, and are subsequently further alienated by non-Pacific individuals. It is not unusual for ethnic minorities, or non-white social groups, to be alienated within society (Hall, 1996). The function of 'Othering' and 'Alienation' act as a method of maintaining dominant cultural ideologies. The maintenance of dominant cultural ideologies comes from those who belong to the cultural elite of society (Shrum, 1999), who then use cultural outlets such as television and various other media outlets to cultivate over time an acceptance of hegemonic ideologies (Shanahan & Morgan, 1999). Correlating with theoretical frameworks identified within the literature review of this research study, 'White Hegemony' (Hall, 1996) maintains its position in New Zealand as the gatekeeper of dominant cultural ideologies. For example, this can be witnessed within the 'Disrespect' advertising

campaign, especially in regard to how Pacific parents are portrayed negatively within the narrative of the advertisement and through the extensive use of Pacific cultural symbols and elements.

Kellner (2011) explains that:

The media are a profound and often misperceived source of cultural pedagogy: They contribute to educating us how to behave and what to think, feel, believe, fear, and desire—and what not to. The media are forms of pedagogy that teach us how to be men and women. They show us how to dress, look, and consume; how to react to members of different social groups; how to be popular and successful and how to avoid failure; and how to conform to the dominant system of norms, values, practices, and institutions. (p. 7)

A significant effect of this form of ‘Othering’ is that Pacific Peoples may internalise this alienation and reject the supportive health messages which are being targeted toward them. On one hand, the Pacific social group may reject the targeted health messages in order to inflate self-esteem and group vitality, which may be interpreted as an attempt to remain ignorant so as to fit in with the out-groups.

On the other hand, it is also identified that Pacific Peoples may acknowledge these cultural health issues and accept them as their own. However, this does not guarantee that these specific health issues are accepted as something to improve on for the future of the Pacific group’s social vitality (Trepte, 2006).

To illustrate this point further, it is important to examine the way in which the ‘Crayons’ advertising campaign provides evidence for this finding. The ‘Crayons’ advertisement depicts children smoking crayons like cigarettes in an attempt to emulate their parents (who are visually identified as smokers within the advertisement). This advertisement may be accepted by non-Pacific individuals as being representative of the wider Pacific culture. This enables non-Pacific individuals to see certain health issues such as smoking and obesity as being specific to Pacific Peoples and being ‘their problem’ (Loto et al., 2006).

6.5. Strength in Numbers – The Air-tight Pacific Identity

A compelling finding to have emerged from the various data sets is that the cultural identity of Pacific Peoples is strong. This finding is clearly evident within the perceptions of Pacific identity from the targeted television health advertisements.

Pacific Peoples have an acute sense of their Pacific cultural identity, and this is clearly evidenced in their capability to perceive cultural artefacts within the targeted advertisements. These artefacts include symbols and elements such as religious dress, housing/neighbourhoods and language. The ‘Cervical Screening’ advertisement especially was perceived by participants to contain many cultural artefacts.

Hall (1996) states that “...cultural identity...is a matter of ‘becoming’ as well as of ‘being’. It belongs to the future as much as to the past” (p. 706). Being able to identify culture, including the way in which the Pacific culture is represented on television, is a specific strength of the New Zealand Pacific community.

This strength allows them to exist, even though particular messages within the television landscape suggest that their existence is not valued.

As Hall (1996) clarifies:

Our cultural identities reflect the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes which provide us, as 'one people', with stable, unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning, beneath the shifting divisions and vicissitudes of our actual history. (p. 705)

In contrast to the 'Cervical Screening' advertisement, the 'Disrespect' advertisement could not be identified as culturally specific by Pacific Peoples. The 'Disrespect' advertisement contained cultural artefacts and symbols which were subtle in nature, in contrast to 'Cervical Screening'. The use of these subtle cultural elements maintained both a negative message and interpretation by Pacific Peoples, and therefore the cultural elements were rejected.

Pacific Peoples are also less easily affected by harmful portrayals due to their strong sense of group identity. These targeted health messages and advertisements were interpreted as portraying harmful and unsuccessful stories. Yet, Pacific Peoples continue to view their culture positively.

However, Pacific individuals who do not have a significant acceptance and understanding of their Pacific identity may struggle to interpret their culture through the targeted advertising. Not only this, but they may feel that these ads allow them to reject (Trepte, 2006) their Pacific identity entirely.

