Pacific
Journalism Review

CLIMATE CHANGE
IN ASIA-PACIFIC

FIJI TO CHAIR COP23 NOVEMBER CLIMATE CHANGE MEETING IN BONN

The ACIJ legacy and climate change

- Peace Journalism and Climate Crisis news
- When is a journalist not a journalist?
- *The Solar Nation of Tokelau*
- Climate change issues in Australia, Fiji, Indonesia, NZ, Philippines, Papua New Guinea and Vietnam
- **FRONTLINE:** Bearing Witness climate change project

PLUS

- **Constructing the Other: Media representations of 'brown' NZ**
- **Defamation in Australia**
- **Citizen journalism in South Korea**

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EDITORIAL: An investigative legacy

IN APRIL this year, a one-day seminar was held at the University of Technology, Sydney (UTS) to celebrate more than 25 years of the Australian Centre for Independent Journalism (ACIJ). The ACIJ produced, researched and promoted discussion of journalism from 1991 until it was closed by UTS in early 2017. Although no clear explanation was given for the university's decision, observers generally agreed that the closure reflected the contemporary pressure on independent public interest activities in Australian universities, which are increasingly driven by financial and corporate needs as a consequence of decades of underfunding.

For past and present staff and students who attended the seminar, it was time to reflect on the Centre's contributions. They included numerous investigative reports published under the ACIJ mastheads of *Scoop, Reportage* and one-off special publications; scholarly books, articles and the annual Public Right to Know (PR2K) conferences; public seminars hosted around Australia and broadcast on ABC Radio National; and the annual awarding of the George Munster Award for Independent Journalism. One theme that emerged was that for more than 20 years the ACIJ had a strong working relationship with Professor David Robie in Fiji and Papua New Guinea and later the Pacific Media Centre (which now publishes this journal), focused on reporting and researching media in our own Pacific region. This relationship began when Professor Wendy Bacon travelled to Port Moresby to collaborate with Robie on developing investigative journalism in Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands. During the 2000 coup in Fiji, the ACIJ played a crucial role in continuing to publish reports by University of the South Pacific (USP) journalism students after the programme's *Pacific Journalism Online* server was deliberately disabled to censor the intensive student reporting of the coup (Robie, 2001; 2010).

Reflecting the approach of both centres, the body of work that emerged out of the relationship emphasised the practice of journalism in parallel with the study of journalism, which in turn led to the development of the *Frontline* section of this journal. There was a related priority placed on critical research about the way Australian and New Zealand media report the region.

In 2003 and 2004, the ACIJ published the results of a study funded by AusAID of coverage of development and humanitarian issues by the Australian media (Bacon & Nash, 2003; 2004). This was a broad study covering all regions of the world and across print, radio and TV. We found that only a low proportion (5 percent) of stories referred to the Pacific region, and that most Pacific Island nations were receiving nil or hardly any coverage. What coverage did exist tended to be concentrated on political conflict and a very narrow range of issues. The research also demonstrated a stark information gap, with wealthier audiences

concentrated in the biggest cities of Melbourne and Sydney being supplied with more in-depth media about Pacific Island nations than the rest of Australia. This was a direct consequence of the fact that all other capital city newspaper markets in Australia were serviced by News Corporation only.

It is disappointing to report that over the last 14 years, the situation has not improved. Recently, a team of researchers, including freelance journalist Jo Chandler (who has reported extensively in the Pacific), noted in their submission to an Australian Senate Inquiry into the Future of Public Interest Journalism that, as a result of thousands of job losses and cuts to revenue in Australia's mainstream media, and cuts to ABC positions, coverage of the Pacific by Australian media has deteriorated even further (Chandler & Morton, 2014). Even allowing for the internet, these cuts and job losses mean that 'conditions of daily life in many parts of our nation and neighbourhood are increasingly invisible to Australian audiences' and were also impacting on the flow of information available to the public in Pacific Islands nations. These researchers, and many others, have used their submissions to the Senate Inquiry to urge the Australian government to invest in public interest journalism through mechanisms designed to protect the independence of reporters. We endorse these suggestions (Nolan, 2017).

No contemporary story or issue is of more significance than climate change, the focus of this journal issue. The impact of climate change is no longer a case of merely future threat. Extreme weather events including droughts, ocean acidification, and the impacts of rising sea levels and sea-surface temperatures are already having terrible consequences on the region.

A number of ACIJ research reports documented a disappointing lack of coverage of the impact and challenge of climate change confronting Pacific Island nations (Nash & Bacon, 2013). Although Pacific Island nations played a significant role in both public and behind the scenes negotiations at COP13, the same information gaps that have been revealed in the earlier studies of humanitarian coverage were again confirmed. There was almost no reporting of stories about the role of small island states in News Corporation newspapers, and some of what was reported came from a mocking, overtly climate-denialist or -sceptic position.

In 2011 and 2013, the ACIJ published two further reports on the coverage of climate change and climate science by 11 major Australian news outlets. The first report (on climate change policy) found overwhelmingly negative coverage by News Corporation of the then Labour government's handling of carbon pricing legislation. The second found a decline in climate science reporting, and that linked to the findings of negative bias in the first study. News Corporation outlets were increasingly less likely to reflect the climate change consensus position of more than 97 percent of the world's climate scientists.

While the ACIJ has now passed into history, the Pacific Media Centre, *Pacific*

Journalism Review and the activities they support in the Pacific and Australia, as well as New Zealand, go from strength to strength (Duffield, 2015). And in both countries it is important that the sense of crisis in the journalism profession and the threat of increasing concentration of mainstream media ownership does not overwhelm the many worthwhile initiatives and projects that continue to be undertaken. While multiple award-winning New Zealand investigative journalist Melanie Reid recently expressed fears for the future of journalism in her country, she also demonstrated that new online start-ups can show mainstream media the way—as with her own exposé of the biggest scandal of election year, which scooped the parliamentary press gallery (RNZ Mediawatch, 2017).

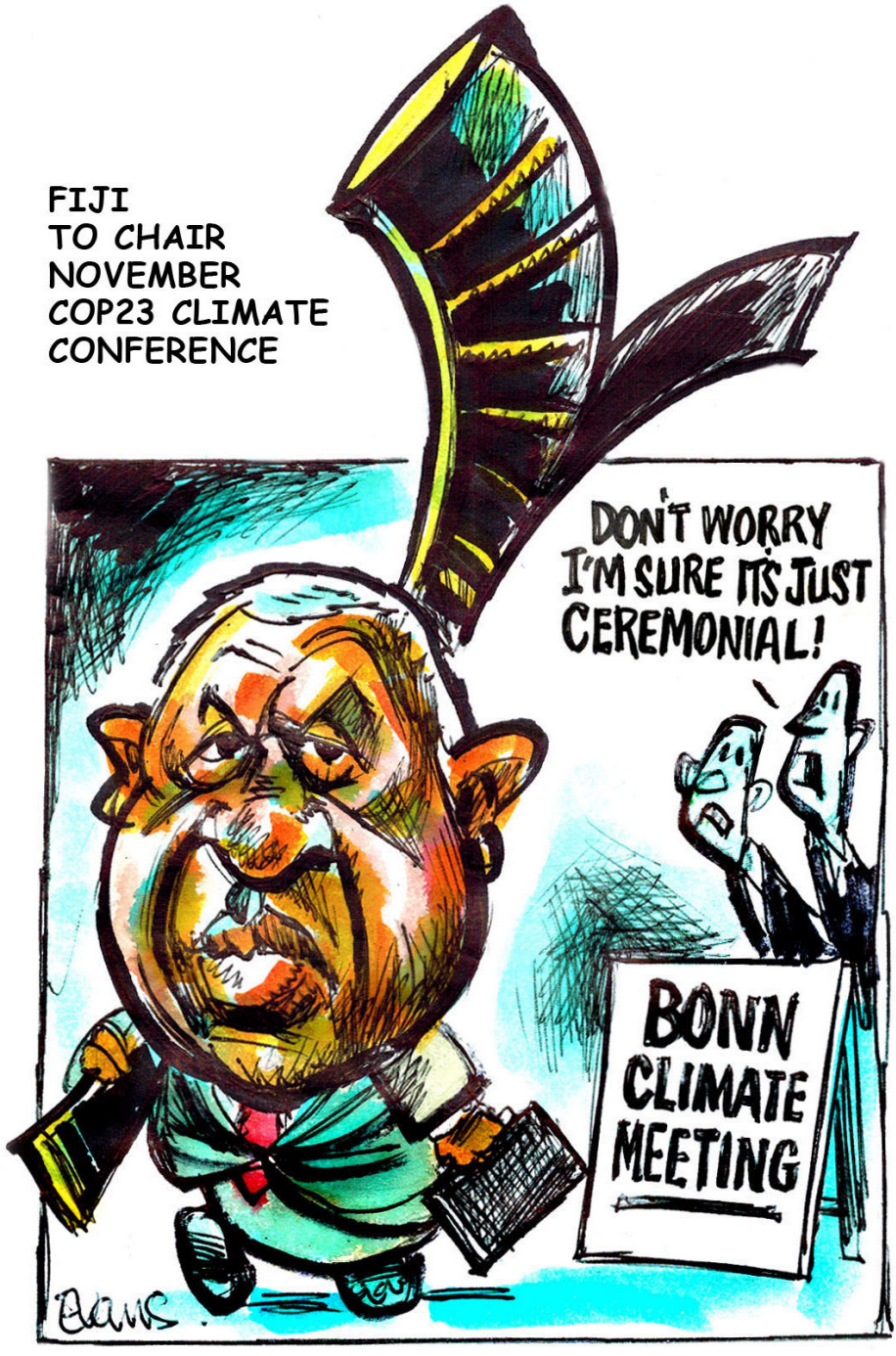
THE COMBINATION of independent journalism production along with scholarly work about journalism has been the hallmark of both the ACIJ and this journal. In this edition, *Frontline* critically evaluates **Bearing Witness**, an initiative of the Pacific Media Centre through which two neophyte journalists, Ami Dhabuwala and TJ Aumua, visited Fiji after the terrible tropical cyclone Winston that left 44 people dead, 45,000 people displaced and 350,000 indirectly affected in 2016. David Robie examines the first year of this project and its influence by new approaches to journalism, including Peace and Human Rights journalism, which seek to change fundamentally the conflict frame in which most reporting occurs.

The edition theme is introduced by **Robert Hackett**, who outlines in a commentary the characteristics of Peace Journalism (PJ), and then summarises ways that PJ could inspire justice and crisis-oriented climate journalism, including ethical moorings, audience orientation, journalism practices, self-reflexivity and scepticism of the practices of 'objectivity'.

Wesley Morgan critically examines Fiji's role as co-host of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) negotiations in November 2017 and the significance of this Pacific initiative, while veteran communication studies scholar and commentator **Crispin Maslog** questions the preparedness of Asia-Pacific media programmes for their vitally important challenge faced over environmental reporting.

Investigative journalist **Phil Vine** with 25 years of New Zealand broadcast experience, who has come under fire from former colleagues after joining the environmental campaigning organisation Greenpeace, offers a thought-provoking commentary on how the mainstream media views itself. He opens up an argument about what constitutes a 'journalist' in a contemporary context.

German television journalist **Ulrich P. Weissbach** provides a case study based on his documentary, *The Solar Nation of Tokelau*, about how the tiny New Zealand-administered Pacific territory of Tokelau became the first 'national' area to become totally powered by a solar system grid.



Binh Duong Pham and **Chris Nash** examine the way that government, NGOs and journalists interact in the reporting of climate change in Vietnam. This research, part of a larger doctoral study on environmental journalism in relation to governmental media control in Vietnam, demonstrates that there is nuance and dynamism that belies conventional stereotypes in the way the two spheres of journalism and politics interact in authoritarian states. One key factor that affects the relative latitude accorded to journalists is whether or not there is political conflict within ruling party and government on the environmental issue being reported, and so far on climate change there is not.

Other articles in this issue report on other community based initiatives. **Usha Sundar Harris** explains how participatory forms of media, including social media, can enable communities to 'share knowledge, create awareness and provide their own perspectives on environmental issues', especially when mainstream media may be excluded in times of crisis.

Aaron Inamara and **Verena Thomas** also focus on how participatory community media can be used to promote indigenous knowledge in Pacific Island communities experiencing the impacts of climate change. Their article highlights how natural and cultural processes interact on a project undertaken with a community on Andra Island, Manus Province, Papua New Guinea. The project explores responses to climate change through photo essays. The authors argue that this project has created a space for reflective dialogue about challenges posed by climate change as well as to promote Indigenous knowledge as a tool for community-based adaptation (CBA). They consider the possibility that such projects could be linked into a larger hub or network and feed into Pacific mainstream media coverage of climate change.

A team of researchers from the University of the South Pacific, **Jason Titifanue, Romitesh Kant, Glen Finau and Jope Tirai** explore how online activists are working with Pacific Islander communities to reach across borders to meet the urgent climate change threat. Acknowledging that online activism is currently mainly an urban phenomenon, they make suggestions for future developments in activism and research.

Sarika Chand offers a content analysis of climate change reportage in *The Fiji Times* between January 2004 and December 2010. *The Fiji Times* is Fiji's oldest and most influential national daily newspaper. Published reports showed a trend of event-based reporting with more than 80 percent of articles being generated out of, or following up on, a climate change convention, meeting or report launch. She argues that reporting of climate change issues needs to be prioritised in a Pacific context.

Hermin Indah Wahyuni examines the challenges of journalism education mainstreaming climate change in her country. As the world's largest archipelago, Indonesia must deal with some climate change impacts such as rising sea levels,

extreme weather, floods, drought and forest fires. However, although it is a serious threat, public awareness is low.

In Australia, **Guy Healy** and **Paul Williams** explore the patterns of political communication surrounding the environmental regulation of major resource projects during the Business Advisory Forum of April 2012. Finding news stories on so-called 'green tape' environmental regulation were saturated with metaphor clusters, the authors argue that journalistic metaphor use has made the complex issue of environmental regulation accessible to mass audiences.

Among unthemed papers, **Joseph M. Fernandez** critiques defamatory meanings and the hazards of relying on 'ordinary, reasonable person' fiction, **Jean M. Allen** and **Toni Bruce** examine representations of a predominantly 'brown' community in New Zealand, and Chang Sup Park unpacks the roles of citizen news broadcasts of South Korea, based on two unique concepts—*carnivalism* and *engaging journalism*.

To conclude, as this journal and the Pacific Media Centre bid goodbye across the water to a strong institutional supporter in the ACIJ at UTS, both its contributors and readers can celebrate the pursuit of critical scholarship *through* rigorous journalism as well as *about* journalism that is the hallmark of this collaboration. The urgent threat posed by climate change to this part of the world makes it imperative that fearless, rigorous journalism continues to find an intellectual home and support within universities.

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1. Can Peace Journalism be transposed to Climate Crisis news?

Commentary: This commentary briefly outlines characteristics of Peace Journalism (PJ), and then summarises ways that PJ could inspire justice and crisis-oriented climate journalism, including ethical moorings, audience orientation, journalism practices, self-reflexivity and scepticism of the practices of 'objectivity'. While there are also important disjunctures between them, particularly around advocacy, partisanship and conflict escalation, both paradigms have liberal and radical variants. The author concludes with a note on structural media change as a corequisite of either paradigm's implementation.

Keywords: climate change, climate crisis, climate journalism, global, journalism paradigms, Indigenous concept of warrior, peace journalism

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Peace journalism as a paradigm

PEACE Journalism shares some of the spirit of a reform movement that emerged within American media during the 1990s—Civic Journalism, also known as Public Journalism. While it faded early in the 2000s, Civic Journalism has left important legacies for journalism that aims to address the need for public engagement and a sense of urgency in the context of global climate crisis. Civic Journalism opened up debate about journalism's democratic purposes and its relationship with those it claims to serve. It de-naturalised organisational routines and orthodoxies, particularly objectivity. It invited journalists to be more reflexive about their practices and impact, especially the place of the public in their stories, and the frames and master narratives employed (Compton, 2000, p. 455). Its experiments, within their limits, showed a considerable potential for both journalists and public to recover a sense of political agency.

Given the ambiguous impact of Civic Journalism, Peace Journalism offers a more recent paradigmatic shift that could well resonate with our focus groups and interviews with climate-concerned citizens and environmental communicators in the Vancouver area. Our respondents are alienated by the many limitations—over-reliance on official sources, on events rather than processes, on a cynical view of

politics as a fruitless spectator sport rather than the arena where solutions must be found—of conventional climate politics news (Cross et al., 2015). Briefly, as many readers of this journal will already be aware, Peace Journalism (PJ) is an analytical method for evaluating reportage of conflicts, a set of practices and ethical norms that journalism could employ in order to improve itself, and a rallying call for change (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005a, p. 270). In sum, PJ's public philosophy 'is when journalists make choices—of what stories to report and about how to report them—that create opportunities for society at large to consider and value non-violent responses to conflict' (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005b, p. 5).

