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INDIGENOUS AUSTRALIA IN MEDIA: A PORTRAIT OF HEALTH

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Health Science (Aboriginal Health and Community Development), Honours

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Approved by Supervisor

2001
ABSTRACT

The television media is a powerful tool in forming and influencing the general publics on various issues and opinions. It has the potential to change and create a positive or negative effect on the peoples view of the world and the environment they live in. When positively viewed media can create an environment conducive to change. However, negative views will have the far reached outcomes unprecedented in many cases and time. The negative view can be a problem when the media, in particular television starts to create a negative portrayal of a particular group.

The purpose of this Thesis is to investigate whether television reporting of Indigenous issues and peoples have an effect on their quality of life and in particular health.

The methodology used in this Thesis is of a qualitative nature, which consisted of a series of interviews and literature reviews. The findings syndicates that media, and in particular television have a negative view of Indigenous issues and portray the Indigenous people negatively. Such a negative portrays have adverse effect on the quality of life, in particular health, of Indigenous people and their communities.

It is recommended that necessary Code of Practice to be developed by the relevant government agencies in partnership with the Indigenous
communities, to make sure that the programmes are free from misused information on disadvantaged groups and in particular Indigenous peoples. Further more an Affirmative Action for employment of the Indigenous workers in media will go a long way to improve the current portrayals of the Indigenous Australians.
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want to thank all the interviewees that took part in this research. Their experiences and thoughts were all valuable and I am extremely grateful that they shared them with me. Not only did they give me a new found admiration for them, I was surprised at how much I learnt, just by the sharing of their experiences and thoughts. The information that they shared with me is vital as there is a lack of Aboriginal input in the literature regarding this particular topic. The informants are after all the people who are directly affected by these issues and who are making a change to the media, just by being there.

So again I thank you all very much also on behalf of the Aboriginal people for doing a great job and being Aboriginal role models and changing the negative stereotypes that are put on us by people who believe that they are better or superior than us.

To my family in Queensland, who were very far away from me through all of this, I want to thank you all for your support and love. I want to acknowledge my Grandmothers people the Wakka Wakka people and my Grandfathers people the Willi Willi people and also my Torres Strait Islander people. You have all given me the strength to challenge myself to take on this great task and encouraged me to do the best that I can.
I hope that I make you all proud and at least let my younger relatives know that they can achieve anything in life, as long as they set their minds to it. My very special thank you to my uncle Bernard Boyter, who gave me permission to use his painting titled “Bush Tucker Dreaming” for the cover of this Thesis.

A special thank you to the Bolt and Mcleod families for all their support and love that they have shown me throughout my studies. You have treated me like a member of your family and I will never forget your kindness. This has meant so much to me, especially because my own family is so far away from me. I want to also thank the family for teaching me that, ‘nobody is better than you’. These five words have been a huge impact on my life and they are words to live by.

To my supervisors Angela Dawson and Freidoon Khavarpour, thank you both for your patience and guidance.

Finally to the people that have been involved with this study and who have made comments at various stages on the thesis and ultimately helped to shape this thesis, I thank you all so very much.
BACKGROUND

The portrayals of Indigenous People in the Media and how this affects Indigenous health became interesting to me a few years ago. As an Indigenous myself I was aware that we as a people had very few representations of our mob in the media. I was also aware that when we did see stories on Indigenous people in the media they were nearly always about negative issues such as criminal related stories and mostly prejudged comments with inaccurate and misleading remarks. Many Indigenous people, including myself, are sick of seeing the same old stories repeating themselves. I remember thinking ‘those blackfella’s give us all a bad name’.

It wasn’t until I commenced at the University that I started to realise the whole picture. Through my studies I was exposed to vast volumes of knowledge relating to Indigenous health including the causes, the history and the consequences of various government policies on their well-being and quality of life. The issue of health dominated my thoughts more than others. I came to the realise that many factors should be taken in to consideration before one can make judgements on the consequences of health.

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1 When the term ‘Indigenous’ is used in this thesis it will be referring to ‘Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander’ people.
Use of various strategies such as community development, policy
development and mass media were some of the approaches that
interest me most. I was particularly interested in using the media to
promote health. This lead me to investigate how the use of mass
media could improve the health of Indigenous peoples in Australia.

Another factor in my decision to investigate the role of media in
improving the health was my interest in recorded history and language
using the media, particularly with my Aboriginal grandfather and
grandmothers heritage. My grandmother is from the 'Wakka Wakka'
people of the Eidsvold area in the South East Queensland region. My
grandfather is from the 'Willi Willi' people of the Theodore area in
Queensland. I've always had a deep concern about the loss of our
native tongue of the 'Willi Willi' people in the future. My grandfather in
fact is the last member of the 'Willi Willi' people who is fluent in this
language. There are many contributing factors, including his age, that
we (as a family) are facing the danger of the language being lost.
My goal is to record both my Grandfather and my Grandmother's stories and language, so that my peoples history and culture is remembered and strong identities within the family are maintained. Using the medium of communication to record oral histories with an audio and video medium will contribute to strengthening the 'Willi Willi' and 'Wakka Wakka' culture.

In summary my interest in using the media as a tool to enhance Aboriginal health, my own personal interest in the media industry, and the influence of media on society, are the motives that has justified choosing the research topic. Through the research I was able to acknowledge that it wasn't just 'blackfella's' at all that was giving 'us a bad name' in the media, but the influence by the media itself, through the way they report on us and the images that they emphasise.
INTRODUCTION

"Before I get too much further into this speech, let me make it clear this is not a lecture about how you have to be politically correct to report things. It is a plea to make an effort to address the imbalance that occurs in the media when reporting on Aboriginal people and the issues that affect us."

Ah Kit, cited in Hartley, et al, 2000, p 141

Review of the literature on various modes of media such as print, radio and television indicated my own belief that Indigenous issues are always negative and Indigenous people are portrayed in a negative manner.

"... the media highlights 'the strange and the sensational'. Drunkenness, rioting and poor living conditions are given much more attention than the stories which could show Aborigines playing a positive role in the general Australian community" Bennett 1989, p 137

Even Indigenous people who are playing a positive role in the community are all too often victims of the media. For instance the late Charles Perkins an Indigenous activist, who was a positive role model for the Indigenous community and who had the personal experience dealing with the media comments,

"The television networks, for example, all have their particular hang-ups, political, social or religious, that allow you to go only as far as it is convenient for them. They use Aboriginal leaders and Aboriginal situations for their own purposes. They will allow you to make statements within the context of their hang-ups, only where they feel they can do something controversial that will excite all the television viewers at home and make it an interesting night for them, then you fill the bill. Aborigines' affair can thus be prostituted at the convenience of the media. Sections of the media at times do a great disservice to Aborigines and thus the nation by their ignorance of the race question in Australia." Perkins 1975, Pp 183

The media and its bid to create something 'controversial' at the Indigenous persons expense, create a one sided and negative image supporting racist stereotypes. It usually has served no purpose for
Indigenous people and the real issue of discussion has been pushed aside and treated as not important.

Underreporting of Indigenous Issues in the television is an issue of concern for some writers. Issues related to Indigenous peoples seldom find their way to non-print media. It seems that the Commercial television stations are prime examples of this practice.

'While recognizing the vast improvement in the coverage of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander issues, particularly since 1988, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people point out that they are still receiving better press overseas... It's time we realized that we have in our own country a rich source of material for journalism.' 

Eggerking, & Plater 1992, Pp, 32

Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) and Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) have 'realised' the 'rich source of material' that can be utilised. Both stations have regular Indigenous television shows, and more regularly than the commercial stations include Indigenous issues on their mainstream shows.

The media play a part in Health Promotion, because it can both improve and worsen the health of an individual or group. It can improve it by showing positive images of a group and worsen it by showing negative images.

'Health promotion is the process of enabling people to increase control over, and to improve their health. To reach a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being, an individual group must be able to identify and to realize aspirations, to satisfy needs, and to change or cope with the environment.' 

Ottawa Charter 1986, p1
Another vital research aim is to document and record an Indigenous perspective of the issues related to health and media. This is important as they do 'enable' peoples thoughts and perceptions. This thesis will not be focusing specifically on health promotion campaigns or interventions in a strict sense, but will be dealing with the issues relating to the basic model of health promotion. In a broad sense health is holistic and in order to have good health there needs to be fundamental prerequisites such as education, food, shelter, income, equity, peace, social justice, sustainable resources and a stable ecosystem.

The media might not like it, but they are a source of health promotion as they do 'enable' peoples thoughts and perceptions. This thesis will not be focusing specifically on health promotion campaigns or interventions in a strict sense, but will be dealing with the issues relating to the basic model of health promotion. In a broad sense health is holistic and in order to have good health there needs to be fundamental prerequisites such as education, food, shelter, income, equity, peace, social justice, sustainable resources and a stable ecosystem.

The focus will be on the role of the television media in particular the journalist in advocating, enabling and mediating in relation to health promotion as defined in the Ottawa Charter. The thesis aims to look at how the media currently contributes to Indigenous health through the portrayals of Indigenous people and the reporting of Indigenous issues.

The Importance of the Research

The aims of the research are important in discovering the nature of the connection between the television media and Indigenous health. This is very significant concern as Indigenous health is very poor by most standards.

Another vital research aim is to document and record an Indigenous perspective of the issues related to health and media. This is important
as Indigenous people are affected by media representation and also their perspectives of what should be done to improve these issues will contribute to the solutions.

The aim of this thesis is to explore the 'Indigenous Australia in Media: a portrait of health'. In particular this thesis is to investigate the following research questions:

1. What does the literature say about the ways in which Indigenous issues are reported in the Television media?
2. Is there a connection between the ways in which Indigenous issues are framed in Television and Indigenous health?
3. How do Indigenous people working in or associated with Television media feel about how Indigenous issues are reported and how do they think it impacts on Indigenous health?
4. Are there any conclusions that can be drawn to improve the reporting of Indigenous issues on Television media?

The potential value of the research in terms of possible outcomes are many. Firstly creating awareness that there is a link between health and the media. When this is established then the awareness that the current portrayals by the media of Indigenous people does affect health.
The research outcomes should include the need for culturally appropriate codes of practice models relating to the reporting on Indigenous issues. These models need to be implemented and used by all media networks to reduce the risk of negative portrayals and reporting of Indigenous people. Another outcome is to create awareness that there needs to be compulsory Indigenous positions in all sections of the media at all networks. Also creating awareness that there needs to be more indigenous representation at the executive level of the media. This is important because indigenous people and non-Indigenous people can learn from one another and to incorporate both cultural values into the media.

Finally, inform people that there is a need for more indigenous programs on all media networks, to create positive portrayals of indigenous people and their culture.

**Significance and relevance of the topic**

The media is a powerful and positive tool in relation to getting the message across and sending the worlds news to the people, but it also contributes to the poor health status of Indigenous people. This is caused by the negative portrayals and reporting of Indigenous people.

Having said that, this isn't just a problem for Indigenous people, but for all of society as any individual or group can be victims of the media.

The research will focus on the channels, the mainstream programs and
the Indigenous programs. The reason this researcher has selected this
media type is because television is watched by millions of people,
providing an ideal platform for health promotion. Some of these
programs will run stories related to Indigenous health.

Another significance of the topic is that Indigenous people in the media
industry are giving their perspective of the issues that they face. This
is important in relation to both bringing the major concerns that they
have regarding the media to light and to find appropriate and relevant
ways to improve the situation of media representation.

This research will also contribute to the body of knowledge to the field
in a positive way as there is a lack of research linking media with
Indigenous health. There is also a lack of research particularly linking
television media to the poor health of Indigenous people.

Outline of the Thesis

This thesis will be looking at a number of issues that all relate to the
research topic, 'Indigenous Australia in the media:- Portraits of Health'.
Racism is the first subject to be explored. The origin of racism is
investigated and an understanding of racism is explained. The topic of
re-defining racism will be touched on and then a closer look at racism
and the Australian Indigenous people will be discussed.
The topic of health will also be looked at, specifically defining what is health. Also health from an Indigenous perspective will be explained. Additionally the link between racism, media and health will be examined.

Another important topic that will be mentioned is the media. A discussion about the Importance of Media relating to Indigenous issues is included. Racism and stereotyping in the Media will be talked about as well as the Power Controls of the Media will be looked at and also Indigenous Programs and Self-determination. Improving the Code of Practices of the Media and Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody and the Media were also looked at.

The Methodology included discussions on the research process, it looked at key issues such as What is Qualitative Research and Why use a Qualitative Methodology. It also included Exploration of the literature, and looked at the research design. The Methodology also mentioned the Protocols of Data Collection and the issue of the Interview Process and Ethical Issues.

Then finally this thesis examined the findings and closed with the conclusion and recommendations of the thesis.
LITERATURE REVIEW

There was a lack of previous research relating to the particular topic of Indigenous people in television. Research that linked the media particularly to Indigenous health was also lacking.

The literature that did have some (sort of) connection to the topic commented mainly on other forms of media such as the print media and radio broadcast. The literature on television media and how Indigenous issues are reported, had similar discussions. They all mentioned that Indigenous issues were reported almost always in a negative manner.

An additional matter that needs to be mentioned is the underreporting of Indigenous Issues in the Television media. Literature was unavailable or didn’t exist in regards to the commercial television indigenous content on their programmes, indigenous employment, guidelines and protocols when reporting on indigenous issues. Although the commercial television stations did mention that they follow the ABA guidelines.

The literature uncovered some major current research in the area of media portrayals of minority groups. The majority of the research came from America by Robert M. Entman, Mary Beth Oliver, Churchill Roberts, Anju G Chaudhary and from the combined team of
Epidemiologists Nancy Krieger and Stephen Sidney. Only one major research by John Hartley and Alan McKee was found from Australia in regards to the topic of media representation and Indigenous health.

Robert M. Entman's interest in portrayal of 'blacks' in the television media was evident as he had conducted three research studies with the same common themes. In his first research study entitled 'Representation and Reality in the Portrayal of Blacks on Network Television News', the research was divided into two parts. The first was the taping of the ABC, CBS and the NBC nightly news broadcasts for a period of ten-days each for January, February and March in 1990. The second part of the research was to analyse the 'full verbatim transcripts of the ABC nightly news' from January to June, 1990 and July to December 1991.

The study concluded that portrayals of 'black' in the television news need to be improved because current practices make it difficult to understand the reality of the diversity of 'black' and the positive aspects that they have (Entman, R, 1994).