6.6. Cultivating Culture through Television – Portraying a Positive Future

There is no doubt that the targeted television health advertisements do not cultivate a sense of positive group self-esteem for Pacific Peoples. However, it is proposed that if these targeted health messages were to be transformed and altered with inclusions of positive portrayals of the New Zealand Pacific culture, then these targeted advertisements could be utilised to cultivate a culture of positive identity formation (Hogg et al. 2000). However, this can only happen after an extended period of time.

Loto et al. (2006) explain that:

Ethnic minorities are often disadvantaged in mainstream media coverage, which function to silence minority voices and to privilege majority voices. Such representational practices have very real implications for the position of ethnic minorities in society, and their associated rights and life chances...Negative portrayals constitute serious public health risks and threats to positive social relations both within and beyond the borders of minority communities. Therefore, deconstructing and challenging discriminatory representational practices becomes a public health promotion strategy. The promotion of positive identities among marginalized communities is associated with increased civic participation and health gains. (p. 1)

While previous findings acknowledged that there is a strength within the Pacific cultural identity, this does not mean that outside influences cannot affect this strength (Romer et al., 2003). As interpreted by the perceptions of Pacific Peoples about the targeted television advertising, there are certain influences that can affect an individual's own interpretation of their Pacific identity separate to what the Pacific community in general may feel about their cultural standing. This is where the cultivation effect of television can be understood and utilised in order, over time, to form a stronger sense of individual cultural identity (Trepte, 2006) and transform ideas that non-Pacific individuals may hold about Pacific cultural identity. Hammermeister et al. (2005) stated that "...cultivation theory has been important in exploring behavioural effects of television viewing for many years" (p. 253).

As previously mentioned within this research study, these targeted advertisements have been identified as a 'necessary evil'. The advertisements may not provide the most accurate representation of Pacific cultural identity but they are necessary for the community in order to raise awareness of health issues (Anderson, Crengle, Kamaka, Chen, Palafox, & Jackson-Pulver, 2006). This is supported by evidence from the data sets that Pacific Peoples perceive their community as dealing with specific culturally based health issues, and perceive the need for the health issues to be brought into the spotlight and dealt with.

As Wilson et al. (2005) explicate:

Health Authorities should continue to invest in such television campaigns and national Quitline services...Complete local development of TVCs by indigenous health workers for their own population may be more expensive, but it has the potential benefit of maximising authenticity and cultural appropriateness of the TVCs. As television channels multiply there will be even greater scope for expanding reach to indigenous peoples and therefore maximising the benefits to health and the reduction of health inequalities. (p. 286)

To illustrate this point, participants in the study perceived the 'Cervical Screening', 'Every Cigarette' and 'Rheumatic Fever' advertisements as serving a necessary function within their community. However, the 'Cervical Screening' and 'Every Cigarette' advertisements are perceived as portraying the Pacific cultural identity in less than accurate ways.

With these advertisements being broadcast on public television networks, a starting point is formed for the positive cultivation of the Pacific cultural identity. The public television networks enable the advertisements to be viewed by a wide-ranging audience, with part of this audience being Pacific Peoples. Not only are these advertisements viewed by Pacific Peoples, but also by the wider New Zealand television audience. The frequent airing of these advertisements initiates the secondary step in the process of cultivation. To further explain this point, by viewing the advertisements on a frequent basis Pacific individuals will be constantly prompted to process health information (Shrum et al. 2005), and these prompts will enable Pacific Peoples to interpret a positive cultural identity and take action in regard to their personal health.

Kellner (2011) postulates that:

Television...and other forms and products of media culture provide materials out of which we forge our very identities, including our sense of self-hood; our notion of what it means to be male or female; our conception of class, ethnicity and race, nationality, sexuality; and division of the world into categories of 'us' and 'them'. Media images help shape our view of the world and our deepest values: what we consider good or bad, positive or negative, moral or evil. Media stories provide the symbols, myths, and resources through which we constitute a common culture and through the appropriation of which we insert ourselves into this culture. Media spectacles demonstrate who has power and who is powerless, who is allowed to exercise force and violence and who is not. They dramatize and legitimize the power of the forces that be and show the powerless that they must stay in their places or be oppressed. (p. 7)

In order to create positive cultivation effects, there is a significant factor to be considered – that every targeted television health message needs to feature a positive (Diefenbach & West, 2007) narrative and portrayal of the Pacific cultural identity. Without constant reinforcement and representation of a healthy Pacific identity, the effects of cultivation cannot progress properly.