PJ draws upon the insights of Conflict Analysis to look beyond the overt violence which is often tantamount to War Journalism. PJ calls attention to the context of Attitudes, Behaviour and Contradictions. If War Journalism presents conflict as a tug-of-war between two parties in which one side's gain is the other's loss, PJ invites journalists to re-frame conflict as a cat's cradle of relationships between multiple stakeholders; to distinguish between stated demands, and underlying needs and objectives; to move beyond official sources to include other voices—particularly victims and those working for creative and non-violent solutions; to explore ways of transforming and transcending the hardened lines of conflict; and to report aggression and casualties on all sides, avoiding demonising language and the conflict-escalating trap of emphasizing 'our' victims and 'their' atrocities. PJ looks beyond overt bloodshed, to include other forms of everyday violence that may underlie conflict situations: structural violence, the institutionalised barriers to human dignity and wellbeing, such as racism; and cultural violence, the glorification of battles, wars and military power (Hackett, 2006).

Israeli scholar Dov Shinar (2007, p. 200) offers a concise summary of PJ prescriptions for better journalism:

1. Exploring backgrounds and contexts of conflict formation, and presenting causes and options on every side so as to portray conflict in realistic terms, transparent to the audience;
2. Giving voice to the views of all rival parties;
3. Offering creative ideas for conflict resolution, peacemaking and peacekeeping;
4. Exposing lies, cover-up attempts and culprits on all sides, and revealing excesses committed by, and suffering inflicted on, people of all parties;
5. Paying attention to peace stories and post-war developments more than the regular coverage of conflict.

Shinar then bids caution and realism regarding both the prospects for implementing PJ in journalism practice, and its impact in conflict situations. I return to the question of implementation below, after considering whether the PJ model can be transposed to climate crisis journalism.

Peace Journalism for climate crisis?

In the search for journalism adequate to the scale and urgency of climate crisis, PJ offers a growing repertoire of philosophical support, methodological guidelines and field experience from which to draw. In this section, I briefly thematise some of the potential affinities between PJ and climate journalism.

- Even though PJ's purpose is to reduce violent conflict rather than ecological destruction, its ethical horizon—a peaceful, just and sustainable global society—resonates with climate journalism. Both approaches aim to transform journalism into a practice that in turn can transform the broader culture. Media reform is not only about media reform; as one public health and media activist put it, 'The point isn't to change the media; the point is to change the world' (Hackett, 2011, p. 35). But most PJ advocates also respect journalism's autonomy and the need for professional ethics and standards. It seeks news media that are more independent of established power, that are not suborned to propaganda from vested interests—including advocacy groups. As Lynch has put it:

  > … peace journalism is an advocacy position vis-à-vis journalism itself, but *it is not trying to turn journalism into something else.* If 'society at large' is provided with such opportunities [to value non-violent conflict resolution], but chooses not to take them, then there is nothing else journalism can do about it, while remaining journalism. (Lynch, 2008, pp. 3-4; emphasis in original)

  That 'something else' presumably, is propaganda on behalf of any particular organisation. PJ retains a profound commitment to truth-telling in the public interest, but:

  > On the other hand, there is no concomitant commitment to ensuring that violent responses get a fair hearing. They can take care of themselves, because the reporting conventions (still) dominant in most places, most of the time, ensure that they seldom struggle for a place on the agenda. (Lynch, 2008, p. 4)

  For similar reasons, climate crisis journalists need not make special efforts to grant access to climate science denialists, or to extol the virtues of consumerism, economic growth, or public cynicism about collective action. The biases of conventional news will normally reinforce those values effortlessly.
- PJ finds intellectual anchorage in an academic discipline—peace and conflict studies, with particular reference to the pioneering work of Johann Galtung (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005b). The efforts to translate

this anchorage into journalistic practice could inspire parallel work to link environmental communication and reporting practices, in the pursuit of journalism that is both scientifically informed and politically empowering.

- Peace Journalism and environmental communication scholars alike maintain that news reporting is neither ideologically neutral, nor separate and detached from the 'events' that it reports. Interpretive frames necessarily influence the apparently neutral reporting of events. Peace journalists Lynch and McGoldrick (2005a) hypothesise a 'feedback loop' between journalism and political actions, arguing that conventional conflict reporting (which they regard as tantamount to War Journalism) creates incentives for conflict escalation and 'security crackdowns'. Environmental journalism scholars Boykoff and Boykoff (2004) argue that inappropriate 'balance' between science and opinion confused American public opinion for years. PJ enjoins self-reflexivity on the part of journalists vis-à-vis both the influences on, and the predictable consequences of, their own routine practices.
- Scholars like Lynch and McGoldrick recognise limits to journalism's power, given media organisations' unavoidable imbrication with broader social relations and political institutions—and yet seek to recover a sense of agency for journalists, resisting reductionist conceptions of the news as merely putty in the hands of powerful elites.
- PJ's practices have much to offer climate journalism. Peace journalists broaden the range of sources and voices in the news, beyond officials and technocratic experts, to grassroots activists, solution-builders, and the victims of war—a democratised pattern of access that resonates with climate justice. Peace journalists have found ways to expand the news agenda beyond today's events, and to tell engaging narratives about contexts like patterns of structural and cultural violence, the historical development of attitudes and policies by the parties in conflict, creative ideas for peaceful conflict resolution, processes of peace-building during and after conflicts, and the 'invisible' costs of war beyond bloodshed and destruction. The growing news attention and public recognition of soldiers' post-traumatic stress as a cost of war is an example of how journalism can render visible the previously unseen. Insofar as crisis-oriented climate journalism would extend the news agenda beyond protests and disasters like oil spills to explore global warming's systemic roots, there are lessons to be learned from Peace Journalism's theory and practice.
- Like climate justice journalism, PJ seeks to transform relationships with audiences, or at least to evoke a different response. Preliminary evidence

in Mexico, the Philippines, Australia and South Africa suggests that by contrast with conventional war reporting, PJ framing does generate (at least amongst focus groups in experimental settings) a greater degree of empathy, hope and cognitive engagement with counter-hegemonic arguments vis-à-vis war propaganda (McGoldrick & Lynch, 2014; Lynch, 2014). While it remains to be demonstrated on a broader scale, PJ's apparent impact is consistent with the public empowerment and larger-than-self values called for by environmental communicators.

- Finally, both PJ and emergent climate journalism challenge conventional journalistic practices and self-understandings. They are inherently controversial, and can expect to be ignored, dismissed or critiqued by journalistic traditionalists, some academics, and (to the extent that such transformative journalisms gain traction) the powerful interests that would be less able to dominate news agendas. Advocates and practitioners of crisis- and engagement-oriented climate journalism could be forearmed by reviewing debates since the emergence of PJ in an annual journalism summer school in the United Kingdom in the mid-1990s (Lynch 2008, p. xi). German scholar Thomas Hanitzsch (2004a, 2004b) has been an especially prolific snowball-thrower. He argues that PJ wrongly assumes that journalism routinely overemphasises violence, assumes an outdated view of media effects as powerful and linear, and adopts a naïvely realist epistemology, expecting news to provide 'truth' rather than 'distortion'. PJ inappropriately assigns journalism peacemaking tasks that are better suited to other institutions, says Hanitzsch, and in so doing, compromises journalists' integrity and neutrality.

PJ advocates have responded by clarifying misconceptions (they do *not* favour suppressing news that could jeopardise the prospects of peaceful outcomes; nor do they expect journalism alone to save the world), modifying positions (PJ aims to expose propaganda, but does not naïvely expect to provide unassailable 'truths'), and above all, continuing to problematise conventional 'objective' reporting practices as complicit in the escalation of conflict (see e.g., Lynch, 2008). PJ aims to provide a journalism that is actually more complete, informative and truthful than conventional journalism, and can be justified in terms of the latter's own stated ideals.

Many of PJ's arguments, frames and practices could be transposed to crisis-oriented climate journalism. There are, however, important contrasts between these two journalism paradigms.

'The war is on!': paradigm disjunctures

It is June 18, 2014. Canada's federal government has just announced its long-expected support for the proposed Northern Gateway pipeline, one that would

slash from Alberta's tar sands through First Nations territory in northern British Columbia to coastal ports. The reaction is swift and well-publicised. At a rally outside CBC headquarters in Vancouver, in front of television cameras and a thousand energised supporters, Grand Chief Stewart Phillip declares, 'The war is on!' Rousing cheers and street dances ensue (Prystupa, 2014).

That 'war' metaphor has important implications for Peace Journalism's relevance to climate crisis. What if Naomi Klein is correct: '… Indigenous rights—if aggressively backed by court challenges, direct action, and mass movements demanding that they be respected—may now represent the most powerful barriers protecting all of us from a future of climate chaos' (2014, p. 380). Is it possible that, contrary to the precepts of PJ, saving the planet may require taking sides, and escalating conflict, in order to disrupt an ecocidal status quo?

Indeed, it could even be argued that in a state of planetary emergency, a more appropriate model might be the openly patriotic press of the Allied powers during World War II, engaged in a life-and-death struggle against fascism. Defeats as well as victories were reported, but there was no pretence of neutrality. How might such wartime journalism be relevant to climate crisis? A sense of urgency, the sheer amount of coverage, the weaving of discrete news events into an overarching narrative, the identification of enemies and the framing of news as Us-versus-Them. On the other hand, wartime journalism implies censored and slanted news, the suppression of dissent in favour of unity against a common foe, and a huge buy-in to journalism's collaborative role. But collaborate with whom? In wartime, with the government and the military. It is difficult to see those institutions as allies, if ecological sustainability requires radical change.

Still, the question of advocacy journalism in relation to the agonistic politics of climate change hints at some important disjunctures between PJ and Climate Crisis Journalism (CCJ). Their definition of the core problem differs. In its dominant versions, PJ sees conflict itself, and the threat of conflict escalation to the point of violence, as the key issue—not any particular party to the conflict. CCJ would focus on global warming and its impacts on the human and 'natural' worlds, and the (in)adequacy of societal and political responses. In order to mobilise effective responses, it may be necessary to bring millions of people who won't take no for an answer into the streets (Monbiot 2009), escalating conflict in order to challenge business as usual.

Likewise, they differ regarding the key shortcoming of journalism. For PJ, journalism too often contributes to conflict escalation, and fails to convey the accurate and complete accounts of conflicts that notionally democratic societies need as a basis for informed policy. CCJ sees a range of environmental deficits in hegemonic media, above all their imbrication with consumerist culture and corporate capitalism. It is an open question whether these respective diagnoses point strategically in the same direction. PJ seeks to change journalism practices

and representations so as to increase the likelihood of peaceful conflict-resolution, and make it less likely that news media contribute to conflict escalation; it calls for avoiding 'demonising' one party to a conflict, or identifying it as the enemy.

CCJ could well contribute to broadening the scope of conflict as a means of achieving social change (a strategy well understood in social movement practice); and in calling for increased analysis and attention to the causes of global warming, it could well lead to identifying the fossil fuel sector or other particular interests as targets for political action.

This approach parallels the struggles, alluded to above, of Indigenous peoples on the front lines of resistance to extractivist capitalism. In Vancouver, anti-pipeline protesters, Aboriginal and settler allies alike, wear t-shirts emblazoned 'Warrior up!' The 'warrior' concept is arguably a 'trope', a figure whose meaning differs between discourses. At one level, it is a colonial stereotype emerging from settler society, alongside 'drunken Indian' and 'noble savage', for example. In recent decades, however, it has been re-appropriated by some Indigenous nations defending their homelands from settler-controlled development (like the expansion of a golf course onto sacred Indigenous lands, resulting in an infamous standoff at Oka, Québec in 1990). It has particular recent relevance in the context of territorial defence against resource extraction and energy mega-projects, and thus, climate change. Within Indigenous nations where it has been deployed, the concept can be a divisive one, particularly when it is taken to connote violence and the identification of enemies. There appears to be more consensus when 'warrior' is associated with sacrifice on behalf of others, rootedness in the community and customary laws of their people, collective self-defence against external threats, resistance to colonialism, a spiritual and ethical struggle that can be politicised through 'self-transformation and self-defence against the insidious forms of control that the state and capitalism use to shape lives according to their needs—to fear, to obey, to consume' (Alfred, 2005, p. 29).

Just as the warrior concept is ambiguous, so too are its implications for Peace Journalism. On the one hand, even if Indigenous warriors are committed to non-violence, the concept does entail taking sides and assigning blame, identifying the colonising state, developers and extractivist companies as aggressors. On the other hand, in the Kanien'keha language of the Kanehsata:ke ('Oka') community, the word for warrior is 'Rotiskenrakeh:te', usually translated as 'those who carry the burden of peace' (Gabriel 2014). Parenthetically, these considerations point to the interplay of media discourses and practices with subjectivity (Corner, 2011); if the personality type of the 'asshole' (James, 2012) is a byproduct and bulwark of neoliberalism, the warrior may be an oppositional antidote. But the valorisation of the warrior does not seem to be part of Peace Journalism's normative framework.

Still, the contrast between PJ and CCJ should not be exaggerated. In part, this is

because neither PJ nor CCJ are monolithic paradigms. Both have 'mainstream' or 'liberal' vs. 'radical' variants. The environmental communicators' we interviewed differed on whether conflict frames should be avoided, or instead, transferred in a radical direction. A roughly parallel dichotomy is relevant in PJ debates. The co-editor of the British peace movement journal *Peace News* argues that while it has usually followed PJ's dominant practices, it has sometimes found it necessary to 'assign blame' in conflict situations (Rai, 2010, p. 220). British journalism educator Richard Keeble (2010, pp. 63-64) argues for 'a radical political re-theorising of journalism and more specifically peace journalism' as an 'essentially political practice'. He critiques the 'dominant strand' in PJ as focusing too narrowly on reforming professional routines, rather than on campaigning/advocacy journalism, alternative/oppositional media, and the fresh possibilities for participatory and citizens' journalism through the internet.

Thus, affinities between PJ and CCJ are more pronounced by comparing their respective liberal and radical versions. Liberals seek reforms within existing media and policy institutions (e.g. PJ as 'better' journalism rather than a fundamental challenge to its procedures and self-understandings). They pursue consensus and dialogue, based on the assumption that underlying interests (as distinct from stated demands) are ultimately compatible, that war and ecological degradation are unintended consequences in nobody's interests—a position parallel to deliberative democracy. Radicals are more likely to adopt a view of society as characterised by fundamental antagonisms, and by governing logics that however ultimately destructive they be, can only be challenged and reversed through resistance to identifiable enemies and the formation of counter-hegemonic alliances. In that perspective, PJ is relevant insofar as it provides discursive resources (such as structural contexts and propaganda critiques) that support struggles for social change.

Can we get there from here?

The liberal variants of both paradigms assume and seek change within the field of professional journalism. Lynch is concerned to recover a sense of agency for journalists, one that is missing in the radical functionalism of some theories of the media, such as the Propaganda Model (Herman & Chomsky, 2002). PJ's aim to challenge the inevitability of War Journalism framing is commendable. But the skills and resources needed for either Peace or Climate Crisis Journalism (especially if it is informed by a Climate Justice metaframe) do not mesh well with the constraints imposed by conventional media—particularly, ownership disinvestment in news, the continued national bases (and biases) of media organizations and audiences, and structural ties to consumerism and capitalism. Peace Journalism seems to have flourished only under certain conditions, such as societies where media contributed to destructive internal conflict, and/or news organisations with a stake in avoiding their audiences' dissolution into opposing

camps, and/or societies emerging from authoritarian rule, where journalism's professional norms may be relatively open to self-reflexive change (J. Lynch, personal interview, 25 June 2010, University of Sydney). Similarly, CCJ is likely to find some market and institutional conditions more conducive than others.

Nor should we assume that the digital media environment automatically bypasses the blockages of hegemonic media. To be sure, there are new opportunities for independent journalism and popular mobilisation online. Yet the commercialised internet and 'social media' are also complicit in the spread of disinformation and misinformation, the segmentation of users into like-minded opinion tribes, the growing precarity of journalistic labour, the erosion of professionalisation, and the profusion of entertaining clickbait. Well-resourced and highly skilled journalists remain as essential as ever in covering an issue as complex as climate crisis. Unfortunately, it seems that in the Western corporate media, journalists have neither sufficient incentives, nor autonomy vis-à-vis their employers, to transform the way news is done, without support from powerful external allies (Hackett, 2006; Hackett, 2011, p. 45). We need to consider both alternative media as an emerging site for Climate Crisis Journalism, and systematic reform of media structures and policy frameworks that would facilitate the scaling up of CCJ's practices.