The second research study that Entman was involved in was 'Blacks in the News: Television, Modern Racism and Cultural Change.' Entman uses a 'Content Analysis' as his research methodology in this study.
The broadcaster CBS, Independent, NBC and ABC were analysed for a period of 55 days, in the months from December 1989 through to early May 1990. CBS, NBC and ABC broadcasters, 10pm news was analysed and the independent broadcasters 9pm news was analysed.

The study concluded that,

'Hence the data do suggest that exposure over time to local TV news presents viewers with an accumulation of images that make blacks appear consistently threatening, demanding and undeserving of accommodation by government.' Entman, 1992, p. 359

Therefore this is evidence that negative stereotypes of 'black' through the media, influences peoples thoughts about 'blacks'.

Another of Entman's research study found in the literature was 'Modern Racism and the Images of Blacks in Local Television News.' This research study applied a 'Content Analysis' of a 1-week analysis of the Chicago WMAQ, WLS and WBBN broadcasters half hour segment before/or after the early evening news. Also the 10 pm news segment of the broadcasters were analysed, therefore 1 hour per day was set for analysis for each of the broadcasters. The hypothesis is that local television news supports 'Modern Racism' because it helps perpetuate the belief that racism doesn't exist.
The outcome of the study found that crime stories about ‘blacks’ portrayed them as threatening and reporting on political leaders were special interest stories on politics. These support modern racism.

"Nonetheless, the exploratory study provides ample support for hypothesis that local television’s images of blacks feed racial anxiety and antagonism at least among that portion of the white population most predisposed to those feelings."  

Entman, 1990, p 343

The outcome of this study stated a common element for the three studies involving Entman. They all concluded that the portrayal of ‘blacks’ on television is negative and that it encourages racism.

Mary Beth Oliver undertook a ‘Content Analysis’ of the ‘Portrayals of Crime, Race, and Aggression in “Reality-Based” Police Shows’. Oliver analysed research that had been done in the past in regards to news or entertainment portrayals of crime in the media. As a result of the findings, Oliver conducted a content analysis of 5 ‘reality based’ programs between the periods of the American fall 1991 to the first week ending in January 1992.

The outcome of this research had many results, the essence of it is best described by the author herself.

"In summary, this content, analysis of “reality-based” police programs revealed an entertainment genre that typically portrays a great deal of violent crime, a cast of characters in which nonwhites are typically the “bad guys”, and a plot which most often features the “restoration of justice”, though often through aggressive behaviors."  

Oliver, 1994, p 190

It is fair to say that, ‘reality based’ television shows portray ‘blacks’ and minorities negatively and criminally. They also suggest the ‘whites’ are
superior to the minorities, by casting them in the authority positions and using violence on the minorities to get justice.

Another study is Churchill Roberts on 'The Presentation of Blacks in Television Network Newscasts'. A 'Content Analysis' on the early-evening network newscasts was conducted during January to February in 1972 and August to September in 1973, for two three week periods. This study looked at the 'Predominant Appearance of Blacks in Television News Segments' and 'Most Frequent Kinds of News Stories in Which Blacks Appeared.'

The study concluded that although 'blacks' appeared on television one fourth of the time on the news segments, visual images of them were evident, but they were not heard (Robert, C, 1975). Therefore 'blacks' don't have a voice in the television news media.

Anju G. Chaudhary conducted a 'Content Analysis' of 19 randomized major metropolitan newspapers from the cities that had a population of over 200,000 of African American Negro's. This study commenced in 1970 and ceased in 1977.

Chaudhary's study focused on the 'image of black elected official' specifically in the newspapers. Chaudhary analyzed the newspapers during the political campaign periods, with the assumption that the cities with a high percentage of African American Negro population, would have a larger amount of coverage, by the major newspapers.
The study concluded that ‘black’ elected officials were portrayed in the newspapers negatively as their stories were poorly positioned and more extensive, usually negative, reporting compared to ‘white’ elected officials (Chaudhary, 1980).

Two epidemiologists, Nancy Krieger and Stephen Sidney, from Harvard University conducted a study in 1996 entitled ‘Racial Discrimination and Blood Pressure’. Their hypothesis was that the increase of blood pressure occurs more often with experience of discrimination.

Krieger and Sidney developed a questionnaire about the participants’ experiences of racial discrimination and unfair treatment. The questionnaire was given to 4086 people of both ‘black’ and ‘white’, male and female aged between 25-37.

The data was inconclusive as the participants had difficulty defining the questions, consequently the results were inconsistent.

John Hartly and Alan McKee authors of ‘The Indigenous Public Sphere: The reporting and reception of Aboriginal issues in the Australian media’, conducted an Overview of the portrayal of Indigenous issues appearing in the Australian media.
The study was held in 1994, 1995 and 1996, one ('snapshot') week (during NAIDOC week). In each year information from samples was gathered. Samples were taken from national and state newspapers, magazines, radio and television including news, infotainment, and current affairs. Survey Items or Categories developed such as 'Native Title', 'Employment' and 'Crime'. The samples were than coded on 'Orbis' software.

The results of the samples were formed into tables and were put into sections such as ‘Indigeneity in the Mediasphere’, ‘Crime and the Royal Commission’, ‘Crime Figures by Subcategory’, ‘Numbers by Medium’, ‘Radio by Channel’, ‘Television by Channel’, ‘Hard News and Other Forms of Reporting’, Examples of Subject Matter by Medium’, ‘Named Individuals in the Indigenous Mediasphere: Indigenous’, and ‘Named Individuals in the Indigenous Mediaspere: Non-indigenous’. This study appears to the qualitative research that gives an insight of the Australian situation of the media and Indigenous issues.
RACISM

The Origin of Racism

"Racism can be understood as the set of values and behaviours associated with groups of people in conflict over physical appearances, genealogy, or cultural differences. It contains an intellectual/ideological framework of explanation, a negative orientation towards 'the Other', and a commitment to a set of actions that put these values into practice."


The term racism was first recorded as being used by an English speaking people in the 1930's, after it had been translated from the German language, but was first used by the French (Taguieff 1987, 122-38, cited in Miles, 1993). This was due to the events of the 1930's and 1940's in Germany and World War II which aimed to make the Jews inferior to the Germans (Miles, 1993). Many European scientists debated the validity of this scientific idea of 'race' and therefore racism became a political and ideological upheaval throughout European history (Miles, 1993).

Many researchers have argued that racism originated within imperialism and colonialism to validate colonialism by the Europeans (Wetherell and Potter 1992: 206ff, cited in Jakubowicz et al, 1994), the authors concluded that it is a 'white ideology' developed to dominate 'blacks' (Miles, 1993).

Others believe that racism was invented in medieval feudal Europe, therefore originating within the 'classical civilizations' of the Greeks and
Institutionalized racism can occur in both material conditions and power access. Material conditions for example is differential access to sound housing, education etc. An example of power access is differential access to resources and information etc (Jones, 2000).

Understanding Racism

There are three main types of racism. They are institutionalized racism, personal mediated racism and internalized racism, according to Camara Jones (2000, p 2).

Institutionalized racism can occur in both material conditions and power access. Material conditions for example is differential access to sound housing, education etc. An example of power access is differential access to resources and information etc (Jones, 2000).
Institutionalized racism is a major issue within society and will be a focus of this thesis.

'Institutional racism in Australia is a far greater issue than the abuse of people by overt racists. Discrimination is perpetuated by social conventions and organisational structures. It 'institutes' norms to certain racial and ethnic groups.'


Two issues need to be defined before the discussion of Personally mediated racism (continues) they are prejudice and discrimination. Prejudice can be defined as prejudging and making assumptions based on ones' race (Berson et al, 1992). Discrimination is defined as treating others differently according to their race (Jones, 2000). Personally mediated racism is both prejudice and discrimination it is evidenced by demonstrating a number of key actions. They consist of lack of respect for a person, suspicious thoughts, devaluation of a person's success and dehumanizing all based on the persons race (Jones, 2000). These key actions can be intentional or unintentional (Jones, 2000).

Personally mediated racism is one of the most common forms of racism that is practiced in today's society. Every day people are exposed to this type of racism, and sadly it is just a part of every day life for most Indigenous Australians.

Finally the last type of racism is Internalized racism. According to Camara Jones, Internalized racism defines itself by accepting the negative messages about ones race including their abilities. It limits
ones’ self-expression, self-determination, and humanity and embraces helplessness and hopelessness (Jones, 2000). One tends to express oneself as another racial group and denies one’s own heritage.

**Re-defining Racism**

There is much debate amongst social scientists and theorists about the concept of racism and its origins as discussed earlier. Many have argued that the concept of racism must be re-defined. This has been an issue since the 1940’s when Ruth Benedict called for it to be re-defined (Miles, 1993). In 1967 John Rex a British theorist, re-defined the concept of racism and maintained that racism still had a significant political influence within Britain.

It is important to note that because the concept of racism is based on an ideology that is flexible and is evident in many different populations, and different parts of history, it is hard to define it as a single ideology with fixed characteristics (Miles, 1993). According to Stuart Hall (cited in Miles, 1993) racism includes conflicting themes and ideas and is in a state of constant change.

It is fair to say that all though there has been many attempts to re-define the concept of racism, there appears to be many contradictory issues. A major issue is the constant debate about where racism originated and the concept of racism. With this, it is hard to contemplate an appropriate re-definition of the concept of racism,
although constant changes will and have been applied to accommodate the contemporary issues.

Another interesting issue that needs to be mentioned is replacing the term ‘race’ with ‘ethnicity’. The logic to this theory is to abandon the terminology of race, which will consequently leave racism without any logical basis (Weeramanthri, 2000).

In recent times the majority of scientists have deserted the race concept in light of the scientific breakthrough of population genetics (Weeramanthri, 2000). Scientific evidence proved that although different gene variations in the human chromosomes result in various physical characteristics, there is no major difference between the racial groups (Weeramanthri, 2000).

Using ‘ethnicity’ instead of ‘race’ makes it less offensive to the person being categorised. The term ‘race’ to categorise a group of people, has no value due to the scientific evidence.

‘Ethnicity’ is not a derogative term and encourages people to self-identify themselves within an ethnic group and in the health arena this can be a great advantage for recording vital statistics (Weeramanthri, 2000).
Weeramanthri acknowledges that this theory isn’t deceived in thinking that by changing one terminology for another is going to solve the problem of racism. It does however believe that overtime it can contribute to the progression of the social change within society (Weeramanthri, 2000).

Racism and the Australian Indigenous People

Throughout the history of Australia there has been many issues regarding racism and stereotyping of the Indigenous person among non-Indigenous society. Australia was settled by the British on the basis of the ‘terra nullius’ doctrine, meaning empty land, with no regard to the Indigenous people.

"British acceptance of the terra nullius doctrine in regards to Australia stripped Aborigines of their rights to land ownership, but it also had a devastating effect on their civil rights." Bennett 1989, Pp. 49

This is documented evidence that Australia was settled with racist attitudes and intentions. With terra nullis commenced many injustices to the Indigenous people whom (were and still) are the first people of Australia.

Indigenous people were aware of adapting to other groups, before the Europeans arrived, but the difference was they were used to adapting to groups with similarities to their own group (Eckermann et al, 1992).
When the Europeans arrived the Indigenous people were forced to adapt to a society that they had never been exposed to before. They had to adopt a foreign economy and social structure, whereas the Europeans had the choice of not adapting to the traditions of the Indigenous society (Eckermann et al, 1992).

It is well documented that colonisation had a huge impact on Indigenous society and health (Yunupingu, G., cited in the Attwood, B., 1999). One major factor that contributed to this outcome was the racism that existed among the Europeans.

“They hunted Aboriginal people off their land and put them into reserves, which did not acknowledge land rights, but fenced our people up in compounds to stop them from competing with other demands for land, like mining and farming...This is not history; it is still happening.” Yunupingu, cited in the Attwood, 1999, p 314

The actions of the Europeans was the result of their ethnocentric, scientific racist British and European legal policies (Eckermann et al, 1992). According to Bennett (1989), Although the Indigenous person was under the British rule it was not until 1836 as a result of the R v. Jack Congo Murrell case that it was documented that Indigenous people were to be treated with the full rights of British citizenship.

“But government proclamation and court decision were of little effect, for the situation of Aborigines in relation to European law remained an inferior one, being ‘largely a matter of chance’ for many years...The problem, basically, was that few whites regarded Aborigines as having any rights in the Australian polity, consequently the supposed equal status of Aborigines was simply ignored.” Bennett 1989, Pp. 49
These attitudes were racist and the Indigneous people’s health and well-being was directly affected by this. Even their own European law wasn’t strong enough to change their racist attitudes.

It is well documented that Indigenous populations fell dramatically as a result of starvation, disease and death at the hands of Europeans (Yunupingu, G., cited in the Attwood, B., 1999, Anderson, I., 1988). Many were used by the Europeans to work for cheap labour on their cattle stations and were forced onto the mission stations to be educated in the Europeans beliefs (Bereson et al., 1992).

‘...conversion to Christianity, the provision of elementary education (to teach “good manners” and to ensure at least some degree of literacy, if only to read the Bible) and the organisation of labour in order to ensure commodity production: hence, forced labour was legitimated on the grounds that it instilled discipline, order and respect in a “race” that was “barbarous” and “savage”.’ Miles, 1993, p 89

Through this forced education and forbidding traditional practices, the outcome resulted in abandoning the Indigenous traditions. Indigenous people were forced to become accustomed to the mission life style, until it became a matter of survival. Even though they got little of anything, the missions provided them with food, shelter and clothing (Bereson, et al., 1992)

European people were instrumental in the many injustices that continued to occurred over the years. The Indigenous people were left with horrific physical and mental health problems due to these injustices and they are still suffering today, because of these.
HEALTH

What is Health?

'Health may be defined as the quality of a person’s physical, psychological, and sociological functioning that enables him or her to deal with a variety of personal and social situations'  
*Bedworth et al, 1992, cited in Modeste, 1996, p 44*

It is fair to say that health is holistic. If one of the above functions are damaged, it affects the individuals entire health, and their ability to lead a healthy lifestyle. People create their own health and contribute to others health and well being, by caring for themselves physically and mentally and caring for others (Ottawa Charter, 1986).

Health from an Indigenous Perspective

'According to the report of the Working Party, 'health to Aboriginal peoples is a matter of determining all aspects of their life, including control over the physical environment, of dignity, of community self esteem, and of justice. It is not merely a matter of the provision of doctors, hospitals, medicines or the absence of disease and incapacity'  
*O'Connor et al., 1995, p 191*

Indigenous people have a slightly different perspective of health. This is due partly to the different cultural values, but mainly due to the effects of colonisation and the denial of the government to take responsibility for these injustices and try to improve the damage that has been done.