To illustrate this point further, a comparison of effects will be made between the 'Disrespect' and 'Rheumatic Fever' advertisement campaigns. In regard to 'Disrespect', if Pacific Peoples are frequently viewing the depiction of being reprimanded and seeing a staunch Pacific male, the long-term effect of this will be negative in nature. In regard to 'Rheumatic Fever', since there was an approving reception of this targeted health advertisement and its depiction of a real-life story, the long-term cultivation effects will essentially be positive.

Positive cultural reinforcement can occur when these targeted television messages contain true and diverse depictions of Pacific identity. Depictions of Pacific identity, when they reflect the true nature of the Pacific community of New Zealand, can be utilised to maintain a high level of group vitality and self-esteem, subsequently contributing to the way in which the Pacific community can function openly and equally within New Zealand society.

6.7. Re-defining National Identity – The Hybrid 'Pacific-Kiwi' Identity

While it has been identified that the Pacific community of New Zealand embraces powerfully their cultural identity, there is also a supplementary finding which suggests that even though Pacific Peoples may subscribe to a distinctive Pacific culture, there is also a need for them to be recognised as New Zealanders or 'Kiwis'. Once again, it is important to recognise that this finding is clearly evident for social groups belonging to post-colonial nations (Hall, 1996) where a sense of identity can be fractured and obscured due to the multi-culturalism of the population (Cave et al. 2003).

Through these targeted television advertisements, Pacific Peoples perceive their specific cultural identity as being kept separate from the national 'Kiwi' identity. This finding raises issues of social and cultural identity, what it means to be a New Zealander, and the existence of plural identities (Hall, 1996) within a post-colonial context such as New Zealand.

Evidence for this finding of separate identity can clearly be seen within most of the targeted advertising that can be found within the New Zealand television landscape. More specifically, the 'Disrespect' and 'Cervical Screening' advertisements provide a clear illustration of how this separation of identity is put into effect. Both of these advertisement examples could form an impression for non-Pacific individuals that only Pacific Peoples face certain issues, and this aids in the separation of cultural identities. However, as recognised by Pacific Peoples, all New Zealanders are affected by the same health issues (Anderson et al., 2006) and Pacific Peoples are not the only cultural group to experience significant health issues (Brewis, McGarvey, Jones, & Swinburn, 1998).

As mentioned previously, from this finding concerns surrounding identity within a post-colonial nation are apparent. New Zealand, which plays host to a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural population (Loto et al. 2006), is a post-colonial nation in which many identities make up the 'Kiwi' identity. As a result of this, there is no base justification for the separation of identity that Pacific Peoples perceive through the targeted television health advertisements.

Gupta and Ferguson (1992) stated that:

It is so taken for granted that each country embodies its own distinctive culture and society that the terms 'society' and 'culture' are routinely simply appended to the names of nation-states...space itself becomes a kind of neutral grid on which cultural difference, historical memory, and societal organisation are inscribed. (pp. 6–7)

Not only is this separation perceived by Pacific Peoples, but non-Pacific individuals viewing these targeted television advertisements could possibly form assumptions of Pacific Peoples, with this assumption being that Pacific Peoples are culturally distinct from what might be considered a 'New Zealander' or a 'Kiwi'.

An individual's cultural identity can take shape through many facets (Hall, 1996). This is supported by the identity theoretical framework. An effort can be made to incorporate a hybrid identity in these targeted advertisements between what is 'Kiwi' and what is 'Pacific' in order to enable Pacific Peoples to feel included within the national identity, and for non-Pacific individuals to consider the Pacific identity as part of the national identity.

An integration of the Pacific cultural identity within the national identity also enables spaces to open up for further representation and portrayals of Pacific Peoples on national television. As Dana and Sullivan (2007) explain, "...the media, in particular television, plays a crucial role in the process of forming a national identity by 'creating' facts, confirming 'values', shaping public debate and 'determining' how we understand other groups in our society" (p. 4).

6.8. Concluding Remarks

In conclusion of this extensive discourse of principal findings, it is crucial to acknowledge that the Pacific cultural identity, and Pacific community of New Zealand, have a strong and robust connection with their cultural traditions and practices. This is emphasised by their ability to perform the Pacific cultural identity even through adverse situations such as negative social group perceptions, harmful stereotypes, cultural

'Othering' and facing exclusion from a multi-cultural national identity. Findings uncovered within this research study have found that, like other ethnic minorities within post-colonial nations, Pacific Peoples also face unfortunate barriers to healthy and diverse representation within media outlets, especially the television landscape of New Zealand.