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Media Alternatives,' in Graham Murdock and Benedetta Brevini (eds), Communication and Carbon Capitalism *(forthcoming). The interview and focus group research referred to in this commentary was conducted for a project entitled 'The climate of discussion: News media and the politics of climate change in British Columbia,' led by Kathleen Cross, with Shannon Daub, Shane Gunster, and Robert A. Hackett as co-investigators. That project in turn, was part of the broader Climate Justice Project, funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and led by the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, British Columbia, and the University of British Columbia. This article also draws on the author's project entitled 'Paradigms in contention: Journalism for a world in crisis,' with funding from the office of the Vice-President, Research, and the office of the Dean, Faculty of Communication, Art and Technology, at Simon Fraser University.*

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2. Coal comfort

Pacific islands on collision course with Australia over emissions

Commentary: During 2017, Fiji is president of negotiations under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). It is the first time the talks have been headed by a Small Island Developing States (SIDS), and Fiji's Prime Minister, Voreqe Bainimarama, plans to use the 23rd Conference of Parties (COP23) to highlight the impacts of climate change on island states. Even as Pacific island leaders demand greater action to reduce emissions, the Australian government is supporting new coal mines at home and a dramatic increase in coal exports. This commentary focuses on Pacific leadership in the global fight to avoid catastrophic changes to the climate system. It suggests determined diplomacy by island states may help shift international opinion in favour of urgent action to reduce emissions. However, Pacific states must first shine a spotlight on their recalcitrant neighbour, and avoid being silenced by Australian 'climate diplomacy'.

Keywords: Adani, climate change, climate negotiations, coal, COP23, energy, Fiji, Pacific Islands

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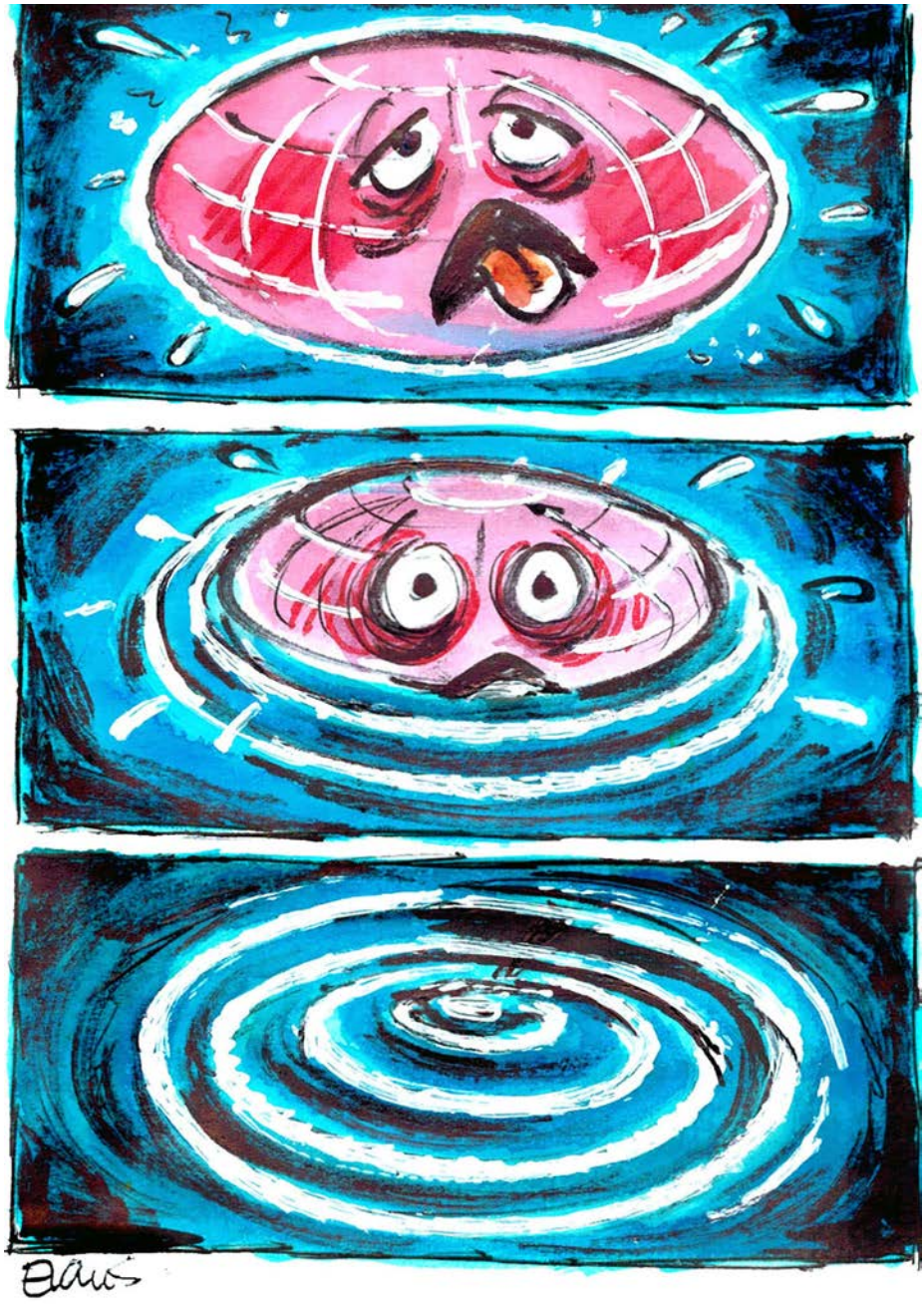
UNIQUELY vulnerable to the impacts of a warming world, Pacific island countries have long been considered the front-line of climate change, so it is not surprising that they are also leading the fight to tackle the problem.

These oceanic nations have vowed to challenge major polluters to cut emissions and, this year, they have coal exports from their biggest neighbour firmly in their sights.

For the first time, a Pacific island country is head of global negotiations aiming to limit 'dangerous interference' with the Earth's climate system. Fiji, which in February marked the first anniversary of the devastation caused by the strongest cyclone ever recorded in the Southern Hemisphere, has vowed to use its presidency of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) to make the world sit up and take notice (Armbruster, 2017; see also UNFCCC, 2017).



This must be a matter of concern in Australia's capital, Canberra; Fiji's Prime Minister Voreqe Bainimarama is an outspoken critic of his neighbour's climate policy. He has labelled Australia a prominent member of the 'coalition of the selfish'—a group of industrialised nations that put the welfare of their carbon-

polluting industries before the environment, and even the survival of Pacific island countries (Callick, 2015).

It is difficult to deny that Bainimarama has a point. Australia is one of the wealthiest nations on earth, and the world's largest coal exporter. The country has doubled exports of coal—the dirtiest of fossil fuels—over the past decade (see Frydenberg, 2016).

Far from scaling back on coal as part of global efforts to reduce emissions, Australia is currently planning public subsidies for new coal mines and considering financing new coal-fired power plants (see Belot, 2017).

Abroad, Australian diplomats are tasked with improving coal's reputation. Late in 2016, for example, they lobbied the newly established Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank to ensure multilateral finance would be directed toward so-called "clean coal" power plants in the region (Smyth and Hornby 2016).

Australia's aggressive promotion of coal has angered Pacific island governments, which have repeatedly called for a global moratorium on the development of new coal mines (Radio New Zealand, 2015). In October 2015, Bainimarama issued a special plea for Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull to 'impose a moratorium on the development of further reserves of Australian coal' (Bainimarama, 2015).

Australia's continued promotion of coal is also firmly at odds with the 2015 Paris Agreement, which aims to limit global warming to well below 2°C above the pre-industrial average. To have a reasonable chance of achieving that goal, there is little doubt the vast majority of the world's coal reserves must stay in the ground (UNFCCC, 2015).

Wary that Fiji and other Pacific island countries will again target Australia at the COP23 climate negotiations in December 2017, Australian Ambassador for the Environment Patrick Suckling was dispatched to island capitals in February 2017 to promote Australia's climate change 'credentials' (see Sanerivi, 2017).

Having been set the task of promoting carbon emissions to people on low-lying atolls—surely the 21st century equivalent of selling ice to Eskimos—Ambassador Suckling visited Tuvalu, Samoa and Fiji to explain that 'clean coal' would be part of the world's energy mix for decades (Vucago, 2017a).

Perhaps it is not surprising that he was happy to promote the benefits of coal; in his previous role as ambassador to India, Suckling encouraged the Indian firm Adani to invest in a new coal mine in the Australian state of Queensland. In July 2014, he described the proposed Carmichael mine, which, if completed, will be the largest coal mine in the Southern Hemisphere, as an 'outstanding project' (Australian High Commission, New Delhi, 2014).

Suckling's island tour, and his support for coal, sparked outrage from Pacific island civil society and church groups, who penned an open letter to the ambassador calling on the Australian government to do more to reduce emissions (Radio New Zealand, 2017; Jackson, 2017).

While in Fiji, Ambassador Suckling suggested Australia would work closely with the country to ensure the 2017 global climate negotiations would be a success. He also made much of Australia's role as co-chair of the UN's Green Climate Fund, suggesting new finance would help Pacific communities build resilience to a changing climate (Vucago, 2017b; see also Kumar, 2017).

This year, Australia co-chairs the Green Climate Fund with another nation that has the dubious honour of being a leading exporter of carbon: Saudi Arabia. By 2020, Australia is expected become the world's largest exporter of both coal and natural gas (Frydenberg, 2016).

When that happens, Australia's total carbon exports look set to exceed that of Saudi Arabia—the world's largest oil exporter (Pearse, 2016).

Pacific island states are no doubt wary of wolves in sheep's clothing. They are well aware that both Australia and Saudi Arabia have a history of dragging their feet on global efforts to reduce carbon emissions. In the lead up to negotiations for the 1997 Kyoto Protocol, for example, Australia was isolated with Saudi Arabia (and other OPEC members) and Russia as the minority of laggard states (Oberther & Ott, 1999, p. 54).

At the climate negotiations that followed, the country insisted on special exemptions—subsequently known as 'the Australia clause'—that allowed it to meet international commitments even while domestic emissions from burning fossil fuels increased (Hamilton, 2015). Concerned with safeguarding its oil exports, Saudi Arabia has long been accused of outright obstruction in climate negotiations (Depledge, 2008, p. 9).

Pacific island governments are familiar with Australia's repeated attempts to weaken their position at UN climate negotiations (Morgan, 2016). Indeed, at each major milestone in the global talks, Australia has exercised an effective veto power at the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF)—the region's premier annual political meeting—to water down positions put forward by its small, impoverished neighbours.

In 1997, for example, island leaders wanted to issue a declaration calling for a global agreement that included legally binding commitments to reduce emissions. But they were 'bullied into submission' by then Australian Prime Minister John Howard, who secured a toned-down declaration (CNN, 1997).

In the lead-up to negotiations for the 2015 Paris Agreement, Australian officials again worked hard to ensure the Pacific Islands Forum leaders' statement accommodated Australia's position in the global talks (Pacific Islands Forum, 2015).

Most pointedly, the 2015 Forum leaders' declaration on Climate Change Action failed to repeat earlier calls by Pacific island leaders for a global agreement to limit warming to below 1.5°C above the pre-industrial average (see Fry, 2015).

Pacific island states insist that warming beyond this 1.5 degrees threshold

would threaten the very survival of low-lying states in the region, such as Kiribati, Tuvalu and the Marshall Islands (see Radio New Zealand, 2016).

Fiji has vowed to use its UNFCCC presidency to maintain the momentum that was established by the 2015 Paris Agreement. Widely seen as a diplomatic breakthrough, that agreement represents a shared political commitment to reducing carbon emissions.

But global climate talks now stand at an important crossroads. Officials are still finalising the rule book to accompany the agreement, even as the first global stocktake of pledges made under it is planned for next year.

It is crucial that ambitious and transparent pledges are made. Polluting nations must reduce greenhouse gas emissions quickly, before catastrophic rates of warming are locked in.

Pacific island countries have a special role to play in convincing the international community to start the needed shift to a zero emissions global economy. With the world's eyes on them at COP23, which is already being labelled the 'Pacific COP', island leaders have the opportunity to highlight what must be done to give low-lying Pacific countries a fighting chance at a future.

But first they must continue to shine the spotlight on their recalcitrant neighbour, and take care to avoid being muzzled by Australia's 'climate diplomacy'.

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3. Asian journalism education and key challenges of climate change

A preliminary study

Commentary: The mass media in the Asia Pacific region are reporting the environmental disasters that are regularly hitting the planet, religiously, and journalists learn as they go along. However, the reporting has focused mainly on the toll in human lives and property. This is disaster reporting and it stops short of contextualising. It does not adequately explain why the environmental disasters are happening more violently and more frequently. Not too many reporters have taken formal courses in environmental journalism. Only a very few schools are offering regular courses, or programmes in science and environmental reporting, as indicated by a mini-survey in July 2016. The vacuum in formal science and environmental education is being filled by non-government organisations offering non-formal training.

Keywords: Asia-Pacific, climate change, disaster reporting, environmental education, environmental journalism, environmental disasters, forest fires, journalism education, Small Island Developing States

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Introduction

IN THE old days the typhoon season in South-East Asia usually started in July and ended in September. Nowadays, the most powerful ones are in the last two months of the year and they come even in the first half of the year.

Why? Scientists say that this is because of climate change. Climate change affects rainfall patterns, storms and droughts, growing seasons, humidity and sea level.

Farmers who depend on the rains to water their crops are not sure now when to plant or harvest. The winds and rains have become more severe. A few areas might even get cooler than warmer and vice versa.

Climate change indeed is happening, and it is caused by man. What used to be an inconvenient truth is now an undeniable fact. The ranks of those who are

'in denial' of this fact have been reduced to near zero as we feel the world get warmer, the storms turn more violent, the rains pour all year round, the polar icebergs melt, floods submerge cities and sea levels rise.

This climate change may threaten the survival of man on the planet today, starting with the Asia-Pacific region, where the mini island nations are.

Media coverage of climate change

What are the Asia-Pacific mass media doing about this threat and what is the role of media education in the region today? It is heart-warming to note that generally the mass media are aware of the climate change phenomenon and its implications for our planet, especially to the Asia-Pacific nations. A few media organisations, like the Pacific Media Centre and SciDev.Net, are reporting extensively on the problem. A good example is *SciDev.Net*, a London-based science journalism website with an Asia-Pacific Desk. As columnist for the website, I have reported problems related to climate change in the region in the past few years. A few examples:

1. Asia-Pacific Analysis: Time for SIDS to sail

The Small Island Developing States (SIDS) held the biggest international conference ever in the Pacific in September 2014 under the auspices of the United Nations and it was hailed a success (Maslog, 2014a). It brought together 115 countries—represented by 21 heads of state and 97 ministers—plus six associate members of regional commissions and 548 civil society organisations. And most important, the conference brought some US$1.9 billion worth of partnerships. The partnerships addressed all the crucial issues facing SIDS—sustainable development, climate change, disaster resilience, environmental protection, access to energy and social development, among others.

In my reporting of that conference, however, I raised the issue of what happens next. I said it was ironic that as conferences got larger, the problems got bigger. A concrete, time-bound SIDS road map is positive but accelerated action is key.

I quoted the *Samoa Observer*: 'While it is easy to get lost and become totally overwhelmed by the emotions and magnitude of the issues . . . the reality of life for small island states must never be forgotten. It is quite scary in fact.'

The Samoan prime minister, Tuilaepa Lupesoliai Sailele Malielegaoi, added in his closing remarks to the conference: 'The time for speeches is over. . . We must now set sail with determination that the course of action we have chartered here . . . will be addressed to achieve our priorities.' To which we say amen.

2. Asia-Pacific Analysis: Averting climate refugees

As early as 2013, I wrote about the problem of the rising seas in the Pacific that has threatened the very survival of most of the Pacific island nations (Maslog, 2013a).

The Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) met in 2013 in the Marshall Islands, where the highest point is only three meters above sea level, and pleaded with the economic superpowers that emit the most carbon to save them from becoming the world's first climate change refugees.