Indigenous health is the lowest in Australia compared to the other Australian communities (Anderson, 1988). Loss of culture, movement from traditional lands, unemployment and poverty are the direct result
of the poor health conditions that the Indigenous people suffer today (O'Connor, 1995). These issues need to be addressed in addition to medical care to improve these conditions (O'Connor, 1995), because as discussed earlier, health is holistic.

The following is a model for Indigenous Health constructed by Ian Anderson author of 'Koorie Health in Koorie Hands: an orientation manual in Aboriginal health for health care providers'. The model is designed to represent the 'world view' and illustrates every possible element or factor that could affect Indigenous health, according to Anderson.
Table 1
Indigenous Health Model

Source: Anderson, 1988, p 128
The model is divided into four dimensions 'socio-economic', 'physical environment', 'political environment' and 'socio-cultural'. All of these dimensions interrelate and depend and also affect each other.

The 'socio-economic' dimension represents issues such as employment and income, education, clothing, food, and access to goods and services including health services and government services. It represents the ongoing issues that Indigenous people face in today's society.

"...average income was lower in Aboriginal people, educational attainment less, and levels of unemployment higher."  
Anderson, 1988, p 130

If Indigenous people have the highest rate of unemployment, then of course their income will be lower and educational costs can't be covered. All of these factors combined demonstrates that these are essential to attain good health.

**RACISM, MEDIA AND HEALTH**

"The argument is not that we are passive recipients of media information, but rather that the ideas and images conveyed by the media help to shape the context within which opinions are formed and decisions are made that ultimately affect health and well-being."

Petersen, 1994, p 123

Today's television media industry is run by mainly non-indigenous people. Therefore their 'ideas and images' are formulated from a non-indigenous perspective. There own 'ideas' influence the production and programming of television media and if their own 'ideas' of
Indigenous people are negative than, ultimately indigenous health will be affected.

Holland, Knox and Detels model, 'The health-balance model: basic model and influencing factors'. Illustrates the individual's health balance and the influences that can affect health.

According to this model one of the major influences that can affect health is the 'Mass media'. Television media is a part of the 'Mass media'; therefore this model clearly demonstrates that Television media can affect an individual's health through 'life style related social pressures'.

Racism is widespread in the media as the portrayal of Indigenous people in Television media continually show images that are negative and stereotypical. These images reinforce the racist attitudes that exist in todays' society ultimately affecting Indigenous health at all levels of the 'health-balance model'.
Table 2  The Health-Balance Model: basic model and influencing factors

Social and political positions
- Population policy
- Educational system
- Economic system
- Distribution of resources
- Within society
- Legislation (regulation, enabling)

Sociocultural support networks.
- Family
- Neighbourhood
- School
- Worksite
- Church
- Recreational clubs
- Health services (Public health personal care)

Life-style related social pressures
- Abundance of commercial offers
- Advertising
- Mass media
- Abundance of sensory stimuli.

Living conditions
- Poverty
- Ignorance
- Emigration
- Housing
- Working Conditions

Individual health potential
- Nutritional status
- Immunity against infections, allergies
- Capacity to cope with stress
- Capacity to make independent decisions
- Capacity for self care.

Environmental and lifestyle related health challenges
- Stress (worksites, interpersonal)
- Air (General indoor worksites)
- Food (Quantity, quality, Price)
- Noise (Worksites, general, recreational)
- Water (Quantity, quality)
- Infection (Transmission sexually, by food)
- Tobacco, alcohol drugs
- Ionizing radiation

Additionally another model will be used to demonstrate that racism does have an affect on health. The model is entitled 'Cumulative Effects of Colonisation on Aboriginal groups'.

According to Myrdal (1992), the model is based on an interlocking concept of circular connection that processes a cumulative causation. Interaction between a minority group and a majority group is based on statues level of the groups.

The minority group, which is the inferior status, has a 'lower living' standard that strengthens the status of inferiority. Within this circle one state assists the other, therefore creating a cumulative effect.

"As one state occurs, other aspects of the circle are brought into play and have repercussions on all other factors of interaction and adaptation. Change, Myrdal argues, often tends to bring readjustments into play which reinforce the vicious circle rather than reverse its effects, particularly if the circle is maintained by institutional racism." - Eckermann et al 1992, Pp. 29

The 'change' can be regarded as the colonisation process, where 'readjustments' are made with no regard to the Indigenous people, reinforcing the 'vicious circle', as well as 'maintaining' the circle through 'institutional racism'. This consequently, leads to 'low living', because of the interference of the cultural, social and economic scene of Australia.

Myrdal's model consists of 'two vicious circles', the first circle illustrated the poverty of indigenous people, and the second circle according to
Myrdal (1992), merged the negative attitudes that were placed on minority groups by the means of the 'earned reputation theory'.

'Thus while scientific racism provided initial justification for discrimination on the basis of earned reputation (ie Aboriginal people are so low on the human scale, they really are little better than animals and deserve to be treated as such), now, as contact intensified, dispossession and disruption intensified and observation of the latter provided further evidence of Aboriginal bestiality and further justification for discrimination.'  

Eckermann et al, 1992, Pp. 29

This 'scientific racism' made by non-Indigenous people was developed to justify the discriminative treatment of Indigenous people. It also helped to reinforce the inferior status resulting in lower living conditions of the Indigenous people and the progress of the European settlers through institutionalised racism.

The Indigenous people were demoralized as a direct result of colonisation, according to Eckermann et al (1992), and the exposure of European diseases lead to sickness and death. Consequently, leaving devastating results for Indigenous communities, and even wiping out whole groups. All these factors, therefore proves that racism does effect health.
Table 3: Cumulative Effects of Colonisation on Aboriginal groups

Adapted from Myrdal (1971) cited in Eckermann et al (1992)

**MEDIA**

The Importance of the Media relating to Indigenous Issues

"The media have significant power to determine what issues are important and to set the public agenda. They have enormous power to shape the meaning of these issues and as a result can strongly influence peoples' ideas and values, including their ideas about Aboriginality" West, cited in Yunupingu, et al, 1994, p 15

The media with its power to 'set the public agenda', have in the past included Indigenous affairs as an important political issue (Tatz, cited in Bennett, S., 1989). According to Bennett (1989), this has help to increase publicity as well as public support to ultimately pressure the politicians.
The Indigenous people have been aware for a long period of time that using the media is a very valuable tool to communicate their message (Robert, R, cited in Plater, D, 1994). In the past Indigenous activists utilised the media to bring Indigenous issues on to the public agenda.

'As Marcia Langton, herself one of the principal negotiators on behalf of the Aboriginal people with the Federal Government on the Native Title Act 1993, has pointed out...Aboriginal activists and their supporters have exploited the potential of television and video for reaching both wide and strategically targeted audiences and arousing strong passions and emotions'. Smyth, R., (1995, p 10)

One indigenous activist, Gary Foley suggested that the only way to attract media attention in the early 1970’s, was to stage a stunt (Smyth, R., 1995). This was the only affective method that indigenous activist could use at that time to get their issues across.

'Aboriginal politicians soon discovered that the same media that can help publicise their cause can also frustrate and infuriate, because of the way it handles political news.' Bennett,(1989, p 137)

Although the media can be a positive tool in regards to promoting indigenous issues, it can also be negative at the same time. Indigenous people have been concerned about the way stories are reported and how these can support white prejudices (Bennett, S., 1989). This is due to the way the issues are reported and the images that they show on television when airing the stories relating to indigenous issues.

'But not all media treatment of Aboriginal affairs is negative and biased and we must recognise the good and conscientious work carried out by many journalists who have brought important issues to public attention and are working to raise the level of understanding.' West, cited in Yunupingu., et al, 1994, p 17
The above statement may be true, and it is important to 'recognise' this conscientious good work. However, it is a sad fact that these journalists are rare, and Indigenous issues are still portrayed negatively in the television media.

According to Roberts, (cited in Plater, D., 1994) Indigenous people need to play the same game as the media and empower themselves by telling their side of the story. Roberts goes on to suggest that they need to educate themselves on the media and involve themselves by reacting to political comments and exploit television media by conducting their own press conferences.

Racism and Stereotyping in the Media

'At their worst the media can help to institutionalise racism. White Australians, like all white majorities, institutionalise their own value systems at the expense of minority groups. When white media portray us as savages, unemployed, drunks, criminals and just simply poor blacks, they are not only suppressing us as a people. They are reassuring themselves about their own race. Every time we're put down as savage or primitive or hopeless, white people are reassured that they are civilised, modern and successful.'


Using the media in this way is very dangerous, because even though every day Australians may not be aware of this situation, they are subconsciously influenced by this kind of racism. This ultimately affects Indigenous health at all levels.

According to Havnen, (cited in Hartley, J., et al, 2000) who attended 'The Australian Public Sphere' which was part of the 'Media Forum', when Indigenous issues are reported by the media they report the
issues in a trivial, distorted, untrue, ignorant and disrespectful manner. Havnen goes on to state that by doing this the media plants fictitious and deceptive ideas within the Australian publics minds about Indigenous people.

This can lead to problems such as landlords denying housing to an Indigenous tenant and employees rejecting Indigenous workers based on the colour of their skin (Sykes, R., 1989). These situations will directly affect health, because these are all necessities to attain good health.

The media contributes to the construction of racist attitudes and in the longer term may cost lives (West, D., cited in Yunupingu, M., et al 1994). The late Charles Perkins also agrees with this theory from his comments at ‘The Australian Public Sphere’, ‘Media Forum’,

‘And I tell you, the media in all of their forms are acting in a very criminal way because they’re killing people.’ Perkins, cited in Hartley, et al, 2000, p 136

As a result of the negative stereotypes in the media racist attitudes are formed and this can lead to racist violence or racist ignorance that can cause injuries and death. An example of this situation is best illustrated by West,

‘Look at the death in Perth of Louis Johnson. In January 1992,...Louis was deliberately driven over by white youths in a car. One of his killers latter admitted this horrendous deed was committed because Louis was black. But the threat to Louis’ life was compounded when the ambulance officers decided to take this fatally injured boy home, rather than to hospital. They thought he was intoxicated and wanted to go home. He died a few hours later.’

The media and the racist stereotypes that they portray as Indigenous people have influenced the non-indigenous people who have been involved in this incident, because of the stereotypical image of Indigenous people as drunks.

According to Sykes, (1989) the most common stereotypes that the news media show about Indigenous people are in order of alcoholism as the most popular, then criminals, drug addicts, petrol sniffers and then issues related to indigenous organisational funds, specifically mis-management.

Although the media can’t be blamed as the only major influence in the development of the ‘white youths’ and the ‘ambulance officers’ racist attitudes, they must be partially to blame (Eggerking, K., et al, 1992). These attributes occur because people perceive the media as truth.

This powerful impact (negative stereotypes) must be soberly considered because often one’s knowledge of or exposure to other peoples, cultures and religions comes from the media.'

Nwabuogu, cited in Durban 200, p 10

In regards to the Louis Johnson’s death, it could be argued that this was the case, because of the decisions that the ‘white youths’ and the ‘ambulance officers’ made on the day of the incident. Therefore the media are a powerful tool to influence peoples perceptions and opinions about another group of people.
Another stereotype by the media is the appearance of an Indigenous person. The main stereotype is that Indigenous people only have the appearance of a traditional Indigenous person.

'...journalists are ever-prone to display their ignorance-it has been noticed at protest rallies that journalists tend to go straight to the dark-skinned participants, often passing lighter-skinned colleagues to do so...' Bennett, 1989, p142

Such behaviour then creates a stereotype of who are real Indigenous people. If the television is the only place that a person has seen an Indigenous person than they tend to believe the images. This can result into arguments and violence between Indigenous people and non-Indigenous people trying to justify their own ethnicity.

Another issue that needs to be addressed is the lack of reporting of Indigenous issues, or faces and opinions in the media. According to Nwabuogu (cited in the Durban 2001 United against Racism Newsletter, 2001) although some of the minorities are very visible it is ironic that their stories are absent from the television.

'Australia is like so many other countries with a blind spot. Writing about Aborigines here can be like trying to interest the British in the problems of Northern Ireland-matters of endless interest in the United States.' Eggerking, et al, 1992, p 32

This 'blind spot' can also be said about the television media. The stories that they do report on are the negative stereotypes. Positive images of Indigenous communities are still lacking (Sykes, R, 1989) in the television media.

'What about the positive aspects of the community, where locally run organisations include a college providing courses in music, theatre and the arts, a radio station broadcasting Black news and music, a pre-school run by the older women, and the better-known Aboriginal medical and legal services, which were the first of their kind in the country.' Eggerking, et al, 1992, p 32
These are examples of the vast diversity of positive aspects to the Indigenous communities, but most of the non-Indigenous society are not aware of these. The reason being is because they aren’t exposed to this information, rather they only see the negative.

Another issue of significance is the media’s behaviour towards Indigenous political figures. The media has tried to incite something sensational from the Indigenous leaders so that it makes for a good story.

"Observers have criticised the media pressure placed on black leaders to predict violence..." Bennett, (1989, p 142)

This ‘pressure’ is deliberate by the media designed to create some controversy. If the reporters questions are offensive and the Indigenous leaders respond the way the reporters want them to (usually angrily) then these images are again enforcing negative stereotypes, such as Indigenous leaders are a danger to society (Bennett, S., 1989).

If there are any negative issues relating to an Indigenous leader, the media will exploit it. In most cases, even more so than non-Indigenous leaders.

"But the media in this country take every opportunity-not all of them, but most of them when it suits them to come down hard on us, on Aboriginal leaders." Perkins, cited in Hartley, et al, 2000

This again is to set a negative portrayal of Indigenous leaders and people. To discredit them and according to Grant (2000) to return Australia back to the days of assimilation.
Power Controls of the Media

‘...mostly over 40, of Anglo-Australian or British background, imbued with a media ideology that justifies views that more or less uphold the social order. Thus the media are controlled by a minority of the population, one that attempts to speak for the majority, but does so through a limited range of discourses. This minority controls the flow of communication, circumscribing the approved stories and perspectives.’    Jakubowicz, et al 1994, p 34

Given the minority control of communication there is much debate about the fairness of the media. The media is ideally representing all of Australia’s perspectives. If the media power controls are mostly ‘Anglo-Australian or British background’, then its fair to say that the media is framed from a biased point of view.

‘The media are a powerful thing, with their own ethics, their own beliefs. The media have their own guidelines to operate by and everybody who’s involved in media must stand by them or else get out of it. And Australia has become accustomed to that. But it is simply a white, Europeanized belief...’