It is also imperative to conclude this discourse with a reflexive account of the emergent principal findings. As the discourse of the results and findings progressed, it was clearly evident to the researcher that much of what was being identified was consistent with previous studies that had explored the issue of representation on television for POC. The difference between the findings of this research study and previous media communication studies is that the direct accounts of individuals were analysed to uncover certain truths and, as Meyer (2008) explains, "...interviews produce in-depth and complex knowledge of the human world by focusing on meanings and interacting with research participants and their life-worlds" (p. 70). Furthermore, a significant difference was that the researcher directly contacted and interacted with Pacific People.

Chapter Seven: Summary and Conclusion

7.1. Introduction

The ensuing chapter provides a synopsis and review of the principal findings that were explained and argued for in the preceding 'Discussion' chapter of this research study. This chapter also contains recommendations for future research within the scope of this issue and for the significant parties that have been identified as target audiences of this research study (i.e. the Pacific community of New Zealand, the New Zealand broadcasting industry and the public health industry). Furthermore, this final chapter expounds upon the distinct strengths and limitations of this research study, which have been previously identified throughout the research process and especially throughout the analytical phase.

7.2. Summary of Key Findings

So as to provide a succinct account of the principal findings of this research study, it is mandatory to once again observe the preliminary research questions that have prompted this qualitative research investigation. As a recap of these initial research questions, the key line of inquiry was expressed as "How do Pacific Peoples perceive their own cultural identity through Government and Non-Government Organisations (NGO) television advertisements specifically targeted toward their cultural demographic?"

As an extension and reinforcement of this particular inquiry, further questions were outlined as follows:

Research Question 1 – How is cultural identity incorporated into targeted television advertisements which promote Government and NGO campaigns and messages?

Research Question 2 – Are these targeted advertisements manufactured by Pacific People?

Research Question 3 – What effects do these portrayals of Pacific People have on their own interpretation of their cultural identity?

The successive sections of this final chapter identify the success in which these research questions have been countered and the principal findings which support their inquest. Conversely, before recognising the success of solving the aforementioned research questions, it is central to note a limitation of this research study briefly. This limitation relates to the circumstance that while the research questions have been answered, these provided answers cannot be applied as a broad generalisation in regards to the initial research problem. The answers resulting from this research study are specific to the focus group participants and the context of this research study itself.

7.2.1. Link between Targeted Health Advertisements and Perception of Cultural Identity

The fundamental inquiry of this research study aimed to disclose the means in which Pacific Peoples of New Zealand perceive and interpret their cultural identity through targeted television health advertising. The methodological approach employed to answer this question included the execution of thematic analyses (Braun & Clarke, 2006) of focus group discussion data and applying previously considered theoretical frameworks (which included the 'cultivation effect' (Gerbner & Gross, 1976), 'social identity' (Trepte, 2006) and 'identity' theory (Stryker, 1987), 'stereotypes' (Devine, 1989), 'production of culture' (Peterson & Anand, 2004), 'white dominance' (Hall, 1996) and 'social cognition' (Bandura,

1986) to establish correlations and links. The findings produced through this approach ascertain that Pacific Peoples interpret and perceive their cultural identity through these targeted health messages as being harmful stereotypes, an exclusion from the national 'Kiwi' identity and as containing specific cultural health issues which exist as cultural taboos. However, in contrast to these adverse findings, Pacific Peoples also interpreted their culture as being secure and as an identity to take pride in.

7.2.2. How is Cultural Identity Incorporated within the Advertisements?

A subordinate line of inquiry was to consider how the Pacific cultural identity has been assimilated within the targeted television health advertisements. This methods applied to uncovering answers included dissecting audio, visual and textual elements of the advertisements (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2007). This method of dissection took place during the focus group. Participants were probed to identify cultural elements of the advertisements. In response to this research question, findings suggested that there was an 'over-emphasis' on culture depicted within these targeted advertisements, seen in the presence of cultural artefacts. Findings also uncovered that the specific constructed image of Pacific culture that was portrayed within the advertisements relied heavily on distinct schemata (Kunda & Thagard, 1996) and prevailing stereotypes.

7.2.3. The Manufacturing of these Cultural Portrayals

One of the foremost concerns acknowledged within this research study has been the need for clarification regarding the content creators behind the targeted advertisements. Identifying the content creators of these targeted advertisements provided an important context for evaluating why Pacific Peoples were rendered in certain ways. The method of approach used for this research question was conducting contextual research (Thorne, 2000) on the targeted advertisements and their associated campaigns. Findings established that the content creators of these health campaigns were advertising groups that employed mostly non-Pacific (mainly white) individuals. Supplementary findings explain that, due to the lack of Pacific Peoples as producers of these targeted advertisements, messages of health and portrayals of Pacific People were not as effective at reaching the Pacific viewing audience.