In their Majuro Declaration of 2013, the PIF called for urgent action from the world's biggest emitters—China, the European Union, India, Japan and the United States—to speed up moves to slow down global warming. To quote liberally from my *SciDev.Net* piece in 2013:

> This desperate appeal for urgent action was hardly surprising. A number of Pacific islands are living close to the edge, literally on the front-line of climate change and its after-effects, with more frequent and severe natural disasters such as cyclones, floods, tidal surges, droughts and coral reef destruction.
>
> Drought hit the Marshall Islands' northern atolls for the first time in recent memory, leaving many residents without enough food and water. Then, in July that year storm surges breached the sea wall that protects Majuro and flooded the capital.
>
> Two of Kiribati's islands are already submerged. In early 2005, other islands were flooded by a high spring tide that washed away farmland, swept salt water into wells and inundated homes and a hospital.
>
> The average elevation of most of the Pacific Islands Forum nations is about two metres above sea level. For many of the smallest and most vulnerable of these nations, the first line of defence is to mitigate the effects of climate change.
>
> Their leaders want to galvanise a new wave of climate action beyond words and pledges. They demand concrete actions and commitments from everyone.
>
> They cite the recent World Bank report, 'Turn Down the Heat', which warned that, without decisive climate action, even a best-case scenario could see the world warm by four degrees Celsius by the end of the century.
>
> If temperatures increase by this amount, sea levels could rise by 50 centimetres to a metre, resulting in the loss of fresh water in many islands. Coral reef systems could be wiped out and low-lying atolls would be submerged.
>
> But if nations act quickly enough to minimise carbon emissions, the world may still avoid the worst effects of climate change. Switching to green energy such as solar, wind, hydroelectric and geothermal could limit sea level rise. However, doing so will not guarantee that global warming will be reversed. So the fallback for these threatened Pacific island nations might just be to adapt.
>
> Huge investments are needed to help vulnerable Pacific nations adapt to the effects of global warming and improve their resilience. The World Bank provided more than US$8 billion in 2012 to the Pacific nations to help mitigate global temperature rises.

> In Samoa, the bank is working to 'climate proof' transport infrastructure and help the UN improve the resilience of coastal communities. In Vanuatu, the bank and the European Union are educating farmers about the introduction of climate-resilient livestock and crops and the implementation of disaster risk management programmes. A tsunami-warning system has been set up in Port Vila, the nation's capital, and in the city of Luganville, and hazard response systems are being improved.
>
> Australia and New Zealand have helped Kiribati set up a project that has increased water supply by 20 per cent in the capital, South Tarawa. They are also building sea walls and have planted more than 37,000 mangroves to protect coastlines.
>
> 'The children of the Pacific deserve our best efforts so they can grow up to live on the same soil as their parents and grandparents,' said Axel van Trotsenburg, the World Bank's vice-president for East Asia and the Pacific.
>
> 'But if mitigation of global warming and adaptation to its cruel after-effects fail, the last line of defence is evacuation. Kiribati has prepared for this.'
>
> *SciDev.Net* reported last year that the Kiribati cabinet, fearing that climate change could wipe out their archipelago, had approved a plan to buy nearly 6,000 acres on Fiji's main island, Viti Levu, where some or all of Kiribati's population of 103,000 could move to if necessary.
>
> Other Pacific island nations' leaders are still in various stages of denial. No one wants to consider this ultimate solution now.
>
> Tony de Brum, the minister-in-assistance to the president of the Marshall Islands, said 'if we do have to displace the population, God forbid, then we will have to start thinking about who's going to be responsible for what happens to our nation, what happens to our sovereignty and what happens to our culture and tradition.'
>
> Heartbreaking words indeed. But, in time, the tiny island nations may have to accept the inevitable and move to higher ground. There is only so much that science and politics can do. Just as Canute, the Danish king who ruled England in the eleventh century, could not command the sea to stop coming in, they too have limited control over climate change and efforts to prevent the Pacific Ocean from rising. (Maslog, 2013a)

I decided to quote verbatim from this article because it is the one piece that summarises in dramatic terms the perilous situation of the Pacific island nations.

3. Asia-Pacific Analysis: Ending Indonesia's forest fires

Another issue that poses a major threat to the environment in the Asia-Pacific region involves the Indonesian forest fires (Maslog, 2013b). As early as 2013, I have been writing about this predictable annual ritual. Indonesia has promised to ratify a regional treaty, an Agreement on Transboundary Haze Pollution negotiated in 2002, but has not done so yet, the only ASEAN member yet to ratify the treaty.

The treaty aims to eliminate transborder haze from forest fires by requiring signatory governments to stop burning, monitor prevention efforts, exchange information and help each other. Signing the treaty, however, will not put an automatic stop to the fires in Indonesia, which occur every year from May to September.

These fires are largely blamed on palm oil plantations, logging firms and farmers, all of whom resort to burning vast tracts of rainforest and peatlands to clear them for planting.

The first impact of the fires is a spike in air pollution in Sumatra, Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand—reaching levels hazardous to human health. The toxic smog has pushed Indonesia to becoming the fourth largest carbon emitter in the world, after the United States, China and India.

4. Asia-Pacific Analysis: A plan for all typhoon seasons

Two of the most destructive natural disasters in the past decade happened in South-East Asia, one of which was a result of climate change. The worst was the Indonesian tsunami in 2005 that killed in one fell swoop an estimated 170,000 people in the country and up to 250,000 more in the rest of Asia (Maslog, 2014b).

The more recent one which was due to climate change was Super Typhoon Haiyan in 2013—whose winds of up to 350 kilometres an hour made it the strongest typhoon to make landfall in recorded history—that battered central Philippines and resulted in more than 10,000 people dead and still missing.

These mega-disasters and many other devastating natural calamities in the Asia-Pacific in the past few years also suggest that the region is beginning to suffer more severe consequences from neglecting planning and responding only reactively.

Science has started to come to the rescue with new technology and weather surveillance systems to predict extreme weather events faster and more accurately. But sound urban planning is also key. Governments must find ways to manage urban growth and keep people away from danger zones based on convincing scientific findings.

Destroyed cities must be rebuilt on safer ground. Most major cities across South-East Asia lie on or near the coast, where they are exposed to storm surges and rising sea levels. Sound urban planning demands that we build resilient cities with weather-resistant buildings away from the coastlines.

2. Abundant disaster reporting, not enough contextual journalism

While there is adequate coverage of these climate change events like typhoons, floods, droughts and forest fires, most of the coverage is done by international media organisations like *SciDev.Net*, Pacific Media Centre, CNN, BBC and Al Jazeera.

The coverage by local media is mostly traditional disaster reporting of casualties, physical destruction and damage done to property. There is not enough contextual

reporting and little explanation of why these natural disasters are happening more often and more violently now.

I speak from experience when I make this conclusion. This observation is true in the Philippines, and generally applies also to other Asia-Pacific countries.

Climate change issues and mass media in Indonesia

At least one media educator from Indonesia, Hermin Indah Wahyuni of the Center for South-East Asian Social Studies (CESASS), Jakarta, Indonesia, confirms this author's observation (Wahyuni, 2017). In a paper presented at the World Journalism Education Congress (WJEC2017) conference, and published in this edition of PJR, she says:

> Climate change issues have been shaking up countries worldwide, but Indonesia is among the least concerned about this. The coverage of the country's mass media on this issue and other environmental problems, in general, occupies only a small proportion of total media reports regardless of the fact that Indonesia is facing some serious environmental problems, such as deforestation, haze disaster, drought, floods. . .
>
> The issue of climate change is not a significant concern of mass media in Indonesia. This issue is less popular than corruption, terrorism, elections, economic disparities, refugee problems, sports, and even the lives of celebrities. Images of mass media in Indonesia which is dominated by television viewers and newspaper readers have not put the issue of the environment as the main agenda of the media. The most popular TV shows in Indonesia are soap opera and talent shows. News program is also actually a popular spectacle with political and economic issues as the main attraction.
>
> Readers of newspapers in Indonesia seem more interested in political issues, entertainment, and sports. . . In Indonesia, it is easy to show that environmental issues are covered in very little numbers by mass media. One of the largest and most popular newspapers in Indonesia is *Kompas*. This newspaper has more than 2 million readers and has reached the largest circulation of 530,000 copies each day in 34 provinces in Indonesia. During January-July 2016, only 196 key words of 'climate change' [appeared] in the columns of print of *Kompas* (http://epaper.kompas.com/kompas/). (Wahyuni, 2017)

As far as Indonesian education in science or environmental journalism is concerned, Hermin Indah Wahyuni also confirms that Indonesian journalism education is not giving enough emphasis to climate change issues. 'Journalism schools give much more attention to learn how to cover normal issues in economy, politics, and socio-cultural rather than environment or climate change. They still focus on learning "reporting the news" than "creating the issues" . . . Meaning that they focus on reporting obvious facts—short term—and give little attention to potential—long term—issues' (Wahyuni, 2017).

Journalism education and climate change

In-depth reporting of climate change and its impact is something that can be taught to journalists by journalism schools if they had enough trained faculty and resources in science journalism.

In the absence of formal training in science journalism in the schools, however, we have observed the phenomenon of non-formal or non-degree trainings on science journalism and climate change reporting conducted by international NGOs like the Asian Development Bank (ADB), US Agency for International Development (USAID), Japan International Cooperation Administration (JICA), and by national governments' Departments of Science and Technology and Departments of Environment and Natural Resources.

This might be a more practical way to go in terms of climate change journalists' training, if it takes too much time and resources to develop formal degree programs in communication and journalism schools.

I tried to get a sense of the state of science journalism education in the Asia-Pacific for this paper. We sent out a small one-page questionnaire to about 20 schools in the region. Probably because of limited time, among other reasons, only four responded. The impression we got: formal science and environmental education and training in the region is thin and too limited. For whatever it is worth we are reporting the results (Mini survey, 2016)

Asia-Pacific science journalism education survey

1. Are Asian journalism schools giving enough emphasis to this issue (of climate change)? If no, why not? The replies:

- ✓ Lack of faculty.
- ✓ I am inclined to suspect that it is the issue of capacity.
- ✓ Lack of awareness about the need for such courses
- ✓ A lot of Asia-Pacific schools are aware that climate change is a very important issue. Some of them are trying to set the related courses.

2. Is enough attention being paid to the status of climate change refugees and the human rights issues involved in this problem?

- ✓ No. The link is even harder to make.
- ✓ We are aware of the issue of climate change refugees and as an academic institution we are following it.

3. In your opinion are the Asia-Pacific mass media (print, broadcast and social media) keeping up with science?

- ✓ Yes, the media do try. But this is not a particularly dramatic story to cover except when there are disasters.

4. What are the key challenges for journalism education and the best strategies in dealing with this issue?

- ✓ I think the continuing erosion of profits is making the news organisations use more freelancers or else free "citizen" content.
- ✓ This gives short shrift to training and education. It is a short-term gain—the tv show/newspaper comes out at lower cost.
- ✓ But this lowers the quality of the paper and turns off good people. The news organisations need to make it attractive for good people to join them.
- ✓ Students need more practice and professional experience. We should create more opportunities for students to practice.

5. Please mention some schools in your country/or in Asia-Pacific that you know are offering science journalism or environmental journalism.

- ✓ Beijing Normal University
- ✓ East China Normal University
- ✓ Huazhong University of Science and Technology
- ✓ University of the Philippines Los Banos, Laguna, Philippines

(Courses in Environmental Science and Graduate programme in Environmental Science)

- ✓ Silliman University, Dumaguete City, Philippines

(Certificate in Environmental Journalism and Silliman University environment news service or *SU Renews*, launched April 30, 2016)

Summary and conclusions

Climate change is here as evidenced by the environmental disasters that are now regularly visiting our planet. The mass media are reporting these disasters religiously, and the journalists learn as they go along.

But the reporting has focused mainly on the toll in human lives and property. This is disaster reporting and it stops short of contextualizing. It does not adequately explain why the environmental disasters are happening more violently and more frequently.

Not too many reporters have taken formal courses in environmental journalism. Only a very few schools are offering regular courses, or programs in science and environmental reporting. The vacuum in formal science and environmental education is being filled by NGOs offering non-formal training.

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Professor Crispin C. Maslog presented an earlier version of this article during a panel discussion on climate change and journalism education at the Fourth World Journalism Education Congress (WEC) conference on 14-16 July 2016 at Auckland University of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand. Dr Maslog is a widely published Filipino writer, editor, and he has been a professor of communication for five decades. He is currently chair of the Asian Media Information and Communication Centre, the organisation he co-founded in 1970 under the auspices of the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. He was brought to New Zealand by the Asia New Zealand Foundation in partnership with the Pacific Media Centre.

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Appendix

Mini Survey on Asian Journalism Education on Climate Change

Introduction. The world's scientists are now agreed that climate change is happening—in brief the earth is getting warmer, the storms are getting stronger and the seasons are changing.

The 2015 21st Conference of Parties (COP21) in Paris agreed in a declaration to mandate nations to lower their carbon footprints--to bring the global warming trend from 2 degrees Celsius to 1.5 degrees. This new protocol will succeed only if people prod their governments to take the mandate seriously.

This is where the role of journalists is crucial. We must educate people to the seriousness of the problem as a matter of human survival especially in the small island nations of the Pacific and South East Asia. Are the journalists in the region aware how critical the problem is? Are they being educated by the schools and training institutions in the area?

This is the rationale for this mini-survey. May we request you to kindly accomplish this brief survey at your earliest convenience? We hope to share the results with the coming World Journalism Education Conference in Auckland, New Zealand, July 12-16. We will quote you and give you due credit in our paper.
CRISPIN C. MASLOG, Science columnist, SciDev.Net

QUESTIONNAIRE

RESPONDENT No. _____
Name of Department/School/Country _____

1. Is your department/school of journalism/communication offering courses on science journalism, environmental journalism, or related courses on climate change?
a. Yes _____
b. No _____

2. Please specify names/titles of courses _____

3. If not offering science or environmental journalism, what do you think are the reasons why?
a. Lack of faculty
b. lack of facilities
c. lack of funding
d. lack of awareness about the need for such courses
e. lack of interest by university/college administration
f. low priority in our academic program
g. others (please specify) _____

4. In your opinion, are Asia-Pacific schools giving enough importance to the issue of climate change?
Yes or no, please elaborate _____

5. Please mention some schools in your country/or in Asia-Pacific that you know are offering science journalism or environmental journalism.
_____

6. In your opinion are the Asia-Pacific mass media (print, broadcast and social media) keeping up with science?
Yes or no, please elaborate. _____

7. In your opinion, is enough attention being paid to the status of climate change refugees and the human rights issues involved in this problem?
Yes or no, please elaborate. _____

8. In your opinion, what are the key challenges for journalism education and the best strategies in dealing with this issue? _____

4. When is a journalist not a journalist?

Negotiating a new form of advocacy journalism within the environmental movement

Commentary: A New Zealand broadcast journalist of 25 years' experience comes under fire from former colleagues after joining the environmental campaigning organisation Greenpeace. The ensuing criticism provides insight into how the mainstream media views itself and how sensitive it might be to any perceived threat to its credibility. It opens up an argument about what constitutes a 'journalist' in a contemporary context. A troubling epoch for journalists facing tight newsroom budgets, news trivialisation, fragmented media spheres and dwindling public confidence in the profession. This commentary examines the argument for new terminology to describe the kind of investigative journalism which might be practised within non-government organisations (NGOs) for a mainly digital audience. It also challenges views on objectivity and bias, positing whether advocacy journalism with strict ethical guidelines produced from within an organisation with a known agenda, may serve the public interest more ably than a fragmented mainstream journalism compromised by less obvious biases.

Keywords: advocacy journalism, bias, credibility, digital media, environmental journalism, ethics, Greenpeace, investigative journalism, newsrooms, New Zealand, NGOs, non-government organisations, objectivity

PHIL VINE
Journalist at Greenpeace NZ, Auckland

THE OTHER day, as part of my new role, I found myself interviewing a 30-year-old Greenpeace activist. It was a fascinating deposition of quiet radicalisation. She had decided to do something that was, by her own assessment, completely out of character. After a lifetime of obeying the norms of society, this model citizen without a parking ticket to her name, was preparing to get arrested. It was making her feel decidedly uncomfortable.

'I've always been mortified about breaking the rules,' she told me. 'I never

Figure 1: Climate change is a game changer, a disrupter: Protesters blockaded the Petroleum Summit in the New Zealand city of New Plymouth in March 2017 where the government announced a 'block offer' for new gas and oil exploration.

once got a detention at school. Never ever handed an assignment in late. Never got yellow-carded in soccer.'

Her middle school classmates wrote 'Goody Toe Shoes' (sic) under her photo in the yearbook. The reason she gave for abandoning her virtuous track record, for worrying her conservative family and risking a criminal record: Climate change.

'Really?' I wondered. Was she really prepared to be carted off by police because of the concentration of greenhouse gas emissions in the atmosphere?'

'I don't take this decision lightly,' she said. 'Instead I take it out of sheer necessity. Because climate change is threatening our very survival. It affects everyone and everything, and it's about to get a whole lot worse. If we don't act now, we face a truly hellish existence.'

Her positioning is indicative of the fraught landscape we find ourselves in. Climate change is a game changer, a disrupter. It is making radicals of those who would never previously consider putting a foot wrong.