Consequently, there is little room for any change to improve this situation. Until society recognises that this is a 'Europeananized belief', and that the media is designed to uphold cultural hierarchies, will changes start to occur (Jakubowicz, A., et al, 1994). These changes will contribute to improving the media regarding equity in the media.

‘Not too many Indigenous Australians own shares in the nation’s newspapers and broadcasters. So there has been little reason for media owners to show any concern for the rights of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders. And where Indigenous Australians own stake in the media, such as with the Aboriginal-owned Imparja Television Stations in Alice Springs, we face prejudice through economic sanctions.’

Havnen, cited in Hartley, et al, 2000, p 131
This lack of economic participation in the media is one of the main reasons why Indigenous people face negative stereotyping in the media. The power controls (owners, controllers and managers) of the media do not think that they have a responsibility to Indigenous people and this is also a concern for other minorities in Australia.

"Much emphasis has also been placed in various approaches on the links between media controls, ownership, structures of news production and dissemination of news"  
Banerjee, et al 2000, p 4

The news is heavily influenced by the power controls of the media. They decide what is news and how it should be portrayed. This develops problems, because they are instilling their own prejudices.

So in their bid to create a good story they disregard their responsibility for Indigenous peoples. Their only concern is the ratings and how much money this story will make them.

"Sometimes, on the contrary, the media exercise sensationalism, or they're only interested in selling newspapers or making big bucks for the Howard Sattlers, the John Lawses, and the Alan Jones of this world; those who deliberately provoke a very negative reaction against Indigenous people."  
Hartley, et al 2000, p 104

Sensationalism is a common practice among the media. It does a disservice to the Indigenous people and enforces negative stereotypes. Sensationalism is how the media make their money, by taking a situation and using it to their advantage.
Indigenous Employment in the Media

'...found evidence that Aborigines and ethnic minorities were facing large-scale exclusion as media workers—they found it difficult to gain employment, and once employed, to have their experience deemed as legitimate as that of 'Anglo-Australians'. Jakubowicz, et al, 1994, p 23

The lack of employment of Indigenous people in the media is one reason why there are still significant numbers of negative stereotypes in the media. More Indigenous people employed in the media will break these stereotypes down, because there would finally be a significant Indigenous influence in the media. The issues relating to employees having difficulties legitimising their own experiences will only be solved with cultural awareness and the increase of Indigenous employees.

'...how many Aboriginal people have you seen in the TV ads? You see black Americans, Aslans, everybody else, Greeks, Italians, but you never see too many Aborigines. You might get one now and then but you really have to look hard because they put them up quick and they shoot them off fast.' Perkins, cited in Hartley, et al, 2000

This scenario may be the case in the Australian media, but it is slowly improving. According to Jakubowicz, et al, (1994) compared to five years ago there is more Indigenous voices heard and read through the media, but many more are needed to affect change of attitudes.

'There are now Aboriginal journalists and current affairs presenters (in limited numbers) and Aboriginal characters are being written into television soaps, if not in central roles, then in significant episodes. Some of these deal with Aboriginal community issues, though most still depend on stereotypes that offend Aborigines...’ Jakubowicz, et al, 1994, p185

This is the case for a very small majority of Indigenous actors who are regular characters on mainstream television. According to one of these
actors, Aaron Pedersen (cited in Deadly Vibe Magazine, 2001), he said that personally it is very positive that he has been on mainstream for five years, but it is also negative, because when you look at the bigger picture there are only a couple of Indigenous actors in the mainstream media.

These actors are helping to break down the stereotypes that are placed on Indigenous people. They are finally being recognised for their talent and not the colour of their skin. According to Deadly Vibe (2001), Aaron Pedersen an Indigenous actor is disinclined to have his character portrayed as openly Indigenous and encourages the writers to ‘write in’ Indigenous actors in any roles and not specifically Indigenous parts.

'That way you avoid falling into stereotypes. My attitude has always been to leave that aspect to me. Just write me a particularly human story that could happen to anybody, and I'll deal with it in a particular way.'

Pedersen, cited in Deadly, 2001, p 9

Pedersen emphasises this is not deny his Aboriginality, but to demonstrate to the wider community that Indigenous people are just the same as anybody else. The intended outcome is to show a different perspective of Indigenous people, rather than the stereotypes.

The employment policy and strategies at the Seven Network, Ten Network, ABC and SBS stations were explored including their programming/policy plans.
In the month of May 2001 the Seven Network was contacted and the researcher was connected to the ‘Human Resources’ department and asked, 'Do you have any policy on indigenous content on your program, and the employment of Indigenous people at your station?'. The contact person replied, ‘Seven Network follows the Australian Broadcasting Authority guidelines and they have a equal employment opportunity policy’. I asked if I could get a copy of the policy and the contact person replied that they weren't allowed to give it out.

The Ten Network was also contacted in the month of May 2001. I was transferred to the Human Resources Department, there I spoke to someone and asked them if they had a policy on indigenous content on their programs and the employment of Indigenous people at their station. The lady transferred me to her boss, but I got an answering machine. I was contacted the next day by the contact person at channel Ten who had the answering machine. I asked her the same questions and she told me that they don't have a policy, but they follow the Australian Broadcasting Authority guidelines also, and they have a equal opportunity policy regarding employment, I asked if I could get a copy and they said they can't give it out.

'The Act defines the role of the regulatory authority, gives the ABA a range of powers and functions, and sets out explicit policy objectives. The objectives include the desirability of program diversity, limits on concentration of ownership and foreign control of the mass media and the need for media to help foster an Australian cultural identity, reports news fairly and respects community standards.'

ABA, 2000, p 1
Channel Ten and Channel Seven claim to follow the ABA guidelines. From the outcome of the research these channels need to revise the A guidelines, because these channels are not practicing one of the major guidelines which is ‘report news fairly and respect community standards’. This is especially true for the Indigenous communities.

The ABA website section ‘Policies’, ‘Access and Equity policy’ has no information about Indigenous employment. It discusses issues about access and equity in the workplace (ABA, Policies, 2000). So it is assumed that there is no policy relating to Indigenous employment on these channels.

‘...there is also a need for a larger presence of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders in the mainstream media. Some media organisations, such as the ABC and SBS, are gradually employing more Aboriginal people. We look forward to more media groups following their examples.’

Eggerking, et al, 1992, p 33

Indigenous employees want to be recognised as skilled workers in their profession (Eggerking, K., et al, 1992) and not stereotyped, so that employers are willing to take them on, especially in the mainstream media.

The mainstream media compared to SBS and ABC do not see the potential of Indigenous content in their programs and Indigenous employees. The Indigenous people who are employed in the mainstream media tend to not openly express their Aboriginality on the screen.

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This can be both positive and negative, positive in a way so that it combats negative stereotypes, but also negative, because the mainstream media are willing to employ Indigenous people for a longer period of time if they don't express their Aboriginality. This can make major problems for the future employment of Indigenous people in the mainstream media.

The SBS Channel was contacted in the Month of June 2001. I asked to speak to someone in Human Resources, I asked if they had a policy on indigenous content on their programs and the employment of indigenous people at the station. They transferred me to productions. There I spoke to a person and I asked the same questions. She explained to me that the station is an equal opportunity employer. There were no specific details of Indigenous employment in the, 'SBS code of practice and editorial guidelines'. She wasn't quite sure about the policy on indigenous content on their programs, but did refer me to the 'SBS code of practice and editorial guidelines' booklet. The booklet did comment on programming regarding Indigenous issues.

'SBS aims, over time, to provide programming which caters for the diverse and changing needs of all Indigenous peoples and which deals with contemporary issues of importance to them. SBS requires maximum involvement of Indigenous people in all aspects of the production and presentation of such programs.'

SBS Codes of practice and editorial guidelines, 1999, p 7-8

The SBS encourages Indigenous programming and Indigenous involvement in all aspects of these programs, but admits that it won't happen over night, but rather over an unspecified period of time.
Although the ‘SBS codes of practice and editorial guidelines’, mentioned its commitment to Indigenous programming, it failed to discuss policy on indigenous content on their other programs. Therefore it is assumed that there is no policy regarding indigenous content on all of their programs.

ABC was contacted in June 2001 and was transferred to Human Resources, but they were not answering so I left a message on the answering machine. They returned my call and told me of their online website and suggested that I look on there for the relevant information.

The ABC have a target rate of two percent employment of Indigenous people at their network, and at the moment have approximately thirty five employees and six of these are trainees (Moylan-Coombes, S., cited in Hartley, J., 2000). The Indigenous employees (or tainees) are employed in all areas of the media.

"...the ABC have...embarked on a project to train Aborigines in a variety of positions within their institution which may lead to the availability of these people at some later point in time, the commercial channels have not made a similar effort. SBS and the ABC are regarded by Blacks as the only potential outlet for locally made Black community media products..." Sykes, 1999, p 42

This situation, as outlined by Sykes hasn’t changed much over the years. SBS and the ABC are the only networks that have given Indigenous people a fair go. Although there is room for improvement it’s a step forward for both the networks and Indigenous people.
It is important to investigate the television networks policies on Indigenous content in their programs and the employment of indigenous people. The reason why it's important to review the policies on Indigenous content of their programs is to assess whether or not these policies exist. If these policies do not exist it gives a possible reason why there is currently a lack of Indigenous content.

The employment of Indigenous people will give an indication of how likely the extend of Indigenous perceptions are injected into Indigenous issues in the media. This also relates to the Indigenous content in their programs, because Indigenous input should be involved when dealing with Indigenous issues, and if there is a lack of Indigenous employees then problems occur regarding accurate reporting and portrays of Indigenous people.

**Indigenous Programs and Self-determination**

"Non-indigenous Australians have held the power of the media for over 200 years, giving us various images of Australia including a negative portrayal of its indigenous population. We are now in a position to change the thinking of non-Aboriginal people and enlighten them as to who we are and what we do, and to take a look at the history of Australia from an Aboriginal point of view."

*West, D., cited in Yunupingu et al, 1994, p 13*

Indigenous people are now telling their own stories and showing them from their own perspective, they aren't letting other people talk for them any more (Remedio, J., cited in Hartley, J., et al, 2000, p 168). This
change has started to occur over the last decade, as a result of growing interest in Indigenous issues (Plater, D., 1994, p 14).

"Indigenous media is an important development in empowering Indigenous people to portray their own cultures and values." Plater, 1994, p 14

This statement is important for two reasons. Firstly, as there is a lack of Indigenous media on the television network stations, it is important to implement many more Indigenous media so that Indigenous issues can be addressed. Secondly, Indigenous media run by Indigenous people is vital, because Indigenous stories would be told from an Indigenous perspective and in a culturally appropriate way. Indigenous media can be positive for Indigenous people as it can contribute to improving Indigenous health.

"A child growing up and not seeing their own people-not seeing yourself on the television, your community, your culture-gets a funny idea that they're not worth anything." Glynn, cited in Skyes, 1989, p 45

Low self-esteem can be due to the media not including Indigenous issues and content on their programs and lack of Indigenous employment on television. Indigenous people are now starting to change this situation and at the same time building up Indigenous self-esteem.

According to Plater, (1994) Alice Springs is the home of the very first Indigenous commercial television station called Imparja and the Indigenous people have full ownership and operational rights of the station. It first operated in 1988 broadcasting throughout Central Australia (Sykes, R., 1989).
In the ‘urban areas’ the Indigenous people are still struggling to have their own programs on the television media. So owning and operating their own television station isn’t a realistic option at the moment. However, when opportunities arise there are identified avenues that can help fund these media organisations.

‘Recommendation 205: a. Aboriginal media organisations should receive adequate funding, where necessary, in recognition of the importance of their function...’
Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody cited in Plater, 1994, p 20

The Royal Commission acknowledges the importance and the value of Indigenous media organisations. Although funding bodies aren’t bound by this recommendation, it provides a strong basis for Indigenous media organisations when needing funds.

According to Williams, (Hartley, J., et al, 2000) who was a part of the ‘1996 Media Forum’, whilst it is imperative for Indigenous people to have their own Indigenous media industry, having Indigenous representation and influence in all television media is equally important.

Currently there are only two main Indigenous programs on the television media. They are ‘Message Stick’ on the ABC and ‘ICAM’ (Indigenous Current Affairs Magazine) on SBS. ‘Message Stick’ is a production by the ‘Indigenous Programs Unit, at the ABC. The ‘Indigenous Programs Unit’, initially was called the ‘Aboriginal Programs Unit’, back in 1987 when the unit first commenced (Moylan-
Coombes, S., cited in Hartley, J., et al, 2000). The unit produced many documentaries, specials and programs, in the past; but now they have one documentary based program called 'Message Stick'.

‘ICAM’ on SBS began in 1996 it is a documentary style program that focuses on Indigenous people, events and places. It is a half-hour weekly program that concentrates on showing an Indigenous perspective.

'ICAM stands alone as an ongoing primetime television program that has been designed specifically to allow Indigenous people to speak for themselves'.

Corowa, 2001, p 5

The National Indigenous Media Association of Australia otherwise known as NIMAA, was established in 1993 (Plater, D., 1994). It aims to create autonomy of self-sufficient Indigenous people in the Indigenous media and the mainstream media (National Indigenous Media Association of Australia Information Sheet, 2000).

‘NIMAA's objectives are to promote and develop a strong, independent indigenous media sector which meets the needs of indigenous people. At the regional, national and international levels, NIMAA provides a cultural perspective to the media information services.’

Plater, 1994, p 15

This organisation is a step in the right direction. It empowers Indigenous people within the media, by providing support (Plater, D., 1994) and 'rubs shoulders' with other media organisations with the best interest of Indigenous people in mind.

Another concern is when and how will Indigenous media be included in the mainstream media. According to Moylan-Coombes, (cited in
Hartley, J., et al, 2000) Indigenous employment, Indigenous people in Key roles of power, and cultural awareness programs for non-indigenous people in the media, are just a few suggestions that can help to include Indigenous media into the mainstream.

'Everyone in Australia could benefit from such a media (Indigenous) service which would give a more truthful and positive view about ourselves as Indigenous Australians...we see ourselves as providers of a service for all Australians, a service that reflects the cultural diversity of this country.'


Indigenous media would be a positive aspect to the media. It will increase indigenous self-esteem and non-Indigenous people can benefit also because they will have a better understanding of Indigenous culture and values.

Improving the Code of Practices

The Federation of Australian Commercial Television Stations (FACTS, and the Australian Broadcasting Authority (ABA) are both regulations organisations of the media. The Federation of Australian Commercial Television Stations (FACTS) is a representative body of all the commercial television stations in Australia (FACTS information sheet, 2001, p 1). The Australian Broadcasting Authority (ABA) regulates television, radio and Internet sectors in Australia (ABA, 2000, p 2).