7.2.4. Overall Effects

The final research question of this study meant exploring the inclusive and global effects of the targeted television health advertising on the perception of cultural identity. The focus group was once again used and a thematic framework of analysis was applied in order to reveal the findings. Findings of this inquiry recognised that the greatest effect on culture that these targeted advertisements posed was the maintenance of ruinous societal stereotypes and the maintenance of dominant ideologies by the ruling elite.

7.3. Strengths and Limitations

An asset of this research revolved around the focus group and the research participants who were a part of it. Amid the process of this research study, it was detected and witnessed that Pacific Peoples place substantial status on community and group activity. Therefore, this sense of commitment to a 'group' permitted the focus group to act as an innocuous and safe territory in which to provide personal opinions and beliefs (Freeman, 2006).

An alternative strength of this research study was the application of a thematic framework for analysis. This analytical framework was the optimum approach for this qualitative study, as the findings were able to materialise through an inductive process, rather than through deductive methods.

A constraint of this research study can be found in the usage and understanding of the cultivation effect of television. This framework of understanding about the long-term effects of television viewing has encountered many criticisms (Hammermeister et al., 2005) since its inception by Gerbner (1976). A leading criticism of the cultivation effect, which was a concern all through the analytical phase of this research study, is the way in which cultivation has repeatedly produced correlations between long-term viewing and destructive effects (Shrum et al., 2005). This research study has endeavoured to invert this understanding by exploring the ways in which long-term television viewing can cultivate optimistic effects in terms of providing affirmative 'self-esteem building' portrayals of cultural identity.

Another limitation which needs to be addressed is the deployment of the survey questionnaire and the progression which led to its partial exclusion from the analytical process of the research study. As mentioned previously in the methodology chapter, the survey was meant to reach a varied sample of the Pacific community of New Zealand (as it was available online), but due to a lack of response from promotions, and the short answers to the survey questions, the decision was made to eliminate the survey as a source of data.

7.4. Future Directions and Recommendations

There are several fundamental directions in which this research concern can be further examined and progressed to produce supplementary discourse. The following sections outline three strategic future directions that this research can be directed towards.

7.4.1. Campaigns Created by Pacific Peoples

As acknowledged throughout this research study, the targeted advertising campaigns are not shaped by Pacific People. This has led to the service of stereotypes (Michelle, 2012) in place of unique and healthy portrayals of Pacific Peoples within New Zealand. In order to remedy the expenditure on harmful and persistent stereotypes, Pacific Peoples need to be employed within the production team (Pearson, 1999) that creates these targeted health advertisements.

7.4.2. Diversification of the Pacific Identity on Screen

It has been identified that these targeted health advertisements do not offer an abundance of distinctive portrayals of Pacific identity. Therefore, it is imperative that portrayals of Pacific identity are diversified (Pearson, 1999) in order to offer Pacific Peoples a chance to identify with a diverse representation (Dana & Sullivan, 2007) of their cultural community in New Zealand.

7.4.3. Open Channel of Communication

The final endorsement of this research study is the necessity for these targeted health advertisements to offer an open channel of communication for Pacific Peoples. This can be attained and realised by the exploitation of stories from 'real-world' (Brewis et al., 1998) Pacific Peoples and Pacific communities. This is sustained and supported by the finding that the advertisement that Pacific Peoples responded most

positively to was that of 'Rheumatic Fever', in which the narrative revolved around the re-telling of a Tongan family's fight against rheumatic fever with one of their twin sons.

7.5. Concluding Comments

In conclusion, there has been a presentation of a foundational framework of methodological, theoretical and analytical processes for identifying and uncovering links between targeted television health messages and the interpretation of Pacific cultural identity in New Zealand. Through the systematic and comprehensive utilisation of a thematic framework of analysis, an understanding of how Pacific Peoples are affected by the consistent viewing of targeted television health messages and advertisements has been formed. This research study has provided further discussion of the ever-expanding discourse concerning the cultivation effect of long-term television viewing. This research has also provided a substantial discourse relating to the wider disputes about how POC are portrayed within a television landscape and how these portrayals eventually contour an individual's view of the social world around them and their identity. This research study has also identified additional research intentions which can provide further discourse.

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