It was climate change too that tipped me out of mainstream journalism into the ranks of Greenpeace. While I feel immediately completely comfortable with the move, my former colleagues, not so much. Like the activist I've just finished talking to, they are experiencing various degrees of discomfort.

On face value, taking the position at Greenpeace wasn't such an unusual move. After all Bob Hunter, probably the most famous co-founder of Greenpeace,

left journalism to start the organisation (Founders of Greenpeace, 2016). Dozens of journalists have been through these doors over the years. The links between journalism and Greenpeace are many and varied. Why then the indignant outcry from former colleagues?

'Is he kidding himself?' asked *Mediawatch* on National radio. In essence it wasn't so much 'crossing to the dark side' as Colin Peacock, the interviewer put it (Peacock, 2017) but simply that I had the audacity to keep describing myself as a journalist.

When I took the role at the environmental lobby group there was some discussion over what my exact job title should be. I pushed for 'Journalist at Greenpeace'. More than just a nostalgic yearning or an affectation, I hoped, I wanted it to be a statement of intent. After all Greenpeace had hired me for my investigative journalism skills and that's what I intended to keep on doing.

At Greenpeace UK two years ago, they started up an investigative journalism unit (Jackson, 2015). The organisation took on BBC and *New York Times* journos working within the organisation to expose environmental wrongdoings.

One of the investigation unit's big stories was to expose a swathe of safety breaches at BP installations around the globe (McClenaghan & Carter, 2016). A very solid piece of investigative journalism which is what you would expect from reporters of this calibre.

Regardless of what was going on in the UK, New Zealand journalists took umbrage at my job description. Certain of them made it plain that by crossing this perceived rubicon between 'recognised' media and a campaigning organisation 'with an agenda', meant that I would have to leave the tribe, hang up my pork pie hat with the reporter card in it. In footballing terms they seemed to see it as a clear case of divided loyalty. I'd taken on the manager's job at Liverpool while still insisting on wearing an Arsenal scarf at every game.

'Do you have a moral problem with this?' Asked NBR Radio, the broadcasting arm of the country's main business publication *National Business Review* (Walker, 2017) 'Why should I?' My argument is that the world is rapidly changing and we will have to start to accept that journalism can be practised anywhere and will continue to turn up in different places in this shrinking and fragmenting media sphere. What counts is the standard of the journalism, not the shape of the medium.

One of the interesting lines of attack from mainstream media was that a journalist working within an NGO like Greenpeace could not be trusted. This points to a possible reason for the disgruntlement—fallout from a crisis of credibility facing mainstream media with one symptom being a hypersensitivity to anything which might bring the profession into further disrepute.

I speak as someone who's experienced that drop in confidence and loss of audience. I reported and presented for populist prime time current affairs shows on New

Zealand television—*60 minutes, 20/20, Campbell Live, Fair Go, Sunday, Third Degree, 3D*—all of which relied heavily on public confidence for social licence.

As the new millennium progressed we watched viewership fall and our programmes go under. Mimicking the tumbling terrestrial ratings, confidence in the media also tracked steadily downwards. Across the developed world this credibility slippage has gone hand-in-hand with hollowed out newsrooms and shrinking resources.

At the turn of the decade journalism in the US was already experiencing a noticeable fall in trust. A Gallup poll in 2012 found

> 60 percent of Americans have little or no trust in the mass media to report the news fully, accurately and fairly…
> And
> … the Pew Centre showed a sharp fall in media credibility with a double digit drop in believability ratings compared to the previous decade. (Reavy, 2013)

A new president who bans established legacy media from White House press briefings and attacks their 'fake news' stories—well that's a fairly good snapshot of the current standing of journalism. This would not be taking place if the credibility of the media had not been so fundamentally compromised. It wouldn't have worked for Richard Nixon. Trust in the US media measured before and after the most recent election saw it drop from 40 to 35 per cent (Edelman, 2017a).

On this side of the Pacific, the latest Acumen Edelman Trust Barometer shows the level of trust for New Zealand media is even lower. It sits at 29 percent. Not only is that nine points down from last year, it's significantly less than the global average over 17 countries, which is 43 percent (Edelman, 2017b); which may help explain some of the local sensitivity around journalistic credibility.

Although I have seen no empirical proof of this, I suspect there will be a linkage between falling credibility and a rapid decline in the amount of investigative journalism, particularly on television. It is certainly an area worthy of inquiry. In 2015, the New Zealand mediascape was shaken by the closure of two influential current affairs programmes, *Campbell Live* and *3D*,(1) by Mediaworks, the private company that owned TV3. The closures were characterised by some left wing commentators as an actual threat to democracy (Bradbury, 2015).

This left one single long format primetime current affairs show, *Sunday* to serve a population of 4 million.

> 'You almost don't want to make too much noise about *Sunday* in case someone in an office somewhere remembers it still exists and realises they've forgotten to cancel it,' said a recent review blog. (Henderson, 2017)

On the newspaper front, journalistic credibility continues to be undermined by a cut-throat clickbait-driven competition between two dominant digital sites, *Stuff* and *The New Zealand Herald*. At the time of going to press they were waiting on a Commerce Commission decision as to whether they could merge. This would inevitably lead to further rationalisation and fewer journalists, with obvious effects on credibility.

The last few years have seen a startling race to the bottom powered by virulent comments sections, celeb gossip and tittle-tattle. Reporting highlights like this classic courtesy of media commentator Russell Brown:

> For some time last Wednesday, this was the second-lead story on the award-winning website of *The New Zealand Herald*: A man went to the supermarket and bought some cheese. It was sliced cheese. After he got home with the sliced cheese, he opened the packet and saw that the cheese had mould on it. The man probably thought about taking the cheese back to the supermarket, but he didn't. (Brown, 2016)

This is why it's hard to accept lessons in trustworthiness from the mainstream. Little wonder then that audiences are deserting traditional media. Management may blame falling attention levels, social media and smartphones but to my mind the unspoken issue of credibility cannot be left out of the equation. There must also be a certain, as yet unmeasured, chicken-and-egg connection between falling audience numbers and falling standards. Another research topic perhaps.

The fascinating thing about the Acumen Edelman Trust Barometer quoted earlier is that the public trust in Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) such as Greenpeace sits at 51 percent. That's 22 points higher than the trust in Media. So it could be said that my going across to 'the dark side' has substantially lifted my credibility with the public, if not with fellow journalists.

Credibility concerns aside, in deserting mainstream journalism I did experience concerns about audience reach. I wondered whether I might become a lonely voice in the wilderness. Since I started at television in the UK in the nineties, I had always had the luxury of being part of a programme which went out every night or every week and attracted a regular viewership.

As an investigative journalist that meant if I came across some dark and dingy doings which needed a light shone on them, I didn't have a Herculean struggle to get the story out. Sure, I had to pitch it to my executive producer, but if I could convince one gatekeeper, it would run. I was inside the gate. What would happen when I was on the other side? How would I reach an audience?

I had my answer within my first two weeks at Greenpeace. We sent out a helicopter to get the first video of the world's largest oil research vessel, the *Amazon Warrior*, in New Zealand waters. In the little AV unit at Greenpeace we edited these pictures and added scientific infographics explaining how seismic

blasting works—sonic explosions set off every 8 seconds to see if the sea floor contained any signs of oil. The effects on whales and dolphins and other animals that rely on sonic communication were self-evident. So too the risks of such marginal deep sea oil extraction at a depth much greater than Shell's Deepwater Horizon Rig which exploded in the Gulf of Mexico.

All of this, at a time when our reliance on fossil fuels is feeding climate change. I wrote a voiceover track the length of a short nightly news story—about 69 seconds long. (By comparison the sort of investigative content we hope to be making soon is more in the realms of 20-30 minutes in length) The minute-long video has now been viewed 1.9 million times. A mass audience way beyond the reach of our 200,000-strong Facebook page.

As a trial run it made me realise that the old model, obtaining such information and sharing it with mainstream media, was not the only pathway to a mass audience. Actually we could self-publish and reach people way beyond our supporters and their friends. It wasn't just preaching to the choir. As people get more and more of their information from the likes of Facebook and other social media this sort of audience will surely grow.

Washington University assistant professor of communication Matthew Powers points out that these sort of changes in news media, advocacy and technology are sparking a growth in what he calls 'NGO journalism' (Powers, 2015).

> Greenpeace joins a growing number of nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) trying their hand at journalism. Human Rights Watch now assigns photographers and videographers to produce multimedia packages that accompany research reports. Amnesty International employs 'news writers' charged with making the organisation a compelling online portal for human rights news. And in the midst of humanitarian emergencies, Oxfam sends 'firemen' reporters to gather information and offer analysis."

This new form of journalism must maintain high standards of factual accuracy, fairness and thoroughness, if it is to maintain the public credibility afforded NGOs. There is a concern from the mainstream that 'NGO journalism' will be biased. I agree. In the case of Greenpeace it will be biased towards the environment and away from greed and profiteering. But that bias in favour of the planet is intentional and transparent. I would argue that objectivity is an outdated and unachievable myth. As journalists we all come to stories with inherent biases—personal, financial or institutional. The manifest biases of the mainstream are far less easy to spot.

On a blogsite called Pundit Radio New Zealand, journalist Tim Watkin takes issue:

> We all have views, bad days, blind spots and imperfect knowledge. We make human mistakes and even get things wrong, despite the checking

> and double-checking. So I get all the mainstream media failings and don't pretend any of it's perfect. I get Phil's argument that mainstream journalism comes with bias and all the rest. But for me, that's not the point. Those are all problems from the journey, not from your place of origin. Or your intent. (Watkin, 2017)

Tim Watkin is in the unique and privileged position of being able to throw stones from within his own glasshouse. He enjoys the minority sport of public broadcasting where the taxpayer picks up the bill for everything they do. In the vast majority of other outlets you have an ecosystem completely supported by advertising and corporate sponsorship. Every day commercial decisions, large and small, compromise independence.

An example: There was a time when Tim Watkin and I both worked at TVNZ, at one time regarded as a bastion of public interest. The channel is required by the government to return a profit, it carries advertising, so corporate pressures are real and constant. Not long ago I was working at the consumer watchdog show *Fair Go*. I was in the process of reporting a story which was highly critical of a key advertiser's product. They were not happy. There was a huge amount of high level interference with the implicit threat of a withdrawal of advertising. It was only the editorial backbone of the executive producer which saved the story from being pulled. It was my last story there.

Then Watkin dusts off the hoary old chestnut of public interest in journalism.

> And the main reason I don't see Phil as a journalist is that, when he arrives at work each day, he starts from a fundamentally different place than I do. When I, or another journalist at RNZ, start on a story, we are able—no, expected—to follow the evidence wherever it leads. We are expected to work in the public interest. (Watkin, 2017)

Let us have a look at that lofty idea for a minute. Public interest is the reason why many good journalists are attracted to the job, true, but to see it as the main reason why they head out every day notebooks and phones in hand is naive, bordering on delusional.

As journalists, we would like to believe that our workplaces are like Aaron Sorkin's *The Newsroom*, where virtue and ethics are the bread and butter of everyday life. But they aren't. Sorry. We don't have aspirational conversations that run over multiple episodes about how we must risk the whole future of the news operation for a story which must be told, even if no-one watches it, for the sake of humanity. I'm afraid things are much more venal.

In my experience, journalists are more likely to be driven by the thrill of the chase. The glory of producing a unique story which has not been told. Ideally, it will provoke a change in the status quo as a reflection of its importance, and

theirs. Now the competition between journalists for the glory of telling a story which changes things—the highest accolade a journo can receive—often results in improvements for the public interest. Without sounding too much like a cynical old bear, it can be more of a useful side effect than an end goal.

Public interest is more of an aspirational ideal learnt in ethics classes rather than a day-to-day applied truth. Don't get me wrong, it is certainly quoted ad nauseum when journalists want to lift an embargo, dodge a defamation suit or get a suppression order lifted. But never have I heard in my entire quarter century of professional life someone say out loud in the newsroom, as Jeff Daniels' maverick news anchor character might have—'damn it, all I want us to do that story purely because it's in the public interest.'

Another distorting influence, especially in the commercial world of television is the ever-present sway of entertainment value. This adds a dramatic bias to every story selected. There may be an important story of public interest which needs to be told, we are not talking 'bring the government down' here, but something of moderate importance. If it is a story lacking in pretty pictures or sympathetic attractive characters it will be trumped every time by a story of lesser importance with beautiful vision and photogenic, articulate characters. All of these factors twist the meaning of 'public interest' turning it into something else 'of interest to the public'.

It is argued by Watkin that a journalist at an NGO cannot work for the public interest because they are beholden to their supporters. Actually, I don't think my new job could be any more attuned to the public interest. Without getting too preachy, halting climate change is in all of our interests. There aren't too many people, apart from 'end of days' enthusiasts plumping for the world to heat up so much we can no longer live on it. In this way, the twin fates of the planet and the public converge quite neatly.

I see the small furore over this job title as an illustration of the perception gap between how journalists see themselves and the way in which the public might view them. People are less fussed about where their information comes from. Certainly less fussed than journalists would hope. They are more likely to trust people like themselves on social media than the media or even government. To some extent legacy journalism is stuck in lalaland, believing they are the only trustworthy source of information and they must fight to keep the barbarians from the castle. A healthier response might be to celebrate journalism wherever it happens rather than raising the drawbridge and preparing for a siege.

In addition, there are also some very good practical reasons for calling myself a journalist. If I am to pursue investigations about individuals and corporates committing environmental crimes then this will help me protect my sources. The Greenpeace UK investigative team mentioned earlier relied heavily on a leaked internal document for the BP story.

Greenpeace New Zealand has set up a securedrop security system so that such documents can be lodged with us anonymously. The same system used by the likes of *The Guardian, The New York Times, Washington Post, Vice, CBC* and *Buzzfeed*. It offers whistleblowers full protection. But if I was to be introduced to the person who leaked the information and I wanted to protect my source's identity in court, I need to be recognised as a journalist under NZ law. So it's more than just semantics.

It would be remiss of me as a journalist not to discuss the dangers of bad journalism at NGOs. As Powers points out:

> The peril is that it will distract advocacy groups from their core aims and turn journalism into a platform for fundraising or misleading reporting. (Powers, 2015)

This puts a heavy onus on journalists who practise this new form of journalism to be even more assiduous than their mainstream equivalents about their accuracy and fact checking.

On the upside, if it's done well:

> ...by taking journalistic values like credibility and fairness seriously, these groups are able to produce the sorts of coverage that news organizations would if they had the time and resources to do so. Moreover, by fusing their reporting with recommendations for taking action, these groups also provide the public with potential solutions to the problems they describe. (Powers, 2015)

Powers is not afraid to use the words journalism and NGO in the same breath and I would encourage such bravery to take hold in New Zealand. It may be easier on the purists if we differentiate NGO journalism from the mainstream by giving it a name.

One possibility is Alternative Journalism as defined by Hirst (2009). He calls it a response to capitalism and imperialism as the global dynamic of domination and consolidation. Citizen Journalism is another iteration of the amateur genre that rose to prominence during the Arab Spring. Especially obvious in places where paid journalists are too frightened to tread and locals pick up their phones and document some of the realities of their lives. There's also Accidental Journalism. Someone who breaks a story by being in the right place at the right time.

Other possible descriptors include, Radical Journalism (popular in the 19th and 20th centuries), Critical Journalism, Activist Journalism and Social Justice Journalism.

My pick though would be the genre of Advocacy Journalism. This is described as journalism where the reporter intentionally and transparently adopts a non-objective point of view usually for some social or political purpose. French newspapers *Libération, Charlie Hebdo* and *L'Humanite* all reject the idea of

pseudo-objective journalism. Perhaps my former colleagues might be more sanguine about the term Advocacy Journalist.

I came across a useful checklist of the tenets of Advocacy Journalism which is worth sharing (Careless, 2000): Being truthful, accurate and credible, acknowledging your perspective, don't ignore your opponents, report embarrassing facts that support the opposition, avoid slogans and ranting, be fair and thorough, and make use of neutral sources to establish facts.

Some of these principles may be tricky to explain to hardcore campaigning organisations but they form part of a vital discussion if the journalists are to remain true to their profession. The benefits of having an advocacy journalist among your ranks are clear for both the organisation and the wider wellbeing of journalism, as Powers concludes:

> ….the growing presence of such groups in journalism provides an important reminder that solid reporting and heartfelt advocacy need not be polar opposites. At their best, they can be two sides of the same coin. (Powers, 2015)

A *National Business Review* article on the subject of journalism at Greenpeace (Rotherham, 2017) provoked a lively discussion with lots of journos pitching in but I was heartened by this tweet reaction from a member of the public.

> I guess, for me, the defn of 'journalism' is broad, and pieces should be judged on their merits.