The Federation of Australian Commercial Television Stations (FACTS) have developed a ‘Commercial Television Industry Code of Practice’, booklet that all the commercial television stations should follow.
Included in the ‘code of practice’ is a section in the ‘Advisory Note’, that discusses the ‘Portrayal of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples’.

The section consists of eight points designed to help and encourage journalists and producers when reporting on Indigenous people to respect their traditions and values and to treat them as an essential part of modern Australian society (FACTS Commercial Television Code of Practice, 1999).

‘...In reporting or portraying events or situations concerning Indigenous peoples, you should be conscious of your own preconceptions, avoid stereotyping, and be aware of the cultural norms and experiences of Indigenous peoples.’

FACTS Commercial Television Code of Practice, 1999, p 41

This proves that commercial television has a code of practice regarding reporting and the portrayal Indigenous people in the media. The other seven points discuss issues such as balanced portrayal of Indigenous people, respecting appropriate cultural protocols, consultation with local Indigenous organisations, use of appropriate language when referring to Indigenous people, permission to use any Indigenous art work, awareness of traditions and beliefs (FACTS Commercial Television Code of Practice 1999).

The Federation of Australian Commercial Television Stations (FACTS) are failing to do their job in regards to monitoring the portrayal and reporting of Indigenous issues in the media. The commercial television
stations are continuing to report and portray Indigenous people negatively.

"There was evidence that the regulatory mechanisms put in place over the past decade were ineffectual in influencing media practices—they neither encouraged good practice, nor really prevented poor practice. The most they did was to provide an outlet for public outrage over overt racism"  

A reason for their ineffectiveness, may come back to power controls of the media. The Federation of Australian Commercial Television Stations (FACTS) has a structure that has a board of directors who are directly involved in designing the policies of the association (FACTS information sheet, 2001). The board most probably consists of typically all non-Indigenous people, therefore there is an absence of Indigenous input into policy making.

The ABA's policy on Access and Equity mentions the importance of liaising with the National Indigenous Media Association of Australia (NIMAA) in regards to the needs of Indigenous groups regarding broadcasting licences and to monitor stereotyping of minorities in the television media (ABA, Policies, 2000). These are the only two issues that directly relate to Indigenous people within the Access and Equity policy, by the ABA.

There is a need for a major improvement for these codes of practice and policies, as there is very little mentioned about dealing with Indigenous people and issues. Both of the regulatory associations need to readdress the way they monitor the Commercial television
stations, behavior towards Indigenous people and issues, because there continues to be a major problem in regards to reporting and the portrayal of Indigenous people.

Kitty Eggerking, and Diana Plater's, 'Signposts – a guide to reporting Aboriginal, Torres Strait Islander and ethnic affairs, Working paper No. 4', is a guide for reporting on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander issues. It gives an insight of how the Australian media are currently dealing with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander issues such as how the media are more likely to show negative images rather than the positives.

The working paper briefly discusses the power of the media in forming and influencing the public opinions. The guide creates awareness that the current practices the media need improving.

'First, we need to acknowledge that there is a healthy-if not wealthy-Aboriginal and Islander media network already established that non-Aboriginal journalists can draw on. Second, there is a whole education, welfare and land issue (see contact list). Third, there are also thousands of ordinary Aboriginal and Islander people with a range of opinions and knowledge to offer'. Eggerking, et al, 1992, p 33

This guide is aimed at non-Indigenous journalists and to provide them with some knowledge of how they can improve there way of reporting and dealing with Indigenous issues. It's purpose is to create a better understanding of Indigenous people.
The 'Media Entertainment and Arts Alliances', 'Code of Ethics', is a code of ethics in journalism. The 'Media Entertainment Arts Alliance' AJA Code of ethics, the ABC policies relating to reporting on Indigenous issues and the SBS booklet 'The Greater perspective: Protocol and Guidelines for the Production of film and television on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Communities', were also discussed in the guide. It gives additional recommendations for the guidelines and practices when reporting on Indigenous issues.

The guide has very important points as it or focuses on specifically culturally appropriate guidelines and practices when reporting on Indigenous issues and it acknowledges that the media do show more than often negative images rather than positive. The guide gives an understanding and awareness of the current media’s position when dealing with Indigenous issues and it also mentions ways to improve this. This guide, as well as a more expanded version, should be compulsory reading for media study students and should be part of their curriculum. It would be extremely beneficial to have Indigenous lecturers or journalists to teach this class, as they have the best knowledge of this issue, because it is directly affecting them. These are further recommendations to help improve the media situation in regards to reporting on Indigenous people, these suggestions were not mentioned in the guide.

The 'Media Entertainment and Arts Alliances', 'Code of Ethics', is a code of ethics in journalism. The 'Media Entertainment Arts Alliance'
was formerly the Australian Journalists Association known by the acronym AJA. The ‘Code of Ethics’ gives a list of ethical guidelines to follow when reporting on any issue, these guides were developed by journalists themselves. All journalists in Australia should follow them, but they do not bind them. The guideline is a template when investigating the current journalism practices in regards to reporting on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander issues.

Meanwhile, The ‘Statement of Principles – in relation to media coverage of Indigenous issues’, was compiled by the ‘Department of Communication in consultation with media organizations & Indigenous groups’ (Cited in Plater, 1994 and Protocols for consultations and Negotiation with Aboriginal People, 1999). The Statement of Principals is a set of guidelines that lists ethical and cultural issues that should be followed when journalists are reporting on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander issues on every channel.

‘The Greater Perspective: Protocol and Guidelines for the Production of film and television on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Communities’, is another code of practice, initiated by SBS. This is an informative guide that can help Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists and producers when reporting or doing a story on Indigenous people and issues. The initiative includes an in-depth overview of the cultural diversity among indigenous communities to
create a better understanding of Indigenous behaviour and society. It looks at the protocols that media workers should apply when working in Indigenous communities and a reminder of the responsibilities of the media crew.

These protocols, guidelines and codes of practice need to be followed to combat racism in the media. The SBS's 'The Greater Perspective: Protocols and guidelines for the production of film and television on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Communities' covers all of the issues that need to be addressed when reporting in and on Indigenous communities. If all the television networks had a guideline like this and they were made to follow it, there would be a decrease in racist stereotypes of Indigenous people in the media.
Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody and the Media

Discussed earlier in this thesis, was the importance of the media regarding Indigenous issues. One particular Indigenous issue that benefited from the media exposure was Aboriginal deaths in custody.

According to Roberts, (cited in Plater, 1994) several journalists and the ‘Committee to Defend Black Rights’ campaigned and publicised the indigenous deaths in custody. This publicity, makes it an issue for all Australians and as a direct result, the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody known by the acronym RCIADIC.

One outcome of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody was the development of recommendations to improve the issues surrounding Aboriginal Deaths in Custody. Another outcome was also to ultimately enhance Indigenous rights in Australia. Within the RCIADIC were these four recommendations relating to the media and Aboriginal issues in the media.
One of the recommendations of the Royal Commission stated the following,

"In view of the fact that many Aboriginal people throughout Australia express disappointment in the portrayal of Aboriginal people by the media, the media industry and media unions should encourage formal and informal contact with Aboriginal organisations, including Aboriginal media organisations where available. The purpose of such contact should be the creation, on all sides, of a better understanding of issues relating to media treatment of Aboriginal affairs."

Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody cited in Hartley, et al, 2000, p 97

This recommendation encourages better relations between media organisations and Indigenous organisations to reduce negative portrayals and reporting of Indigenous people in the media. This recommendation is designed to develop a better understanding between Indigenous organisations and the media organisations. So that Indigenous issues can be reported fairly.

According to Banerjee, (2000) another recommendation by the Royal Commission related to the media organisations to create and implement codes and policies in regards to the presentation of Indigenous issues.

Therefore, not only have Indigenous people regarded the media as a problem in relation to reporting and portrayal of Indigenous affairs, but the Royal Commission found this issue important.
METHODOLOGY

The Research Process

The research process commenced with a model (Sarantakos, 1998), which was in the form of a proposal, and included a basic overview of the research. It consisted of how the study was going to be conducted, where it will take place, when it will occur and how it will be implemented.

The first decision was to decide on a research topic. The topic was selected on the bases of the researchers interest and planned career direction. Through further research the topic was redefined to ‘Indigenous Australia in Media: A Portrait of Health’. The research topic also included the research questions, which also were redefined after further research. The research questions are listed below:-

1. What does the literature say about the ways in which Indigenous issues are reported in the Television media?

2. Is there a connection between the ways in which Indigenous issues are framed in Television and Indigenous health?

3. How do Indigenous people working in or associated with Television media feel about how Indigenous issues are reported and how do they think it impacts on Indigenous health?

4. Are there any conclusions that can be drawn to improve the reporting of Indigenous issues on Television media?
These research questions will be the main criteria for the thesis and will be a guide to follow throughout the research process. They have been selected on the basis that they are the most important questions to investigate in relation to the topic.

The next step was to choose which methodology will be best to explore and find the answers to the research questions that this thesis topic has provided. The two main methodologies are Quantitative and Qualitative. This thesis will be using a Qualitative approach.

**What is Qualitative Research?**

"In general, qualitative research draws on an interpretative orientation that focuses on the complex and nuanced process of the creation and maintenance of meaning. Qualitative research aims to elicit the contextualised nature of experience and action, and attempts to generate analyses that are detailed, 'thick' and integrative (in the sense of relating individual events and interpretations to larger meaning systems and patterns)." — Rice, and Ezzy, 1999, p 1

This is a general definition of qualitative research, because according to Grbich (1999) there is a diversity of definitions of qualitative methods of investigation in the literature. Despite this diversity they all have the common element of uncovering the participants thoughts and opinions of the research topic at hand.

Rice and Ezzy (1991) suggests that, theoretical perspectives and practical techniques is the best description of qualitative research
rather than the standardised theories and techniques. Some of the theories include phenomenology, which ‘directly studies personal experiences’ (Kermode, 2000), symbolic interactionism ‘describes and explain certain aspects of the human behavior’ (Berg, 1989), cultural studies ‘an investigation of the lifestyle of a group’ (Grbich, 1999), grounded theory ‘develops an inductively derived theory about a phenomenon, which is faithful to the evidence that is collected’ (Kermode, 2000), and feminism ‘examine the experience and subjectivity of the person being studied’ (Rice, et al, 1999).

Examples of the techniques used in qualitative research are interviewing, narrative analysis ‘research methodology that focuses on the structure and nature of the narratives’ (Rice, et al, 1999), ethnography ‘method used to discover and describe individual social and cultural groups’ (Rice, et al, 1999) and focus groups ‘method making use of group discussion’ (Rice, et al, 1999).

Qualitative research have three main features according to Morse (1992). The first feature is the emic perspective. This involves collecting the participants beliefs and values (Morse, 1992) that relate and influences their opinion of the research topic.

The second feature is the holistic perspective, which includes considering the fundamental values and context of the phenomena
The third and final feature is the inductive and interactive process of inquiry, which consist of the researcher proceeding with the analytic process into the research topic, comparing the findings with the predetermined conceptual framework (Morse, 1992).

Yes, there are some who argue that qualitative practices are nonscientific, resulting in a lack of validity (Berg, 1989). However, they overlook the real issue of qualitative practices. They also overlook its value to the field and the advantages of these practices. According to Kermode (2000), qualitative practices include the investigation within the natural settings, theoretical frameworks drawn from the data, with the researcher being aware of the context of the research and includes themselves in the setting and the situation. Furthermore the focus is on the perceptions, thoughts and opinions of the interviewees. The researcher analyse the data, and finally the data collection and the analysis interact together.

**Why use a Qualitative Methodology?**

Considering the fact that the literature search found that there was no research that specifically dealt with Indigenous Australians working in or associated with media, particularly television, the research study required a research methodology that needed essential methods. These methods explore the topic in depth to create a better
understanding of the issues through a series of fact finding such as interviews or group discussions. Qualitative methods demonstrated that they have the specific requirements needed for this research.

Qualitative Method of research,

'...thus refers to the meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols, and descriptions of things. In contrast, quantitative refers to counts and measures of things.'

Berg, 1989, p 2-3

The collection of the data does not imply that they can not be quantified, but rather that the best answer for the research questions must be based on the best approach to the research process (Kermode, 2000), which is a qualitative approach.

An insight into the participants thoughts and experiences on the research topic is needed for this study. By using qualitative methods, such as interviews, it can also help to illustrate the way the participants try to make sense of their own experiences, which is not easy to do with other methods (Rice, et al, 1999). According to Rice, et al, (1999) qualitative methods also contribute in aiding the distribution of the research findings.

Another advantage of using a qualitative research methodology for this thesis is the fact that more Indigenous perspectives and experiences will be documented and included in the field of academia. This will prove a huge advantage for the 'oppressed people's' knowledge and
experience such as Indigenous society, as their thoughts and opinions start to be taken seriously and contribute to the solution process of issues that directly affect them. Qualitative also seeks to produce knowledge and action that is useful to a group of people. This thesis will use this approach to highlight the important role that Indigenous media people have as role models to Indigenous Australians.

**Exploration of Literature**

The literature search was framed by a number of keywords, which were searched individually and also by combining them. These keywords were media, racism, Indigenous health, portrayals in the media, negative portrayals in the media, stereotype in the media, bias in the media, blacks in the media, Indigenous television programs, Television in Australia, Australian media, power controls of the media, political control of the media, media practices, codes of practice of the media, journalism and many more.

The keywords for the relevant literature was also searched in the University of Sydney library catalogue, expanded academic index, Internet, Ovid, Webspurs, magazines, newspapers and by inter library loans. According to Sarantakos (1993), reviewing the literature will ultimately set the foundations of the study and formulates the research questions for the enquiry.
The literature search was a difficult process as there were considerable limitations for this research topic because to the best of the researchers' knowledge this topic has not been published therefore the literature was lacking in sufficient information relating to the research specific topic.

The most accessible and relevant literature that specifically did studies on television media and portrayals of Black people in the media were done in America. Although these studies were dated as they were made in the 1970's. A major problem was that there were a lack of articles that specifically linked the relationship between 'racism', 'media' and 'health'. The literature usually linked two of these such as 'racism and media', but rarely all three. However, there was more literature on 'racism in the media' in the press media, than specifically on television in Australia.

This was exacerbated by lack of literature on 'how racism affects health'. This is a considerable difficult problem as this topic issue is one of the main features of the research study.

Another concern is the requirement of more literature that speaks of how the media enforces negative stereotypes of Indigenous people. The literature that had been reviewed relating to this did not expand on
how to change and improve the issue of negative stereotypes of Indigenous people in the media.