In order to stem plunging levels of credibility and adapt to the fast changing digital environment while recognising existing biases within traditional reporting, it may be that mainstream media needs to embrace a more inclusive attitude towards so-called 'NGO journalism'. NGO journalists for their part should ensure that they maintain high levels of factual accuracy and fairness in their work to maintain credibility. If they are concerned about criticism from the mainstream they could perhaps look at adopting more nuanced ways of describing themselves. Advocacy journalist is a descriptor which might acknowledge the intentional and transparent bias which comes with working for a campaigning organisation such as Greenpeace while still maintaining the basic tenet of working for the public interest.

The 30-year-old activist I interviewed is off to lead a Nonviolent Direct Action (NVDA, as they say in the business) in the oil prospecting capital of the country, New Plymouth. By the time you are reading this she might have already been arrested and charged.

Crossing the line is not without its dangers.

Note

1. The author was a journalist on both investigative programmes.

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5. *The Solar Nation of Tokelau*
An adventure in documentary making

ULLI WEISSBACH

Figure 1: Powering a people —*The Solar Nation of Tokelau*.

Commentary: The Tokelau solar project first came to the attention of this filmmaker at a Pacific Energy Summit in Auckland, New Zealand, in 2013. Three remote islands in the Pacific becoming the first 100 percent solar-powered nation on earth and setting an example for the complete adaptation of sustainable energy sounded like a story too good to be overlooked by mainstream news media. However, research demonstrated that this was indeed widely ignored. So the author set about his usual practice of pitching the idea to his colleagues at German Television. The fact that he had already made a short documentary about Tokelau in 2006 (*ARTE TV Reportage: Independence Referendum in Tokelau*) and was thus familiar with the territory and its people, worked in his favour. But funding proved to be a difficult challenge because the logistics of the project demanded a longer than usual shooting schedule and crew time. In the end, a solution was found by accessing additional funding and negotiating a bulk deal with the crew to make *The Solar Nation of Tokelau* (2014).

Keywords: climate change, development, documentaries, energy, environmental journalism, filmmaking, Pacific, solar energy, sustainability, Tokelau

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Introduction

THE Solar Nation of Tokelau is a 44 minute television documentary produced and directed by me. It was commissioned in 2014 by SWR, a broadcaster of the ARD network in Germany (German TV One) and broadcast by ARTE TV, an arts and culture channel broadcasting to over 200 million viewers in central Europe. The original German version was entitled *Die Sonnenmenschen von Tokelau (The Sunny People of Tokelau)* and the French version *Le Paradis Solaire de Tokelau (The Sunny Paradise of Tokelau)*, as ARTE is a French-German joint venture and broadcast bilingual programmes[1]. Later, an English version was produced for international distribution, entitled *The Solar Nation of Tokelau*.

The first broadcast over ARTE's European network was on 21 September 2015 with multiple replays following in France and Germany. The New Zealand premiere took place on 8 August 2016 in the historic Devonport Victoria Cinema, Auckland. Since then it was selected by the *Festival International du Film documentaire Océanien* (FIFO) 2017, an Oceania documentary film festival in Tahiti (www.fifo-tahiti.com), and GreenMe (www.greenme.de), an environmental film festival in Berlin.

Apart from me (director/producer), most of the film crew[2] consisted of New Zealand professionals. Only the main video editor was originally from Germany, like me. This article outlines the complex logistics and other challenges facing a European (*Palagi*) filmmaker in the Pacific Islands, as experienced with this Tokelau documentary.

The story and its sale

The author first heard about the Tokelau solar project at a Pacific Energy Summit[3] in Auckland in 2013. Three remote islands in the Pacific becoming the first 100 percent solar-powered nation on earth and setting an example for the complete adaptation of sustainable energy sounded like a story too good to be overlooked by mainstream news media. However, research demonstrated that this was indeed widely ignored.

So the author set about his usual practice of pitching the idea to his colleagues at German Television. The fact that he had already made a short documentary about Tokelau in 2006 (*ARTE TV Reportage: Independence Referendum in Tokelau*) and was thus familiar with the territory and its people worked in his favour. But funding proved to be a difficult challenge because the logistics of the project demanded a longer than usual shooting schedule and crew time. In the end, a solution was found by accessing additional funding and negotiating a bulk deal with the crew to make *The Solar Nation of Tokelau*.

Solar energy and the example of Tokelau

The maths and physics behind solar energy deliver some mind-boggling figures. Physically the sun is nothing but an open nuclear fusion reactor, contained by its own gravity. Fusion transforms matter into pure energy, a process that happens in every star of the universe. This way, our sun emits almost unlimited amounts of energy. Only the small part that is absorbed by the earth's atmosphere is estimated at 174 Petawatt (PW)—174,000,000,000,000,000 Watt. And that again represents more energy per hour than the earth's current energy demand in one year (Solarkonstante, n.d.).


ULLI WEISSBACH

Figure 2: Solar mastermind Foua Toloa, the late *Ulu o' Tokelau*.

Calculations speak for solar power as the ideal power source. It can be captured passively with solar panels or other collectors. It indirectly creates wind and ocean currents that can drive turbines. It also drives the natural process of photosynthesis that feeds the world.

The sun certainly shines generously on Tokelau, three little islands close to the equator, where sun exposure is at a maximum. This inspired an idea in a Tokelau politician's head: Foua Toloa, *Faipule* (mayor) of the island of Fakaofo and *Ulu o' Tokelau* (Head of Government) for two years. Speaking at the United Nations Climate Conference in Durban (2011), he pledged: 'We have no intention of leaving (our islands). This is a God-given land; we have a culture, a language, an identity and a heritage. We want to preserve Tokelau for future generations' (Interview with Foua Toloa, 2015).

Foua announced that Tokelau would, in 2012, 'switch entirely to renewable energy', as the territory would 'switch off its old diesel generators and be powered by a NZ$7.5 million solar PV system designed to provide 90 percent of its energy. The rest will come from home-made coconut oil'. He urged the rest of the world to move towards renewable energy in a similar manner (Foua Toloa, n.d.).

It was the birth of Tokelau's ambitious 'Renewable Energy Project', which would see Tokelau become the first nation on earth to be almost 100 percent powered by solar energy and reduce its carbon footprint to almost zero.

The machinery behind the project is three solar power plants—one on each island— with a combined output of 1 Megawatt. According to the NZ subcontractor, solar installation company PowerSmart, the project 'involved the installation of 4,032 photovoltaic panels, 392 inverters and 1,344 batteries across the three atolls—Fakaofo, Nukunonu, and Atafu (PowerSmart, 2012).

The use of batteries as backup power for nights and other no-sunshine periods makes the Tokelau solar installation the largest off-grid power plant in the world; with 'off-grid' meaning not connected to any existing power grid. In most other locations on earth, solar power installations deliver their excess power

into the existing power grid, thereby bypassing the need for storage. But having never been connected to an outside power grid, Tokelau's off-grid solar solution makes it truly independent in its power supply. Something no nation can claim.

Before Tokelau's solar transition, its diesel generators were burning around 200 litres of fuel daily on each atoll. Tokelau's total consumption amounted to more than 2,000 barrels of diesel each year, costing more than NZ$1 million. The cost and physical labour to ship them from Samoa to Tokelau and manhandle them from the ferry into boats and ashore is on top of this.

Although Tokelau's solar power is now generated for free, the local government decided still to charge the pre-solar electricity price of 50 cents per kWh. The accumulated capital will be used to pay for maintaining the system and future upgrades.

What about the other side of the energy equation—the greenhouse gas emissions of the former diesel generators. David Sheppard of *Islands Business* magazine did some interesting calculations:

> Prior to the advent of the Tokelau Renewable Energy Project (TREP), the inhabitants of these three atolls used fossil fuel (diesel) power generators for their electricity needs. A typical Tokelauan home consumes between 5 and 14 kilowatt-hour (kWh) per day, accounting for an average demand for the country of 150 kilowatts per day. Based on this approximation, Tokelau emitted 1,695 kilogrammes of carbon dioxide per day when using diesel fuel for electricity generation. This translates to 620.5 metric tonnes of greenhouse gases emitted by Tokelau in one year for power generation" (before solar). (Sheppard, 2013)

A saving of 620.5 metric tonnes of greenhouse gases per year may look minuscule compared to large, industrialised nations. But it is all Tokelau could do. And it has done it.—*Ulli Weissbach*

Logistics—a nightmare

Given the remoteness of the three Tokelau islands, transport of crew and equipment was the biggest challenge from the beginning (pre-production planning). The three atolls, with a total population of only 1,500 (Tokelau Census, 2016) on only 10 km^2 of land, are situated in the middle of the Pacific, 500 km north of Samoa, far away from shipping lines, without an airport or a harbour.

The only connection is an unreliable ferry service between Samoa and Tokelau that operates every two weeks. The ferry carries people and supplies to all three islands on a three to four-day round trip, stopping at each island for only a few hours of loading and unloading. Which means that if a minimum film crew of three—director, cameraman, sound operator—want to spend a reasonable amount of days on each island, they would have to stay at least two weeks on each island to wait for the next ferry to take them to the neighbouring island. But six weeks shooting time would have definitely blown the budget.

The three atolls Atafu, Nukunonu and Fakaofo are only 90 kilometers

(between Atafu and Nukunonu) and 68 kilometres (Nukunonu-Fakaofo) apart, but the fishing boats on each island are not safe enough to bridge this divide. So other transport options were explored, like chartering a boat or even a helicopter from Samoa to Tokelau. But charter boats were still outside the budget limits and there was no helicopter in Samoa that had a long enough range to fly to Tokelau and back (Smith, 2017).

Also, no time and budget had yet been set aside, to do a proper 'recce', a research trip to Tokelau to get consent from the locals and organise a shooting schedule. Solutions for both, crew transport and recce, fell in place with time. The recce could be done by joining an annual maintenance trip of the solar engineering team, for which a separate ferry was chartered to visit all three islands in 2014. And an earlier collaboration with the German ocean foundation OKEANOS (okeanos-foundation.org/sustainable-sea-transport/) proved to be valuable in providing a reasonable and safe transport option. OKEANOS supports sustainable sea transport in the Pacific by building replicas of traditional Polynesian *vaka* and using them as 'school ships' for young Polynesian navigators, who want to learn the ancient art of Polynesian navigation. OKEANOS' vaka are seaworthy for long distance travel in the Pacific, equipped with solar panels, electric motors and modern navigation tools. But their design follows the classic Polynesian two-hulled sailing vaka, with which the Polynesians conquered the Pacific thousands of years ago.

Thanks to OKEANOS, the film crew was able to use one of its vaka (*Rangi*) and crew for their shooting trip to Tokelau in May/June 2015. For this project, the vaka was relocated from Tahiti to Samoa—a distance of more than 4,000 km —in a record time of 12 days. The trip with film crew from Samoa to Tokelau took only 60 hours, 24 hours longer than the ferry. In terms of dramaturgy it was only natural to incorporate the vaka trip into the story.

Island authorities and politics

At first it seemed political and administrative responsibilities were clear. Tokelau was a New Zealand territory, administered by the government in Wellington, i.e. the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT). But as more research and production planning progressed, it became clear that MFAT had almost no control over the internal affairs of Tokelau. Or, as MFAT defines its relationship to Tokelau more diplomatically:

> Tokelau is a New Zealand territory, yet has its own political institutions, judicial system, public services, telecommunications and shipping systems, and full control of its budget. New Zealand provides about 60 percent of Tokelau's annual government budget, and we're responsible for their defence and security, including maritime surveillance and other defence

> programmes. We've never had a physical presence in Tokelau—our administration is light-handed with little influence on Tokelau's distinct culture or everyday life on the atolls. (MFAT, n.d.)

There is an MFAT 'Administrator' in charge for Tokelau, who would have been a 'Governor' in colonial times. But the notion that Tokelau is a 'colony' of NZ has to be avoided of course. His role is described on The Government of Tokelau's website as:

> Administrative and legislative powers of the Administrator of Tokelau are formally delegated to the three Taupulega (Village Council of Elders) of Tokelau as the highest authority. Authority for national issues is re-delegated to the General Fono to deal with issues beyond those properly undertaken by each village alone. Consistent with this power structure is a devolution of most public service delivery to the villages. In each village a General Manager along with other staff members, including teachers and medical staff, support each Taupulega in their government functions. National-level administration is primarily done by the national public service, most of which is based in Apia. (Government of Tokelau, n.d.)

Although formally a dependent territory of New Zealand, Tokelau can basically rule itself and decide how its NZ-sponsored budget is spent. After declining the offer of independence in a referendum held in 2006 (Tokelauan self-determination, 2006), Tokelau enjoys the best of both worlds: NZ financial support and virtual independence as a self-ruling entity.

In practical terms, most of the administration is outsourced to the 'Office of the Council for the Ongoing Government of Tokelau', located in Samoa's capital Apia, also called the 'Tokelau Apia Liaison Office'. This office executes the decisions of the island councils and the national Fono.

It took me some time to realise that I could not expect any support from MFAT in arranging my shooting trip. Nor was the 'Tokelau Apia Liaison Office' in a position to make any decision without the consent of the Taupulega, the village council of elders with a membership of 10 to 12 seniors representing a village (island) maximum of 500 people.

Combined with a high degree of rivalry between the three islands and complex internal politics and intrigues on each island, this power structure proved to be almost insurmountable when it came to planning and executing the film production. Even though the author had done a preparatory trip to Tokelau one year before the actual shooting and thought he had the elders on his side, the mood and composition of the councils had changed again when the film crew arrived. In one case the obstruction had reached a high point, when the vaka and film crew were only allowed to land on the atoll after intervention from the

'Ulu', the titular head of Tokelau. He was to be interviewed for the documentary and happened to live on this island.

There were numerous other hurdles and obstacles to overcome. But in the end everything fell in place in a way that can only be described as the 'Pacific Way'. The film crew enjoyed the full cooperation of each island and the author again learnt a lesson: that no amount of planning can prevent a completely different course of events, when dealing with Pacific islanders. Or, in other words: Don't worry, it will happen, but in a totally different way.

Island time

'Island time' is another term often used in the islands to calm down Europeans waiting nervously for something to happen. It means that islanders have a different concept of time, which allows them to operate in another continuum than that of the outsider or visitor. This is hard to prove by any scientific means, be it cosmology or psychology. But it is a widely accepted concept and should be acknowledged by anyone working in the islands.

Unexpected events

The general rule in the Pacific is: *Expect the unexpected.* Sometimes things happen faster than anticipated, like the launching of a canoe or the catching of a fish. And sometimes things happen, that nobody has ever dreamt of. For a documentary filmmaker they present invaluable opportunities to give their story another twist or just a comical moment, like the twinkle of an eye or hearty laughter.

In order to catch these little moments, the camera operator needs a sense of anticipation and fast reaction time. Nothing that can be learned in any way; it only comes with years of experience. A good briefing by the director/producer (me in this case), who needs to communicate his or her story and its intended style to the whole crew.

Visualisation

Having a European audience in mind, I knew from the beginning how important it was to visualise the geographic anomaly of an atoll. In nature an atoll is the crater rim of an underwater volcano that forms an irregular ring of small, flat islands, so-called *motu* around a lagoon (the crater). No one has better described the nature of an atoll than James Mitchener, the American writer who travelled the Pacific extensively during World War Two:

> This is the wonder of an atoll, that you are safe within the lagoon while outside the tempest rages. The atoll becomes a symbol of all men seeking refuge, the security of home, the warmth of love. Lost in a wilderness of

> ocean, the atoll is a haven that captivates the mind and rests the human spirit. (Michener, 1951)

Two techniques lent themselves to visualise the nature of an atoll:

1. Google Earth Animation allows an experienced video editor to zoom into any location from a global perspective and create virtual 3D flights over objects and even under water. It was used to show the location of Tokelau's three atolls and their geographical nature.
2. A camera drone was used to film real HD aerials of every atoll to demonstrate their limited land area, small settlements and facilities on land.

Both techniques proved to be very effective in portraying the unique beauty of an atoll, which probably has never been shown before in this detail and intensity. Surely the Tokelauans themselves, who were later presented with the footage, have never seen their homeland in that way.

Music

Music is essential for the emotional tone of a documentary. Music supports the pictures and creates a mood for the story, be it happy feelings, or sadness or fear. It is essentially another layer of story telling. For a documentary to be authentic, it is better to use the music of the locality being featured. In the case of Tokelau, the choice was clear: Te Vaka (www.tevaka.com), a Polynesian pop band whose leader and songwriter Ope Foa'i originates from Tokelau.

In more than 20 years of documentary production in the South Pacific, the author was lucky to establish a close relationship with Te Vaka and Ope and has used their music many times. Te Vaka has created a fusion of rock, pop and traditional Polynesian music and is internationally renowned as the number one 'world music' ambassador for the Pacific. With its combination of log drums, guitars and Polynesian voices and lyrics, Te Vaka produces a distinctive 'Pacific sound' or feeling.