The literature does talk about the Television stations following a code of ethics and protocols and guidelines for reporting on Indigenous issues, but the television stations are not enforced to follow them. Most of the improvements talk of journalists improvement, but they don’t mention programming changes, such as compulsory indigenous content on all stations. There is no literature available in regards to the commercial television indigenous content on their programmes, Indigenous employment, guidelines and protocols when reporting on indigenous issues.

Research Design

The research design for this thesis includes the selection of a sample group. The sample group are six Indigenous people, who are identified by the community as being of Indigenous decent, working or associated with television media in Sydney, NSW.

As this research is not a comparative study, only Indigenous people have been chosen, because this research is based on an Indigenous perspective. The experiences of these participants in terms of their involvement in production and presentation on programs that may
cover Indigenous health or related health issues is essential to the integrity of the research aim.

The researcher sought to discover the participants thoughts on two main issues. These are based on how Indigenous issues are reported in the media and the current portrayals of Indigenous people in the media and if they think this affects Indigenous health. The research could have used a literature review and not required interviews, but as there was a lack of literature the research design uses semi-structured interviews.

'Semi-structured or focused interviews are modelled more closely on the unstructured than the structured model of interviewing. This means that the topic area guides the questions asked, but the mode of asking follows the unstructured interview process. Both unstructured and semi-structured (or focused) interviews involve an in-depth examination of people and topics.' Minichiello, et al 1995, p 6

The 'in-depth examination' is the major element to create a deeper understanding of the issues. The participants perceptions, thoughts and opinions are one of the most important parts of the research, so choosing the correct interview model is important.

Open-ended questions were used as the framework of the interview. These were used as they are the most effective way to encourage the participant to reveal their own perspective, experiences and opinions on the related topic of the research.
Some suggest that open-ended questions are a disadvantage, because they tend to lead to additional questions and create difficulties in the data coding, at the cost of the research (Minchiello et al, 1990). Others say that this is a small price to pay for data that is very fruitful.

Interviews were recorded with permission, by tape recorder and note taking. The interview process was semi-structured and actively involved in encouraging the participant to converse about the research issue. The influence of the interviewer is seen as very important as they can contribute to the interviewee's understanding of the issue.

Protocols of Data Collection

According to Steiner Kvale (cited in Babbie, E., 1998) there are seven major stages in the interviewing process. These include thematizing, designing, interviewing, transcribing, analyzing, verifying and reporting.

1. Thematizing: clarifying the purpose of the interviews and the concepts to be explored.
2. Designing: laying out the process through which you'll accomplish your purpose, including a consideration of the ethical dimensions
3. Interviewing: doing the actual interviews
4. Transcribing: creating a written text of the interviews
5. Analyzing: determining the meaning of gathered materials in relations to the purpose of the study
6. Verifying: checking the reliability and validity of the materials
7. Reporting: telling others what you've learned."

Steiner, K., (cited in Babbie, 1998, p 292-293

After the participant interviews were completed, the transcribing of the interview is conducted. The transcribed interview could be, then sent to the participant to review and revise and after this is done they send it
back to the interviewer to analyse (This is to make sure of the accuracy of the participants).

The analysis process seeks to find meaning of the interview transcript in relation to the research topic. This process is very important to discover both the recurring themes and to verify the validity of the information, by way of the literature.

There are a few limitations in using interviews as an instrument of the research. The participants may have skills in responding to questions and may overpower the interviewer, however given the importance of the topic their skill of responding may be a strength. The in-depth interviews consist of single interviews that lasted around twenty to thirty minutes, with consideration of the participants busy schedules.
Interview Process

'Three-to-face interviewing, the common denominator of qualitative research, is as difficult to describe as it is to accomplish. Field-workers are taught that success hinges on a clear understanding of the intellectual purpose of the inquiry, a talent at creating rapport, a sensitivity to the structure of situations, a sense of timing, and so forth.'

Miller, Manning, & Maanen, cited in Holstein. et al, 1995, p vii

The above are all the elements of a good interview. They can't be learnt overnight, rather they are skills, others say an art (Minichiello, S., et al, 1999), that develop over a period of time with the help of a lot of practice.

According to Sarantakos (1993), interviews are important in research, because they are methods that are implemented to collect data. In regards to this study the interviews are important to collect data on the topic of 'Indigenous Australia Media: A Portrait of Health'.

It is also important in this data collection to get the perceptions, opinion and experiences of the participants, because these are a major part of the study. Interviews are the best ways to obtain these, because they give the participant the chance to tell their own stories from their own perspective.

'A good interview is like a good conversation. Good conversation is a two-way affair. One person talks, while the other listens, responds and encourages. In a good interview, the person who does most of the talking is the interviewee.'

Rice and Ezzy, 1999, p 51
As an interviewer, one of the hardest things to do is to just listen. By doing so, it makes the data more enriched, and absent of any bias from the interviewer.

There are a certain amount of stages of the interview process and they all have a specific task (Sarantakos, S., 1993). According to Minichiello et al (1995) the first stage is to decide on a list of participants that you want to interview and how many interviews you want to organise with them.

In this study six participants were selected and with only one interview session of each. The next step was to decide on how to contact the participants (Minichiello, V., et al, 1995). Sarantakos (1993) recommends that the participants should be approached in person, rather than over the phone or by letter.

The participants in this study were contacted both informally and formally. Some were approached in person and others by e-mail. A formal letter was sent out to the participants, including the ‘Information sheet’ (see Appendix 1) and the ‘Informed Consent Form’ (see Appendix 2). The letters were then followed up by a phone call from the interviewer. Of the six participants contacted only three responded.
According to Sarantokos (1993), the next stage in the interview process is asking and recording the questions for the interview. The questions were formulated before the actual interview itself.

The framework of this interview consisted of the seven interview questions that were used as a guide, but prompting was a very important part of the interview process. The reason being that more information of the topic question needed to be expanded on.

'...the following techniques can engage informants in disclosing information:
- Funnelling: beginning the interview with general and broad opening questions and then narrowing down;
- Story-telling: asking questions in a manner which encourages story-telling. For example. 'Tell me about...';
- Probing: eliciting further details or point of clarification more fully than was provided in an original answer.'


The interview commenced with a personal conversation in a setting that suited the participants, such as their office, in the gardens at work or over the phone interview. The design of the interview questions structure consisted of open questions and used words such as 'what are your thoughts...', to encourage the participants to answer from a personal point of view.

The interviewer must be aware of many issues when conducting the interview. It is important the interviewer controls the interview, by reducing irrelevant information. Another issue is avoiding bias by conducting the interview and data collection ethically (Sarantokos, S., 1993). An organisational issue for the interviewer is to be familiar with your tape recorder, for example does the tape turn itself over or do you
need to change it over manually. Also make sure you have spare tapes and batteries in case of an emergency.

After all the interviews were completed, the process of transcribing the data was conducted. This is a part of the normal interview process, when collecting data with a tape recorder, but it also was a requirement from the University of Sydney Ethics Committee, because it enabled the participants to review and revise the transcript before the data would be used in the thesis.

The importance of recording the interview on the tape recorder means that it gives an accurate documentation of the interview (Minchello, et al, 1990). It can also help in improving and refining ways when asking the questions in the next interview, if problems occurred in interviews before hand (Rice, et al 1999). Another advantage, is the types of tones the participants have given to answering a question is recorded. This may help in the analysis stage of the transcript.

**Ethical Issues**

Ethical and political considerations was addressed by obtaining ethics committee approval from the University of Sydney Human Ethics Committee and the Aboriginal Health and Medical Research Council Ethic Committee.
Both Ethic Committees suggested that the participants confidentiality was one of the most important aspects to consider and that their identity be concealed (at every possible cost). Therefore confidentiality issues were taken into account, and special issues in Indigenous research, such as respecting elders, was observed.

An important issue that was requested by the University of Sydney Ethics Committee was to readdress how to maintain the participants anonymity. It was decided that the typed transcript of the participant's interview would be sent to the participant to check if any there was any identifying information that would reveal their identity. This would also aid in the process of accuracy in the gathering of data and processing of data (Sarantkos, S., 1993), because the participant will be able to let the interviewer know if there is any incorrect information in the transcript.
DISCUSSION AND FINDINGS

Interview

Before the interview commenced each participant was sent by mail an 'Information Sheet' (see Appendix 1) to formally invite the participant to be actively involved in the research by way of interview. It also discussed the topic and their right to stop the interview at any time. Additionally information was included about their involvement, such as their confidentiality will be kept and that a typed transcript of the interview will be sent to them so they can revise the interview and take out any information that they feel is inappropriate and identifiable.

The 'Inform Consent Form' (see Appendix 2) was also sent with the 'Information Sheet'. This acted as a written contract, which stated in writing that the participant formally accepts to be included in the research study by interview. Some participants sent these back to the interviewer before the interview, and others signed them on the day of the interview.

After selecting a comfortable place to conduct the interview the participant was asked if they had read the information sheet and if they wanted to ask any questions relating to this and they were also reminded that they could stop the interview at any time.
The first interview, a face to face interview, was very nerve racking, but the interview participant soon made me feel comfortable as they had a very relaxed approach to the interview. Not being familiar with the tape recorder lead to another limitation in the first interview. The tape recorder stopped before the interview had finished, resulting in loss of valuable information.

One of the participants wished to perform the interview over the phone. I found this to be much easier, because the interview process seemed more focused and the participant tended to stick to the questions and not stray onto another topic. By the time I had to do the other interviews I was more relaxed and confident.

Some limitations of the interview were the settings. One interview was conducted outside in the garden, which was a relaxed and less intimidating environment, but this left the chance of being interrupted by other staff, on their break. The tape recorder had to be turned off on this occasion until the conversation was over. Another limitation of being taped outside was the outside noises that interfered with the sound quality of the taping of the interview. Another problem that I was faced with the settings was in the participants office.

The entire office section of the company is small, and although the participant had their own office, the noise within the office section could
still be heard and effected the sound quality of the taped interview.

Additionally with the fact that the participant and the tape recorder were not in close relation to one another. This situation could not be helped by the interviewer.

All the participants were happy to talk on the topic and they gave very detailed information. I suspect because the topic is closely related to them as it directly affects them, because of their own employment in the media and also because they and their families are Indigenous themselves.
Findings

One of the differences between quantitative and qualitative research is the presentation of the outcome. For quantitative research data is presented in a crude form, namely numbers. In the qualitative research however, presentation of the data is mostly in a thematic form.

"The researcher looks for themes as expressed in the transcript. The themes can be expressed in single words, phrases, sentences, paragraphs or even entire documents. When the researcher uses themes as the unit of analysis he or she is primarily looking for the expression of an idea irrespective of its grammatical location."


From the onset it was decided to refrain from using general thematic standards such as key "issues" or principal issues (Minichiello, et al, 1995) and develop necessary themes as they emerge from the interviews. Needless to say the themes presented in the following pages are all vital to the understanding of the outcome of the research study and our understanding of the issues are considered to be of importance in this research study

Negative Portrayals of Indigenous people in the media
There was a common response to the question 'how Indigenous issues are reported on the television' and 'how are indigenous people currently portrayed in the media' by the participants. Statements such as;

"Yeah, negatively, often negatively..."

Participant A

or,
Some of the participants gave a description of how the non-Indigenous media worked and how the non-Indigenous journalists, usually have preconceived ideas of the story before doing the story on Indigenous people. This is all in aid of maintaining a negative image of the Indigenous people.

"White fella's still go in there promoting the, the bad stories, the violence and all those type of issue stories."  
Participant A

Another participant explained how the non-Indigenous journalists accomplish this negative imagery.

"Um, where as you get an non-Indigenous reporter who go in there to construct a sentence, you know, construct the interview. And they say 'Oh, you, you've been doing this petrol sniffing for a long time, haven't you?'; and they will go 'yeah'. They are one-answer questionsl, you know...and that's the way they operate. And, um, some communities, um, they've (non-Indigenous journalist) been known to get, um, bottles of ginger beer and throw them in the water and the aboriginal kids would dive in and pick up the bottle and when they come out of the water, it looks like a beer bottle, but these are the images that, um, they were going to get."
Participant C

These 'images' are taken deliberately so they create a negative and controversial portrayal of Indigenous people. This participant summarizes this well in their comments.

"So, basically these white reporters going in to get what they want and only filming one shot."
Participant C
Another issue that was mentioned by the participants was the issue of the media oversimplifying Indigenous issues to create controversy, that ultimately portrays Indigenous people negatively.

'...they over simplify issues that are often very, very complex. Ah, the media is by it's nature, it thrives on conflict and sensationalism and the best way to create conflict is to over simplify something and in Aboriginal issues they do it all the time, even when they know better they, they still do it.' Participant B

It was also noted by the participants that the media use racist practices in their reporting in regards to Indigenous issues, to create a 'good story'.

'And, and there is still an element of racism in, in the coverage that they do! If you look at crime stories they'll still say an Aboriginal man or a man of, ah, Aboriginal appearance or they make reference to the fact that person is represented by the Aboriginal legal service.' Participant B

A participant describes this as an unlawful and belied even though media aren't overtly being racist they cover it up in their reporting.

'So you still see a lot of that kind of racism. Even though they're not...it's against the law, they still do it, in those ways, they speak in codes these days.' Participant B

Another way that non-Indigenous media presents a negative image of Indigenous people is by not reporting the whole story. This was a issue mentioned by all the participants. This is an example of such presentation;

'...when the statistics come out, you know, Aboriginal women are seventy-five times more likely to die of homicide that any other women in Australia. They'll report that figure, but they won't report what Aboriginal people themselves are actively doing to, to combat this, or what the causes of it are! So it's a very simplistic sort of thing.' Participant B

Another participant describes another example of this situation, in the newspapers.
"...we did a story on 'Meripah', which is a cattle station that had been handed back to the Aboriginal people for two million dollars, right, that was the cost. In the papers ‘ Aboriginal people get two million dollars!’, right. I went up there to do a story on them they didn’t get the two million dollars they got a broken down farm! The white person who owned the farm got the two million dollars. (Laughs) The farm itself is probably only worth about between two hundred to three hundred thousand dollar.”

Participant C

This story aimed to portray a negative image of Indigenous people, by creating resentment and hostility towards the Indigenous people.

The media weren’t interested in reporting the whole story, but instead create more difficulties between the Indigenous and non-Indigenous realtime. This participant describes this in their further comments previously.

‘...paints a picture of waste in that Aboriginal people have been given too much money and in the...white societies eyes that, you know, they’ve been given too much money, they will only spend it!...This is how the white media paints it, that land bought back for the aboriginal people. So you see what they are doing, its just a terrible thing...’