More recently, Ope Foa'i was chosen by the Disney Movie company to write the music for its animated feature *Moana*, a tale about Polynesian migration in the Pacific.

Other elements of the story

Already in the research and planning stage, it became clear that Tokelau's solar project could only be the core of a much wider narrative about life on an atoll. The sheer remoteness and isolation of Tokelau offered the opportunity to present a unique culture and community as it has existed over many hundreds and thousands of years in the Pacific. 'The Romance of the South Seas' has been portrayed by Herman Melville and numerous other 'South Sea' writers and left a lasting impression on Europeans and their dream of an innocent and peaceful life in the legendary Pacific islands.

Two important aspects of Tokelau culture perfectly illustrated this romantic dream:

The *Inati* system of sharing and caring, a sort of primeval communism, where all work and income is shared by the community. For instance, the fishermen—every adult male Tokelauan is a fisherman—share the work of fishing and their catch with the community. Although there are many more aspects to the Inati system, it presents an intriguing example of a 'sharing economy', as it is discussed in economic circles nowadays.

As the practice of *fishing* has dominated Tokelauan culture and economy since time immemorial, it was worth looking at as well. The sheer abundance of fish, the artistry of the fishermen, the sharing of the catch and its preparation are essential elements of Tokelauan culture. And the depletion of their fishing grounds by foreign fishing pirates presents, after climate change, the other major threat to Tokelau's survival.

Conclusion

There are many more things that drive a documentary. But the most important contribution always comes from its people, or in film terms 'protagonists'. Despite its isolation and tiny population, Tokelau presented itself as a well-educated, warm-hearted, fun-loving and close-knit community, which catches and serves the best seafood on the planet.

On behalf of the film crew, I wish to thank all Tokelauans for their hospitality and friendly cooperation in this project. They deserve more recognition for what they have achieved with their solar project, more than this documentary can do. They also deserve to survive the consequences of climate change, which threatens their islands.

Notes

1. 'As the European Culture Channel, ARTE provides cultural programming that fosters understanding among Europeans and brings people together. Since its creation in 1991, ARTE stands for cultural diversity and multilingualism. ARTE uncovers new talent, encourages artistic creativity, and preserves and promotes Europe's cultural heritage. ARTE supports talented film-makers as a co-producer and shows ambitious new creations, daring drama and series. On offer are also bold documentaries, no infotainment but daily news of vital interest to Europeans.' Retrieved from 'ARTE in five languages' from www.arte.tv/sites/en/corporate/des-programmes-pour-tous-2/?lang=en#about

2. Director/producer: Ulli Weissbach, NZ producer: Lisa Walker, DOP: Mark Chamberlin, Sound and drone operator: Sander Dercks, Post-production: Michael Moennich, Editor and Google Animator: Andy Milne.

3. Pacific Energy Summit: Bridging the commercial, public and nonprofit sectors (2013). An annual invitation-only summit. Retrieved from http://pacificenergysummit.org/

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6. Engaging communities in environmental communication

Abstract: This article makes a case for alternative communication models as a means of strengthening networks both for dialogue and social action in environmental communication. It first charts the emergence of the environmental movement in the Pacific region as a consequence of 50 years of nuclear testing. This is followed by a discussion of contemporary environmental concerns facing Pacific communities and the networks of solidarity that have emerged. Participatory media provides an important platform for local communities through which they can share knowledge, create awareness and provide their own perspectives on environmental issues.

Keywords: collaboration, environmental communication, environmental movements, networks, Pacific, participation, participatory media, sharing

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Introduction

THE STORY of modern environmental movements is one of people power. When people aspire for change they will take action to bring it about. As communities around the world have become aware of large-scale degradation of their waterways, forests, oceans and air they have turned to civic action and grassroots democracy to demand change. From the streets of New York to the Himalayan villages in northern India, from the forests of Tasmania to the coral lagoons of the Pacific Islands, citizens have banded together to protest against chemical poisoning, deforestation and nuclear testing in their 'backyard'.

Environmental movements result from deep ecological concern in ordinary people about threats to their natural habitat as a result of unsustainable development activity. At the heart of such protest movements is an agenda for social, economic and political change which seeks a better deal for both the natural and human environment through policy reforms and promulgation of social values that ensure sustainable use of natural resources. Concerns about preserving the ecological balance, inequitable distribution of resources, social

justice, and emancipation of marginalised and displaced peoples have mobilised grassroots action for social change (see Maldonado, Colombi & Pandya, 2013; Dalton, Recchia & Rohrschneider, 2003; Jain, 1984). The deep discontent felt by individuals and communities in their everyday life progressively acquires broader 'networks of solidarity' as local direct action is supported by national and global acts of resistance (Dutta, 2012, p.34). For Castells (2009, p. 300) social movements are a result of 'social actors aiming for cultural change' which he explains as 'a change of values and beliefs processed in the human mind on a scale large enough to affect society as a whole'. Political change occurs when institutions adopt these new values in response to the cultural change. Effective communication and collaboration among actors are essential elements in achieving this transformation as Castells (2009, p. 301) elucidates:

> Social movements are formed by communicating messages of rage and hope. The specific structure of communication of a given society largely shapes social movements. In other words, social movements, and politics, insurgent or not, spring up and live in the *public space.* Public space is *the space of societal, meaningful interaction where ideas and values are formed, conveyed, supported, and resisted; space that ultimately becomes a training ground for action and reaction* [italics in original text]. (Castells, 2009, p. 301)

Castell's use of the term 'public space' aligns with the Habermasian public sphere where the ferment of ideas and political action takes place. As Brulle explains: 'The public sphere is where social movement organisations can identify problems, develop possible solutions, and create sufficient political pressure to have them addressed by constitutional governments' (Habermas in Brulle, 2010, p. 4).

The ecological impact of human action has led to air and water pollution, deforestation, loss of biodiversity and danger from radioactive waste disposal, as well as the long term climate change impacts such as desertification, rising sea levels and frequent extreme weather events, to name just a few. Expanding on the range of the 1970s and 80s environmental movement, contemporary environmental protests seek to protect traditional sites, and conserve forests, rivers and land for future generations. Environmental activists have challenged multinational interests whose actions are motivated by profit or national governments striving for national economic growth. Examples of these include the Chipko movement in India, Franklin River Dam protests in Tasmania, the Dakota Access Pipeline protests by Standing Rock Sioux tribe in the United States, and a series of battles between mining giants and traditional communities in Papua New Guinea.

This article makes a case for alternative communication models as a means of strengthening environmental networks both for dialogue and political action.

Participatory media provides an important platform for local communities through which they can share knowledge, create awareness and provide their own perspectives on environmental issues. It begins by charting the emergence of the environmental movement in the Pacific region as a consequence of 50 years of nuclear testing. This is followed by a discussion of contemporary environmental concerns facing Pacific communities, and the networks of solidarity that have given Pacific peoples a common voice against neo-colonial policies, resource exploitation by foreign powers, and a desire for political independence. The article first reviews key milestones in the global environmental movement beginning in the 1960s to provide a background for the discussion.

Background

Between 1800 and the mid-1900s countries in the northern hemisphere underwent rapid industrialisation as fossil fuels in the form of oil and coal provided a cheap and abundant source of energy for powering the industrial complex. While economic growth and technological innovations had brought many benefits such as electrification, better yields in agricultural food production and greater affordability in car and home ownership, use of coal power was also the cause of many ills both to human health and the natural environment. People in industrialising countries suffered the side effects of carbon pollution as millions of tons of coal were burned to provide power to factories. The Great Smog of 1952 in the United Kingdom took place during an unusually cold period in December as a result of an anti-cyclone which trapped pollution from factory chimneys in the lower atmosphere. The UK Met Office describes its effects:

> A fog so thick and polluted it left thousands dead wreaked havoc on London in 1952. The smoke-like pollution was so toxic it was even reported to have choked cows to death in the fields. It was so thick it brought road, air and rail transport to a virtual standstill. (The Great Smog of 1952, 2015)

Impurities in the atmosphere were measured in tonnes including dangerous levels of carbon dioxide, hydrochloric acid, fluorine compounds, and sulphur dioxide which had converted into sulphuric acid. More than 4,000 people died as a result of the Great Smog. Similar evidence of man-made environmental degradation emerged in other places in the northern hemisphere. In Sweden, there was concern about pollution in the form of sulphur emissions from the United Kingdom and Central Europe. The resulting acid rain and the acidity of Scandinavia's lakes and streams caused large-scale fish death. The health and productivity of forests' soils and trees were also damaged. In 1967, Sweden became the first nation in the world to take government action in developing environmental regulations when it created the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency (Johnson, 2012).

In the United States great natural spaces were being 'tamed' by emptying lakes and filling in flowing creeks in order to build roads and great cities during the industrial revolution. Large-scale degradation of the natural environment had an impact on human health. Ten years after the Great Smog in Britain, American marine biologist and nature writer, Rachel Carson, warned against the hazards of chemical pesticides namely Dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane (DDT). In her critically acclaimed book *Silent Spring* (1962), Carson questioned humans' domination of nature made possible by modern scientific discoveries: 'Only within the moment of time represented by the present century has one species—man—acquired significant power to alter the nature of the world' (p. 5). Her book depicted a future world where spring no longer meant a joyous celebration of life because all life—birds, apple blossoms, fish and even children—had been 'silenced' by the insidious effects of DDT. Carson warned of ecological destruction of whole natural systems caused by humans' attempts to control pests, and through the industrial manufacture and indiscriminate use of DDT. Her singular attempts to expose the insidious role of man-made pesticides raised public awareness about the fragile nature of the environment and the intricate interconnectedness of the ecosystem.

Sweden proposed the idea of a United Nations conference on the Human Environment in 1968. In putting the case for the conference, Sweden's Ambassador to the UN, Sverker Astrom, urged world leaders to find solutions to environmental problems since it was in the interest of all peoples on earth, because 'Man depends for his survival on an infinitely complex system of relationship and balance between innumerable living organisms, all existing in or on the extremely thin crust of earth or just above it' (Johnson, 2012, p. 9).

The time was also right for an environmental movement which would catalyse the agency of American people. The first grassroots environmental action took place on the first Earth Day 22 April 1970 when 20 million Americans filled the city streets, parks, town squares and foreshores all across the United States to call for environmental protection. Students, housewives, labourers, farmers and office workers converged in public spaces demanding action from their government to become better guardians of the land, rivers, lakes, air and all living things that needed these natural resources to survive. Founder of Earth Day, Senator Gaylord Nelson (How the First Earth Day Came About, n.d.) recalled the immediate and immense response to his announcement for Earth Day:

> Earth Day worked because of the spontaneous response at the grassroots level. We had neither the time nor resources to organise 20 million demonstrators and the thousands of schools and local communities that participated. That was the remarkable thing about Earth Day. It organised itself.

Telegrams, letters and telephones were used to network and organise local action. Groups that had been fighting against oil spills, polluting factories and power plants, raw sewage, toxic dumps, pesticides, freeways, the loss of wilderness, the extinction of wildlife, and nuclear testing suddenly realized they shared common values (The History of Earth Day, 2017). The modern environmental movement was thus born thanks to the efforts of people all over the world who demanded greater environmental protection.

In the Global South the structural inequities in the global economic system controlled by imperial powers framed the debates around environmentalism aligned with democratic and human rights principles. Independence from colonial rule would emancipate developing nations and give them greater control over land and water resources. Examples include the Gandhian independence movement of 'Satyagraha', an action of non-violent non co-operation against the British rule in India, and Julius Nyerere's 'Ujamaa' policies which prioritised family and community in social and economic development.

Environmental movement in the Pacific

In the Pacific, like other developing regions, the environmental movement was framed within the larger emancipatory politics for self determination and indigenous rights to land and natural resources. Between 1946 and 1996, Oceania was the site for nuclear testing by the United States, Britain and France. A total of 315 atmospheric and underground tests were carried out in the colonial territories of the Marshall Islands, Gilbert and Ellis Islands (now Kiribati and Tuvalu) and Moruroa and Fangataufa atolls. Alister Barry's documentary *A Nuclear Free Pacific* (1988) makes the point: 'The view of the South Pacific is that of a region of peace. The reality is that the South Pacific has played the role of midwife to the nuclear arms race. The irony is that it was a role imposed on the region by its allies.' The colonial powers had little regard for the wellbeing of Pacific Island inhabitants who were under their jurisdiction. Instead, the Oceanic region, with 96 percent sea surface and thousands of uninhabited islands, was seen as a 'safe zone' because of its distance from the metropolitan centres of the world. Smith (1997, p. 1) explains that during the 'post-war period the micro-states of the Pacific have been generally dismissed as 'political backwaters'… and Pacific Islanders portrayed as passive actors—as opposed to recognising their abilities to influence events'.

Within the region there was rising concern about nuclear fallout and its health implications on Pacific Island communities and marine life which was their main food source. In 1975, the first conference of the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific (NFIP) in Suva, Fiji brought together church leaders, academics, students, emerging political leaders, environmental activists and indigenous community groups (see Robie, 2014). As a young student in Papua New Guinea at the time,

Rex Rumakiek was campaigning to raise awareness about the West Papua independence movement. He remembers:

> It was an exciting time. People really felt connected to the issue. It was inspiring to go to the meeting. There were fights, there were cries because people felt like they were discovering something new, something that could solve the problems. They found their voice and their networks through this movement. (Interviewed by author, 4 November, 2016)

Rumakiek, who later became one of the leading campaigners for West Papua independence, recalls the meeting as a historically important event that marked the emergence of a collective Pacific consciousness.

> The people realised that these issues are connected—the nuclear issue, the danger of nuclear and colonisation, these issues are connected. The fact that these devices are being tested on indigenous land is because people have no freedom to make decisions, they are still under a colony so they need to be liberated, they need their freedom so they can stop these devices to be tested on their ground. (Ibid.)

The meetings marked a watershed in Pacific political consciousness and gave rise to the environmental movement to end nuclear testing in the region. As political awareness grew within the region throughout the 70s and 80s, Pacific Islanders asserted their own political agenda, channelling their efforts through the Nuclear-Free and Independent Pacific (NFIP) movement. NFIP was a loose collective of civil society representatives who formulated the People's Charter for Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific in 1983. It states in its Preamble: 'We, the people of the Pacific will assert ourselves and wrest control over the destiny of our nations and our environment from foreign powers, including the Trans-National Corporations' (NFIP, 1983).

The French government met the rising opposition to its activities in the Pacific with military style response when in 1985 it bombed the Greenpeace anti-nuclear flagship, the *Rainbow Warrior,* which was moored in Auckland Harbour, New Zealand (Robie, 2014). Despite international condemnation, French nuclear testing continued in the Pacific until 1996. France maintains its jurisdiction over French Polynesia known as 'Overseas Lands of France', as well as New Caledonia and Wallis and Futuna.

The region has experienced other environmental struggles between the local population and foreign interests. Bougainville and OK Tedi mines in Papua New Guinea endured ecological destruction as a direct result of bad mining practices (Kirsch, 2007). Australian mining giant BHP's operations at the OK Tedi copper-gold mine in the western province of Papua New Guinea resulted in

one of the worst human-caused ecological disasters. Mine wastes were dumped in the OK Tedi and Fly Rivers, causing large scale damage to the surrounding forests and wildlife, poisoning the river system and village gardens and leading to the displacement of villagers from their traditional lands. A class action by Papua New Guinean landowners forced BHP to commission a report into its operations at OK Tedi mines. In 1996 the company reached an out-of-court settlement with the landowners for an estimated US $500 million. With BHP's withdrawal from the mine its commitment to clean up the polluted areas remains to be met (Troubled Waters, 2012).

In Bougainville, conflict ensued between landowners and mine operators as a result of pollution from mine tailings to the surrounding environment and its impact on the islanders' traditional way of life. Panguna Mines, one of the world's biggest open cut copper mines, was owned and operated by a subsidiary of the mining giant Rio Tinto. While the mine generated billions of dollars of revenue for the PNG government and huge profits for the mine operators, Bougainville landowners received little compensation for their land and rivers which were being poisoned as reported in *The Sydney Morning Herald*: '…millions of tonnes of acid-laced mine tailings killed the Jaba and Kawerong rivers. The rivers had been a source of water and food for thousands, but large sections now resemble a moonscape, forcing people to leave their homes' (Flitton, 2016). With their demands unmet, a rebel group made up of young Bougainville landowners formed the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA) and fought a bloody civil war which drove out both the PNG government forces and the mining giant. The decade long conflict which began in 1988 cost 20,000 lives and led to the closure of the mine (see Robie, 2014; Phillips, 2015). The Autonomous Bougainville Government continues to seek environmental justice from mining polluters to clean up large areas of the land which remain uninhabitable (Flitton, 2016).