Participant C

This participant mentions a reason for the media not reporting the whole story and following up these stories.

‘...I guess that news isn't based upon looking beyond what is happening at the moment.’

Participant A

Additionally failure to report Indigenous issues on television media can be considered as negative, suggesting that Indigenous issues aren’t important enough to be regarded as news.

"we (Indigenous people) are...least, um, heard people in the country our voices don’t get heard in the media... even when they (non-Indigenous media) ask people’s opinions about who’s gonna win the footy? They don’t ask Aboriginal people, we don’t, in the media have opinions...Were, were not allowed to talk about sport or what we think about the weather of what we think about the economy even though the average Aboriginal person will have an opinions about all those things.”

Participant B
Another participant believes that when Indigenous issues are reported they are usually within 'categories' that the non-Indigenous media have created for them.

"Or at the present time related to the stolen generation, or the apology, or reconciliation. They're (Indigenous people) categorised...you've got to be stolen and the story fits that mould. Umm, or its reconciliation, everything, you know...if its gonna be shaped for news they shape it into the reconciliation mould...Sort of thing it just falls in unless they've got categorises that they fit us (Indigenous people) in, they, they don't report on us at all. And stuff or, the, um, other categorises is the bad news." Participant A

One participant pointed out that when the non-Indigenous media do report on Indigenous issues they present non-Indigenous opinions and seek non-Indigenous experts advice.

"...other people speak on our (Indigenous people) behalf, and its often inaccurate and misleading." Participant B

This can be damaging to Indigenous people, because it can create a stereotype that Indigenous people's opinions aren't valid and when seeking expert advise non-Indigenous people are the authority in that situation.

In summary, overall all the participants agree that the non-Indigenous media portray and report on Indigenous issues negatively. They also demonstrated that they were aware of the practices of the media in regards to how the non-Indigenous media do this.

Vicious cycle in the media
A couple of the participants believed media has created a 'vicious cycle' that represents Indigenous people negatively, when reporting on Indigenous issues.

"...the no good stories going to air, it just creates that horrible cycle. It keeps going around...and, um the cycle goes on and on and on it just goes around in circles and nobody gets any where, you know the stories don't get any better..."  

Participant A

Another participants comments further on the 'vicious cycle'.

"...there use to be a cycle. They use to...first they'd (non-Indigenous media) run down the Chinese, then they use to run down the ethnics, then they use to run down the Aboriginal people. They they'd go back to the Chinese again, it was almost predictable...in the media. When they think they've done enough on the Aboriginal people...'ok we've done enough on them lets now go onto the Lebanese and lets go back to the Chinese, lets go back to the Aboriginal people, you know it was almost a formula, you know that probably still happens."

Participant C

This ‘vicious cycle’ therefore isn’t used to promote negative portrayals exclusively for Indigenous people, but can affect any minority group that the media chooses. They ‘vicious cycle’ or ‘formula’ is a unfair and dangerous method that can only do more harm than good when applied.

**Power Controls of the media**

All of the participants agreed that the media is heavily influenced by its ‘power controls’ (meaning owners, controllers and managers of the media). These ‘power controls’ have a huge involvement in how the media is portrayed and what issues or programs should be telecasted.
"I'll say this, I'll say two things, one its very difficult to change the way the media is, because by and large the commercial media are run by, big corporations like Rupid Murdoch and Kerry Stokes. There very wealthy people, they might have personal views about Aboriginal affairs, but they're running a business and the media is there to make money for them. So as long as sensationalism and racism and outrage and, and, down right lies, sell newspapers or sell advertising on TV they'll continue to do it." Participant B

An explanation of why the 'power controls' influence the media to create a negative portray of Indigenous people was stated by another participant.

"When you look at all these people who are on the media, you know, Kerry Packer's and John Singleton's, they all have interest in land, you know, um, Packer, has interest in, um, land up around Western Australia and so on. So... and they're going to influence what happens in the media. So the person who's in their way are the people who have rights to those lands, which is the Aboriginal people so there not gonna let...there not gonna paint a rosy picture of them..." Participant C

This participant further explains how the 'power controls' continue to influence the media by deliberately employing and telecasting people who support these negative stereotypical and racist ideas of Indigenous people.

"There, you know...always bagging Aboriginal people saying they've got too much and everything. And um, Stan Zemanick, you know, um, Alan Jones these people all belong to the media, and there not, when they given their view, it's already proven, that they've paid for comments, now they're given money, they're just paying for their program, it doesn't matter how bad the comments, um, so these people are hired by those people who have interest in this country. So they control the media and those people who are in their way are the Indigenous people so they, they also paint a bad picture of us." Participant C

This next participant describes the issue of the 'power controls' at the executive level of the television stations and the lack of Indigenous representative at these levels.
"I mean, you look at the Boards of big organisations, where are the aboriginal reps? We've (participants organisation) got one member on an advisory council. One! At that high level and stuff, all the voices up stairs are male and predominately, you know, um, ah, white Anglo Saxon background..." Participant A

Therefore ‘power controls’ of the media are seen as a major contributing factor of how the media current report on Indigenous issues and why the media portray Indigenous people negatively in the media, by the participants.

**Indigenous employment in the media**

Indigenous employment in the media was a particular topic that was mentioned by all of the participants. They discussed the lack of Indigenous workers in the media and the positives for the Indigenous people, regarding the already small amount of Indigenous people in the media.

"...there is very few indigenous people working in the (media) field" Participant A

Another participant agrees that there is a lack of Indigenous people employed in the media, especially commercial television.

"...even today there is only a handful of Aboriginal people on commercial TV." Participant B

One participant gives their idea why there are a lack of Indigenous people employed in the media.
"Um, people (Indigenous people) have been trained into some of the areas and they've just gone on, um, because they're not getting enough out of there, their not supported enough. Ah, I think people just assume that um, they've been given the skills and, um, they just leave us (Indigenous people) to be, that might be the norm for mainstream culture, um, but it's you know in a lot of places its definitely not for us mob...there's no career options, maybe, that will be another thing, then the burn out rate is high amongst, um, Indigenous people in the media, because we become a spokesperson in a way. Um, and then for every little thing indigenous, ah, they think well this person will know and you know, we think that, they think that we're the bank of all knowledge, basically, so the burn out rate is high too and stuff, often we've got to get away for a while, just to rejuvenate. And often there is like one of us in here and there, um, I think in, you know, in the news area of one organisation at the moment its, um, numbers (of Indigenous people) are really down. I think there is just one (Indigenous) person, you know in the newsroom and about one (Indigenous) cameraman, and you, know, two Indigenous people working in the Indigenous unit..."

Participant A

As a result of the low employment rate of Indigenous people in the media, it affects the Indigenous people who are already employed in the media. It affects them by having a high 'burn out rate', and therefore the Indigenous people suffer, because there is little or no Indigenous representation in the media.

One participant talks of the advantages of having Indigenous people employed on television media.

"So, yeah there needs to be more black faces on TV, because when people turn on, when white people turn on the TV they see Aboriginal people on the TV who are educated, good looking, accomplished, you know who are there just being themselves, and they realised oh, wait these mob aren't all failures or over achievers there's all sorts of, there's all sorts of identities to Aboriginal people and for Aboriginal people that turn on the TV they go, oh, there's sister girl reading the news or they feel good. They think, oh well, its good that somebody's doing really well and we can share in their success."

Participant B

This next participant describes the hardships that indigenous people employed in the media had to deal with relating to the negative stereotypes. Also how they contribute to breaking down the stereotypes of Indigenous people.
A participant talks of the importance of Indigenous employment in the media in general, and how the Indigenous people already employed in the media can help improve Indigenous health.

"...I think it's people power, I think we need more people for, for a start off, we need more Aboriginal people, um, we need to bring them in, we need to give them their self-confidence, and to see us, as role models and stuff."

Participant A

Another participant discusses the issue of integrating staff on Indigenous programs.

"...we can't integrate our staff, because that means you'd deprive an Aboriginal person of a job, because we've only got one Aboriginal unit, had we've got seven or eight, um, then it would be great to integrate without depriving anyone of a job and we just can't afford to lose our Aboriginal reporters."

Participant C

The issue of Indigenous employment in the media is therefore an important issue, because it can help change the stereotypes, and improve on the reporting of Indigenous issues, but from the participants comments there is a need for more Indigenous workers in the media industry.

Indigenous programs in the media

Some of the participants talked of the importance of Indigenous programs in the media.

"Well, when it's (Indigenous issues) reported, um, by an Aboriginal unit, with an Aboriginal perspective, uh, that's when it's done accurately, or as accurately as possible..."

Participant C
Another participant raised the importance of Indigenous run programs, as they can help to show the other side to the story, that is missing by non-Indigenous media.

"...specialised Aboriginal programs fill a little gap if you like. Specialised Aboriginal programs look for community stories out there, you know and filling I guess the positives in the documentary type style."  

Participant A

This participant goes on to illustrate how Indigenous units encourage an Indigenous perspective from their own experience and point of view.

"...specialist programs that goes in there and say hey you've (Indigenous person) got a great story to tell, I'd like to hear your story from your point of view, tell it your way, and um, yeah, and there's little interference from you know, the producers and stuff"  

Participant A

They commented further about the advantage of Indigenous programs for both Indigenous people and non-Indigenous people.

"...so like in documentary making (Indigenous programs) were you can feature people, you know who've been there, who've been alcoholics, and who've found, and got through that and what they are doing now and how they're seeing and achieving from that. Um, it's like, you know seeing the turn around, and showing that to other mob too that, maybe going through similar situations that its possible, but its quite true these days."  

Participant A

Showing these images can assist in changing the stereotypes and to educate others of the causes of these issues and how they too can change if they are in a similar situation as the person being reported on.

One of the participants described an example of how Indigenous programs can assist in changing the stereotypes of Indigenous people in the media, by creating an awareness of the reality that Indigenous people have to live with.
"...units like ICAM and BLACKOUT...will change that type of reality, in fact...BLACKOUT...reversed the situation...we did sketches were we had black policeman arresting white drunks just to stimulate peoples minds, its almost like, 'Planet of the Apes', were how humans badly treated animals and 'Planet of the Apes' were badly treating humans, right." Participant C

The issue of who watches these Indigenous programs was raised.

"...lowest rating show in Australia, because nobody watches Aboriginal programs, the only people who watch...is the academics. Which is good because, then its starting to teach our youth, you'll find that the youth now, um, are looking at our older generations...So all our hopes are pinned on our youth in that age group coming through with different attitudes..." Participant C

The issue of lack of Indigenous programs on television was also mentioned.

"...more Aboriginal programs and not only on the public broadcast but in the mainstream and they need to be integrated so that people learn from each other, because as it is now we have one unit, there is only one Aboriginal program...then there's half a dozen, then there's nothing for a year or so." Participant C

The participants discussed the support mechanisms for the Indigenous media.

"...um with a big push by ATSIC to, ah, raise the profile of Aboriginal people...They support programs like ICAM, BLACKOUT in fact as soon as the funding of ATSIC ran out at the ABC BLACKOUT was gone. You can almost...you can ask the ABC when was the last time BLACKOUT went to air and ask them when the ATSIC funding ran out you'd find out it was the same time...Um, so ATSIC has done a wonderful job and the reconciliation council, and both pumped a lot of money into the media..." Participant C

So it seems to the participants the Indigenous programs can contribute to the solution of changing the stereotypes that the media have created for Indigenous people and changing the way that the media report Indigenous issues. It can also assist in getting Indigenous perspectives onto the media and helping the employment of Indigenous people within the media industry.
Educational issues relating to media

All of the participants noted a few different educational issues relating to the media. The first couple of participants thought that the media is an educational tool.

"Well, media is a little bit of an educator in itself, you know it brings, it, it, you know people sit there in Sydney and others sit there out in back of Bourke or whatever and it touches um, you know a wide range of people their gonna find something on a broadcast like that that'll take that stuff a little further."  
Participant A

and

"I would love to see half a dozen Aboriginal shows, Torres Strait Islander shows throughout all the networks so that there will be, you know, not only educational for the general population, but educational of white reporters...they can work along side the black reporters."  
Participant C

Two of the participants mentioned the importance of cultural awareness of the non-Indigenous staff of the media.

"...also the producers and advertisers need to be educated culturally."  
Participant C

and

"I think that journalists, if their exposed to appropriate information coming from Aboriginal people themselves and education that starts in primary schools then eventually it will change, they'll realise that we have more to contribute than what they think currently. I mean when children are little they need to be exposed to Aboriginal culture, they need to have people come into the schools and tell the stories about the stolen generation and that protection era. So when they get to do a story they might go out to, I don't know, Walget to do a story on deaths in custody maybe, they have then had that education from primary school, they'll understand how somebody might end up in police custody. They'll understand about their family history, and where they've come from. But if journalists are supposed to be there to, um, express knowledge and to impart knowledge, they have to learn things, before they can do that."  
Participant B

So the two main issues about education that the participants thought necessary to mention were, the media used as an educator and the
second was the cultural awareness education for non-Indigenous people working in the television media industry.

### Media having an affect of Indigenous Health

Participants noted that media has a huge affect of Indigenous health. All of the participants comments discussed earlier all have an affect on Indigenous health. The first comment relates to the media not reporting and including Indigenous perspectives on Indigenous issues.

"Your silenced by it, and any doctor, can tell you if you can't talk about how your feeling, that has an enormous affect on, on your health! It has an affect on your self-esteem; it has affect on your physical health." Participant B

This participant comments further on this issue.

"If you go through your life and you look at the TV or you read newspapers or your listening to the radio and you never see or hear or read anything about yourself and your life experience, that's a great, um, that's a great spiritual wound!" Participant B

The participant believes that by excluding Indigenous media from the mainstream media also has an affect on health.

"Your mental health that has a huge impact, because your marginalized and your, your cut out of, um, all that, all that mainstream, access to the mainstream media." Participant B

Another participant talks of the affect of the media portraying and reporting Indigenous issues and people negatively.

"First thing that happens, if you paint a bad picture of somebody, nobodies gonna hire you, ok, so as far as...it hits you in the pocket, so economics. So economics, if you can't afford...if you can't find a job, nobody hires you, your on welfare and welfare leads to depression and what happen, you get your welfare cheque, your not gonna buy much, you can hardly pay the rent, you can hide that by drinking. And who suffers? The wife and children, the whole family unit, because, um, you can't dig yourself out of that hole." Participant C
This participant speaks further of lack of employment for Indigenous people as a consequence of the negative portrayals and reporting of Indigenous people in the media.

“Well, it always goes back to employing aboriginal...employment, you know you just can’t, it’s the economics of it, there’s no money in peoples pockets they can’t have education, they can’t have housing, they can’t have health, it all part and parcel of being able to earn money and pay for housing, because they’re poor.”  

Participant C

One participant notes that the media contribute the low self-esteem of Indigenous people.

“Self-esteem is just so low!...the health and self-esteem of the mob out there don’t get any better either, because they can’t see any positives coming out (of the media).”  

Participant A

One participant’s response to their comments on the portrayals of Indigenous people in the media and do they think they can improve Indigenous health.

“Yeah, Yeah, absolutely! Cause, um, health is everything to do with your person, it’s not just whether you feel, whether you’re physically healthy. It’s about spirit being healthy, your mind and your body being healthy all together. And you know, um, I think the example is, when Cathy Freeman won that gold medal hey, every, every Aboriginal person in this country was happy! All together! We were all together happy! All of us at the same time, and, no medicine in the world is better than that! And so when you see Aboriginal faces on TV, their doing well and you think, oh, you know that’s, that’s great, some little kid might be watching and think, oh he can do that I’m gonna do that too! So you create role models.”  

Participant B

In summary all of the participants believe that the current reporting of Indigenous issues and the portrayal of Indigenous people are negative and contribute to the poor health of Indigenous people.
Conclusion and Recommendations

The aim of this research was to determine whether or not there was a link between the television media and Indigenous health. It was to identify specifically whether or not the television media contributes to and has an affect on Indigenous health.

An additional research aim was to record and document Indigenous perspectives of this issue, because they are the people affected by this issue. Their perspectives on a solution was also vital, because they are the ones who will most benefit from these solutions.

This thesis aimed to explore ‘Indigenous Australia in Media: a portrait of health’. It investigated the following research questions:

1. What does the literature say about the ways in which Indigenous issues are reported in the Television media
2. Is there a connection between the ways in which Indigenous issues are framed in Television and Indigenous health?
3. How do Indigenous people working in or associated with Television media feel about how Indigenous issues are reported and how do they think it impacts on Indigenous health?
4. Are there any conclusions that can be drawn to improve the reporting of Indigenous issues on Television media.
To achieve this research aims a combination of reviewing the literature and semi-structured interviews were conducted. The issue of choosing to conduct semi-structured interviews became an imperative choice, because there was a lack of literature that directly related the television media to Indigenous health in Australia.

The first and second and third research questions, were extensively researched through sources such as the library catalogue, expanded academic index, Internet, Ovid, Webspurs, magazines, newspapers, inter library loans, and semi-structured interviews.

The literature search and the semi-structured interviews aim was to explore how Indigenous people were portrayed in television media, how Indigenous issues are reported in the television media and to determine if the television media has an affect on Indigenous health.

The portrayal of Indigenous people in the Australian television media are negative. This is supported by West (cited in Yunupingu, M., et al, 1994) and the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (cited in Hartley, J., et al, 2000) who both state that the television media do portray the Indigenous population negatively. This is primarily the result of non-Indigenous perspectives. Petersen (1994) states that the people who show the images ideas on the media influence people ideas and opinions. These portrayals are racist and
are usually the result of non-Indigenous television media’s preconceived ideas of the story.

When the media report on Indigenous issues they tend to not report the whole story or they don’t report on Indigenous issues at all according to the participants. They believed by doing this they create a negative portrayal of Indigenous people and ultimately affects Indigenous health and the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. Glynn (cited in Sykes, R., 1989) also agrees that this has an affect on health, because not seeing yourself, your community, your culture in the media, tends to give a person a sense of not being worth anything.

One participants felt that Indigenous issues not being reported on the mainstream or not being discussed at all is a great ‘spiritual wound’, because they felt that Indigenous people are ‘marginalized’ and excluded from the mainstream media.

The participants felt that there is a lack of Indigenous employment in the media. Jakubowicz et al (1994), stated that Indigenous media workers were facing difficulties in gaining employment in the media. Additionally, Eggerking et al (1992) believes that there is a need for a larger presence of Indigenous people in the mainstream media. This leads to a lack of Indigenous perspectives. Without these Indigenous perspectives, Indigenous issues are not reported on accurately. Plater
(1994) felt that it was empowering for Indigenous people to portray their own culture and values from their own perspectives.

According to one participant if the Indigenous people working in the media are only on lower level jobs then they don’t have the opportunity to improve on the content of the current programs. According to Moylan-Coombes (cited in Hartley, J., et al, 2000) Indigenous people working in the media need to attain key roles of power in the media, so that changes can occur relating to the improvement of content of programs and the negative portrayals of Indigenous people. If they cannot advance in their career then they as Indigenous people working in the television media are limited.

One participant felt that ‘people power’ is the way to improve the portrayals of Indigenous people in the media, but it can also help to improve Indigenous health by building self-confidence.

Another participant talks of the affect of negative portrayal’s on the Indigenous persons economic status. They believe if the Indigenous person is portrayed negatively by the media then this will affect their employment, because non-Indigenous people are reluctant to employ you. Sykes (1989) also suggests if a group is portrayed negatively consistently it can lead to problems with housing, landlords not renting to an Indigenous tenant and employment issues such as be rejected...
for a job based on the negative portrayals of a group. This in turn results lack of income, in poor living conditions, lack of food, and may lead to mental and physical problems such as depression and alcoholism.

The participants thought that Indigenous programs in the media are a must if there is to be any improvement in the portrayal of Indigenous people in the media. According to West (cited in Yunupingu, M., et al, 1994) Indigenous people are now in a position to enlighten non-Indigenous people about non-Indigenous issues, as a result of Indigenous programs. One participant believes that when Indigenous issues are reported by an Indigenous unit it is done accurately. Another participant felt that Indigenous programs fill the gap that the non-Indigenous media don’t expand on or don’t report on at all. Plater (cited in Yunupingu, M., et al, 1994) suggests that everyone can benefit from Indigenous media, because it will convey a more honest and positive view of Indigenous Australia and reveal the cultural diversity of Australia.

According to the participants Indigenous programs support the practice of letting the Indigenous people who are being reported on, tell their own story from their own perspective, with little interference from the production team. Remedio (cited in Hartley, J., et al, 2000) states that Indigenous programs are a way for Indigenous people to talk for
themselves and not letting other people talk on their behalf. This is because there needs to be a whole lot more black perspectives on television to fill that gap.

The study showed that there is only a couple of Indigenous programs on television and all of them felt that Indigenous programs were a key element of the television media to promote positive issues. Sykes (1989) suggests that there is still a lack of positive images of Indigenous communities in the media, therefore Indigenous programs will resolve this problem. Another issue was if there were more Indigenous programs it would be one way to help to create more Indigenous employment. According to Williams (cited in Hartley, J., et al, 2000) it's important to have indigenous programs and media, but also important is Indigenous people employed in all television media.

The negative portrayal of Indigenous people in the media can affect the health and well-being of Indigenous people. The participants felt that there is a 'vicious cycle' that occurs when Indigenous people are reported on. One participant felt that the 'vicious cycle' is created by the non-Indigenous television media.

They believed that when the non-Indigenous television programs reported on Indigenous issues they would report on them negatively, and then when they had enough on Indigenous people they would then
report negatively on the Chinese and other ethnic minority groups and then back to the Indigenous people. The participant felt that this 'vicious cycle' was almost like a formula.

The participants sensed that the 'power controls' of the media were a major obstacle for Indigenous people in general and also Indigenous people working in the media. The reason for this is the 'power controls' who own the television media and the 'power controls' who are employed in the higher levels of the television media influence what is shown on television media and what is included in the content of the program.

Jackubowicz et al (1994) describes this as the 'power control' who are a minority speak for the majority by controlling what stories are to be shown and the types of perspectives. If these programs have negative portrayals and include negative stereotypes of Indigenous people the Indigenous people in general will suffer.

According to one participant the 'power controls' of the media are running a business and there only interested in making money. Hartley et al (2000) also agrees that the media are only interested in making a profit and to achieve this they create and encourage sensationalism to provoke a negative reaction.
Therefore the last thing on 'power controls' mind is whether or not Indigenous people are affected by these negative portrayals. Havnen (cited in Hartley, J., et al, 2000) goes on to say that there aren’t to many people who own shares in the media, thus the media have little concern for Indigenous peoples rights.

Another participant believes that one reason why the 'power controls' paint a bad picture of Indigenous people, because they have a hidden agenda of discrediting the people who stand in their way to purchase land. The Indigenous people are the traditional owners of the land that some of these 'power control's' want to acquire.

The participants discussed the media as an educational tool. One participant felt that Indigenous programs could act as an educational tool for the general population and the non-Indigenous reporters. They believed by exposing the general public to Indigenous culture and hearing the whole story of Indigenous issues an understanding of Indigenous people may develop. Educating the non-Indigenous reporters is gained by seeing these practices that the Indigenous media do and start to understand from that and use the right protocols when going into an Indigenous community. According to Eggerking, et al (1992) there is already a well established Indigenous media network that non-Indigenous media workers can draw on.
One participant felt that it was important to include Indigenous cultural studies in all the schools, continue throughout high school. This theory was based on non-Indigenous journalists being culturally aware and creating an understanding of the real history relating to Indigenous people in Australia, so that negative portrayals in the media are reduced and Indigenous health is improved. Moylan-Coombes (cited in Hartely, J., et al, 2000) suggests that cultural awareness of non-Indigenous people working in the media will attribute to improving the portrayals of Indigenous people.

All of the participants believe that all these issues relating to the media and the negative portrayals of Indigenous people all have an affect on Indigenous health. Petersen (1994) also talks of how the media’s portrayal of their ideas and opinions of a group can ultimately affect a person’s health and well-being.

Therefore the literature and the semi-structured interviews concluded that the portrayal of Indigenous people in the television media and the reporting of Indigenous issues in the television media are negative.

It was evident throughout the literature and the interview findings that there is a connection between the ways in which Indigenous issues are framed in Television and Indigenous health. The connection was
determined by looking at the ways the Indigenous issues are currently framed in the media and if they had an affect on Indigenous health.

It was apparent that if Indigenous issues were reported and portrayed negatively this did have a negative affect on Indigenous health. These health outcomes usually manifested into mental and physical health problems. These included low self esteem, employment issues, economic problems, depression, alcoholism and many more.

Therefore the television media does have an affect on Indigenous health. It has a responsibility to make all the necessary changes to improve on these contributing factors that affect Indigenous health. It needs to be fairer in the way it reports on Indigenous issues and portrays Indigenous people. So it can truly claim that the television media represents all of Australia equally.

The following are a list of recommendations.

1. There is a need for one major culturally appropriate code of practice model relating to the reporting on Indigenous issues and needs to be implemented and used by all media networks to reduce the risk of negative portrayals and reporting of Indigenous people.

2. To create awareness that there needs to be compulsory Indigenous positions in all sections of the media at all networks.
3. To create awareness that there needs to be more indigenous representation at the executive level of the media. This is important because indigenous people and non-Indigenous people can learn from one another and to incorporate both cultural values into the media.

4. There is a need for more indigenous programs on all media networks, to create positive portrayals of indigenous people and their culture.

5. The media regulators need to revise their methods of monitoring the television media in regards to Indigenous portrayals and reporting.
References


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Appendices
Appendix A

Information Sheet

Exploring Health Promotion Practices In Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Television Media in Australia

Dear Participants,

You are invited to participate in a study, which will explore health promotion practices in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Television media in Australia. This study consists of a voluntary interview. The interview will take 20-30 minutes.

Llewellyn Williams, a fourth year Honours student at Yooroang Garang School of Indigenous Health Studies, Faculty of Health Sciences (Cumberland Campus), along with Angela Dawson and Freidoon Khavarpour (both Academic Staff at School) are involved in this research study.

The questions asked in the interview will be related to your ideas and perceptions of health promotion practices in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Television Media in Australia. The study has been approved by the University of Sydney Ethics Committee and the Aboriginal Health and Research Council and meets the guidelines for ethical research which requires full disclosure to participants of the purpose of the research, and guaranteed confidentiality to all participants.

The information you provide in the interview will be confidential and your identity will not be disclosed to any other person. The interview will be recorded on audio tape and field notes, but your name and personal details will not be used in any written document or presentation, unless you give permission. During the interview you will have the opportunity to raise any questions you may have. As an added precaution to ensure your anonymity, a typed copy of the interview transcript will be made available to you, for you to check that no identifying information may have inadvertently been included. You will then have the opportunity to request that this information be removed from the typed transcript.

You may contact Llewellyn Williams at (02) 9643 5494, Angela Dawson at (02) 9351 9117 or Freidoon Khavarpour at (02) 9351 9127 if you wish to discuss any aspect of the interview.

Any person with concerns or complaints about the conduct of a research study can contact the Secretary of the Human Ethics Committee, University of Sydney on (02) 93514811.

Your contribution to this project would be greatly appreciated.

Yours sincerely,
Ms Angela Dawson, Lecturer
Yooroang Garang: School of Indigenous Health Studies
Faculty of Health Sciences
The University of Sydney

Indigenous Australia in Media: Portrait of Health
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Appendix B

Consent Form

Informed Consent

I, ................................................................., hereby voluntarily

consent to participate in the research entitled:

Exploring Health Promotion practices in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders television media in Australia

Conducted by: Llewellyn Williams

I understand that the information obtained from this research may be used in future research, and may be published. However, my right to privacy will be retained, i.e., personal details will not be revealed. As an added precaution to ensure your anonymity, a typed copy of the interview transcript will be made available to you, for you to check that no identifying information may have inadvertently be included. You will then have the opportunity to request that this information be removed from the typed transcript prior to findings from this research being published.

The information collected in this interview will be used for the purpose of this research study only, and your further consent would be required for any other use of the material.

The procedure as set out in the attached information sheet has been explained to me and I understand what is expected of me and the benefits and risks involved. My participation in the project is voluntary.

I acknowledge I have the right to question any part of the procedure and can withdraw at any time without this being held against me. I have been familiarised with the procedure.

Signed by the participant

Date

Witness:

Name

Signature

Date
Appendix C

Interview Questions

1. What are your thoughts on how Indigenous issues are reported on television?

2. What are your thoughts about how Indigenous people are currently portrayed in the media?

3. Do you think this has an affect on their health?
   - If so, How?
   - Why?

4. How do you think that reporting on indigenous issues on television can be improved?

5. From your comments on these improvements, do you think that they can help to improve indigenous health?
   How?
   Why?

6. What can be done to improve the portrayal of indigenous people in the media, particular television?

7. From your comments on these improvements, do you think that they can help to improve indigenous health?
   How?
   Why?