In West Papua similar concerns are recorded in the operation of the Freeport copper mine where 200,000 tonnes of tailings per day (over 80 million tonnes per year) are dumped in the river systems causing floods, deforestation and grave impacts on community health and livelihoods (Troubled Waters, 2012). In the case of West Papua, which is under Indonesian rule, the mining operations not only imperil the environment, but also the indigenous population, who are considered to be at risk of becoming 'an anthropological museum exhibit of a bygone culture' (Schulman, 2016). Many small island nations rely exclusively on their river systems for fresh water. With prolonged and more severe droughts due to climate change, protection of rivers and streams from long-term pollution is more critical than ever before.

The Pacific Islanders also face numerous home grown ecological challenges. These include poor urban planning, waste disposal, urban drift which has led to overpopulation in cities and towns, energy inefficiency and overuse of natural resources.

The Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP) has identified four main regional priorities in its 10-year strategic plan (SPREP 2017: 10): Climate Change Resilience

1. Ecosystem and Biodiversity Protection
2. Waste Management and Pollution Control
3. Environmental Governance

Networks and Pacific regionalism

Networks are important for building resilient communities. Three pillars –collaboration, sharing and active participation are needed for networks to function effectively. The idea of networks is found in nature as Harper (2012, p. 3) explains: 'The most fundamental concept for ecological understanding is the notion of a *system* as a network of interconnected and interdependent parts […]. Thus an ecosystem means the "community" of things that live and interact in parts of the geophysical environment'. This idea aligns with White's (2003, p. 43) explanation of the participatory process whereby groups of people come together to 'pursue mutual interests and projects' in different forms of network. She states, 'The key to establishing networks is creating a context of ongoing dialogue, consensual thinking, and shared commitment to action…' In this article, network is defined as human-to-human relationships which may be assisted by other communication technologies such as audio, text and video messaging. These may include internet-based social networks such as Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, and mobile technologies, especially smart phones. With advances in technology human networks cover huge expanses to include not only our socio-cultural affiliations, but the global community in which communication enables the building of relationships and sharing of knowledge and information on a vast scale.

The idea of sharing is found in many cultures and also is a core principle in reciprocity. To engender a culture of sharing, people must be involved in meaningful exchanges of knowledge and skills which enable trust building. White explicates:

> In the process of sharing, people can arrive at more clear understanding of their own life circumstances. By sharing, people can realize that they are not alone with their problems. Through sharing people can acquire useful knowledge and understanding. (White, 2003, p. 53).

The Pacific social structure is based on strong kinship networks and a culture of reciprocity. The act of giving and receiving is entrenched within the traditional value system of Pacific cultures. One form of this is commonly referred to as '*kerekere*' or 'borrowing favour' and arises out of communal practice in

Fiji. Reciprocity generates unity and continuity. As an important aspect of the Fijian social system, Ravuvu (1983, p. 250) presents the concept schematically in the following equation: Positive relationship = reciprocation = recognition, respect and appreciation = strengthening of the bond = incorporation and unity = continuity.

In island studies the interconnectedness of islands is an important framework of analysis. Pacific scholars have argued that the Oceanic region can be imagined as 'a sea of islands' which have the Pacific Ocean as their common home (Hau'ofa, 1994:152). In the 21st century Pacific Island nations are strengthening their networks across a wide spectrum of socio-cultural, economic, political and scientific endeavours (see Harris, 2014). This solidarity is most pronounced in the area of climate change negotiations. In 2015, leaders of the Pacific Islands Development Forum signed the Suva Declaration on Climate Change which called for an agreement 'to stabilise global average temperature increase to well below 1.5^0C above pre-industrial levels'. The Declaration reflects the concerns of all Pacific islands nations by noting that 'climate change poses irreversible loss and damage to our people, societies, livelihoods, and natural environments; creating existential threats to our very survival and other violations of human rights to entire Pacific Small Island Developing States'. The main positions put forward in the Suva Declaration are reflected in the final agreement of the 21st session of the Conference of Parties (COP21) in Paris. The Suva declaration enabled Pacific Island nations to put a cohesive Pacific voice for the first time in climate change negotiations. The strong-arm tactics of its more powerful neighbour, Australia, which had tried to water down the Pacific leaders' statement on climate change, failed to work. The election of Ambassador Peter Thomson of Fiji as President of the United Nations General Assembly in 2016 and Fiji's appointment to hold the presidency of COP23 in Bonn, Germany next year are further proof of a strengthening Pacific diplomacy on the world stage.

Regional environmental networks have emerged to represent civil society actors. The Pacific Island Climate Action Network (PICAN) presents a united voice for civil society across the Pacific island countries advocating for climate justice at regional and at the international levels. As part of a three tiered network, PICAN is made up of smaller country-based networks— i.e VCAN in Vanuatu, KiriCAN in Kiribati and TCAN in Tuvalu—and is linked to the worldwide Climate Action Network (CAN) which has over 900 non-government organisations 'working to promote government and individual action to limit human-induced climate change to ecologically sustainable levels' (Pacific Island Climate Action Network, 2017). Pacific Climate Warriors from 350.org Pacific enlists youth to take global action on climate change. In 2014, Pacific Climate Warriors paddled out in traditional canoes to blockade the world's largest coal port in Newcastle in Australia. Through their banner 'we are not drowning, we are fighting', Pacific

Climate Warriors are reframing the narrative to show that Pacific islanders are not passive victims but proactive civil society actors demanding climate justice. Smaller NGOs such as Wan Smolbag Theatre work at community level to raise awareness about a range of social and environmental issues. Through their travelling theatre groups and film productions, the NGO teaches about waste management, climate change, and the ecological importance of turtles and reefs in Vanuatu and other Pacific Islands.

Participatory media in Environmental Communication

Communication has been the cornerstone of human relationship and the glue that binds networks. Flor (2004) reminds us that:

> Environmental communication is founded in our culture, specifically, in traditional cultures. We see this in the environmental wisdom handed down from one generation to another; in the meanings that we attach to seasons; and in the reverence that our traditional cultures attach to farming and other forms of natural resource exploitation. Nature and culture are seen not as dichotomies but as a continuum. (Flor, 2004, p. 18)

Communication about the environment is also influenced by the doctrines espoused by powerful groups who seek to exploit the earth's resources. Mainstream media plays a crucial role in shaping our understanding of Nature and about critical environmental issues, such as anthropogenic climate change, through its agenda-setting role and framing of environmental issues (see Boykoff & Boykoff, 2007; Cox, 2013; Lakoff, 2010). The metanarrative is shaped by the political and economic imperatives of private capital and national development priorities which dominate mainstream news coverage in opposition to the voices of people who demand environmental protection and stewardship. The subaltern voices that disrupt the dominant structures have struggled to summon sustainable communicative processes and media forms that enable uncorrupted representation of their views. New media and Web 2.0 have changed this imbalance in information flow, and the growing influence of technology must factor in the social and economic forces that have shaped these technologies. If human evolution is dependent upon collective learning using networks which share information and knowledge (Christian, 2011) then centralisation of communication structures that benefit some and keep out others would seem counter-productive.

Flor (2004, p. 4) states that environmental communication 'is the deliberate exchange of environmental information, knowledge, and even wisdom'. Both vertical and horizontal communication networks are needed to share messages of solidarity and resistance. Vertical communication assists in disseminating information about environmental concerns and organising strategic action.

Horizontal communication engenders dialogue whereby participants listen to each other, share opinions, and debate issues with an aim to finding solutions. The phenomenological approach to communication gives significant attention to issues of interaction, social relations with a focus on networks and 'interaction developed in social networks' (Galindo Cáceres, 2006, p. 536).

Participatory media is used here to emphasise the pivotal role of participation of lay-people in making media content which is of special value to them and their community. The value resides in the inherent purpose for which the content was created. The process of production invites collaboration, dialogue and mutual problem solving whereby people gain critical understanding of the problem and the action they need to take to solve it (Kheerajit & Flor, 2013). Thus collaboration, sharing and participation are essential characteristics by which community members generate knowledge and build resilient communities. Participatory media forms can include songs, dance, visual arts, craft, folk theatre, and audio/visual digital tools such as video, radio and social media. Here the boundary between producer and consumer of content disappears. Participatory media is not about accessing technology, but ways in which it enables people to have a voice. The groups who are excluded from participating in top down hierarchical communication systems, be it in village meetings or in mainstream media, and are only passive receivers of information, become active agents of change when they participate in the process of content creation to find solutions to problems which impact on their everyday lives. As such, participatory media can be defined as subaltern media culture which enables ordinary people to collaborate in identifying problems, collectively gathering information, analysing, designing and sharing media content which has value to them and their network. Through this process of production marginalised people gain control of their own storytelling and by implication their own lives.

Environmental researchers recognise the value of local engagement using participatory approaches in community based adaptation (See Janif et.al.,2016; Haynes & Tanner, 2015; Mataki, Koshy & Nair, 2008). Participatory media provides an important platform for communities to share knowledge and create awareness about environmental issues by providing their own perspectives. A study of participatory media for disaster and climate change risk reduction with women and children in Nepal found that their viewpoints shed a new understanding on recurrent problems. Plush (2009) observes:

> As climate scientists and decision-makers reach to the micro-level to deepen their knowledge on community impacts, participatory video with marginalized groups has the potential to not only provide data, but offer prioritized solutions in the voice of those most impacted. (Plush, 2009, p. 26)

Plush's study points out that women and children presented alternative solutions to community based adaptation programs which differed from outside interventions driven by experts. The participatory video production process enabled 'women and children to investigate, understand and amplify their climate concerns in their own voice in a way that leads to action' (Plush, 2009, p. 10). In a similar study conducted in the Philippines designed to increase young people's knowledge of disaster and climate change issues, Haynes and Tanner (2015, p. 367) note that the films made by youth identified not only the impacts but the 'underlying social causes of disaster'. They contend that participants must have free reign over their own story telling and not be guided by underlying motives of the funding agency which may want to achieve a particular outcome.

Participatory workshops conducted by this author also reveal that community members want access to media platforms which enable them to record and share content instantly. The author conducted two workshops using smart phones with community artists at Further Arts and Oxfam fieldworkers in Vanuatu. While both groups had access to smart phones with audio visual recording capability, neither group had proactively used these features for environmental communication. Once they understood the theory and practice of participatory media, participants realised how it could be integrated in their work practice, for example capturing interviews about community concerns while on field visits or creating better workflow by producing reports in audio visual form. The author, who had used participatory video in the past, found that knowledge of mobile phones as a multi-media tool generated greater excitement among participants as it was more immediate than the process of shooting and editing using video cameras. While adept at using smart phones, participants said learning to use an editing app (in this case Filmora Go, a free android video editor) had filled an important knowledge gap which made it possible for them to instantly record, edit and share content. Notwithstanding the aesthetics of producing content which could be considered amateur, there remains the question of what is more important to the viewer—relevance of the information being shared or the quality of content, or both. The editing app was a midway solution providing a more polished content with titles, voice over and music that would have greater appeal in the wider community.

In environmental communication the focus has either been on mainstream media reporting of environment issues or top down strategic communication to change attitude and behaviour in the population. Participatory media projects enable those who are at the coalface of climate change impacts to enter the conversation normally led by elite perspectives.

Conclusion

Environmental movements seek to protect Earth's ecological system from human activity which produces long term detrimental impact on land, water, air and the well being of all living things. Participatory media enables communities to share knowledge and create awareness about a range of issues from their own experience. It has the ability to change the conversation from alarmist notions of climate change to a more practical discussion of impacts that are both real and immediate such as access to energy, food and water security, sanitation, jobs and livelihoods (Faris, Lipscombe,Whitehead, & Wilson, 2014). During times of crisis participatory media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter become a critical source of information when mainstream media cannot gain access to a disaster zone or has no interest in the crisis. The communication between participants empowers endogenous networks and uncovers unique solutions arising from the particular context of the community. In doing so it embeds local knowledge and finds solutions from within.

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7. Mainstreaming climate change issues

Challenges for journalism education in Indonesia

Abstract: This article aims to explain the challenges of journalism education in Indonesia on the issue of mainstreaming climate change. As the world's largest archipelago, Indonesia has to deal with some climate change impacts such as rising sea levels, extreme weather, floods, drought, and forest fires. Climate change is a real serious threat, but public awareness of this issue is low in Indonesia. Mass media have a capacity to mainstream climate change and increase public awareness. The data for this article has been collected through qualitative content analysis of newspaper articles, interviews with communication lecturers and scholars, and document reviews. Some of the important findings are: 1) The climate change issue in the Indonesian mass media is less popular than other issues such as corruption, elections, terrorism and refugees; 2) Journalism education in Indonesia does not contribute enough to mainstreaming climate change on mass media; 3) There are three levels of problem in macro, messo, and micro level of journalism education in Indonesia to mainstreaming climate change issue. At a micro level, the problem is related to the lack of lecturers with competence in climate change. On a messo level, journalism education has failed to connect with the problem of climate change through curricula. At a macro level, the problem is related to the popularity of journalism. Systemic theory by Niklas Luhmann was used as tool to analyse these problems. From this perspective, Indonesian journalism education as a system faces plenty of challenges to reduce the complexity of problems to optimise its role in mainstreaming climate change.

Keywords: climate change, Indonesia, journalism education, mainstreaming, mass media, systemic theory

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INDONESIA is the world's largest archipelago, conprising 17,000 islands including five main islands: Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Sulawesi and Papua. With a total population around 255 million, Indonesia is the fourth most populated country

in the world. Nowadays, Indonesia is facing serious climate change problems. Indonesia shares vulnerability to climate change with many other countries (Garnaut, 2009). Sea level rise, increasing surface air temperature, extreme weather, drought, and forest fires are some of these problems (Bappenas, 2009). According to an Indonesia Environmental and Climate Change Policy Brief 2008 issued by the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), the impacts of climate change will be felt across many different sectors. Climate change affects the social economy dimension, including transportation, agriculture, health and industry. Many stakeholders are involved to solve these problems, ranging from government, private sector, NGO, and education institutions to journalists. However, inadequate sectoral policy coordination across government agencies and jurisdictions in Indonesia, as well as inadequate local capacity building become the obstacles that need to be overcome (Paulus & Hindmarsh, 2016). Another serious challenge is how to increase climate change awareness, public engagement and action. Climate change awareness is greater in countries that are wealthier and more highly educated (Knight, 2016) such as some European countries, North America, and Japan (Arlt, Hope, & Wolling, 2011; Leiserowitz & Howe, 2015). In developing countries in Asia, Pacific, Africa or South America, to increase public awareness of climate change is a tough challenge (Ayers *et al*, 2014; Sina *et al*, 2016; Garnaut, 2009; Leiserowitz & Howe, 2015).

Some researchers argue that mass media is an important actor to increase climate change awareness (Nisbet, 2009; Boykoff & Boykoff, 2007; O'Neill & Cole, 2009; Schmidt, Ivanova & Schafer, 2013). From his research on seven cities in Indonesia, Putrawidjaya (2008) found that most students and teachers know about climate change from mass media. Dotson *et al* (2012) showed that climate change coverage in the Chilean national newspaper, *La Nación*, could lead its readers to believe that climate change is an important issue to address. Meanwhile, Sampei and Usui (2009) have shown that the increase of global warming media coverage in Japan has had an immediate influence on public awareness of global warming issues. Luhmann (2000) argued that knowledge about society, history, and nature, including the climate change issue, actually comes from mass media. Mass media is a system of information and knowledge. In society, mass media has some basic functions such as information, correlation, continuity, entertainment and mobilisation (McQuail, 2010). Mass media have the capacity to reach and affect large numbers of audiences. Television stations, books, newspapers and online media disseminate information and create culture (McQuail, 2010). Media is a system of framing and agenda-setting (McQuail, 2010). Media influences public awareness through agenda-setting and framing of news by selecting what is published, how frequently, and through what frames (Dotson *et al*, 2012). Print, electronic, and online media construct reality (Luhmann, 2000), shape public opinion (McQuail, 2010, p.515), create culture

(Baran, 2006), and even mobilise social movement (Castells, 2009). Regarding this, journalists play an important role when they write articles or reports about climate change and other issues in newspaper columns or television programmes. Journalists are backstage actors that determine how media covers climate change. Castells (2009) emphasises that media are essential to increase awareness and many journalists are involved in these efforts.

While some research has focused on mass media coverage and climate change awareness, this study has tried to look further with journalism education as the focal point. This article has aimed to explain the challenges of journalism education in Indonesia to mainstream climate change issue. After 1998, the landscape of the mass media industry in Indonesia changed dramatically when the number of print and electronic media increased sharply. Consequently, the need by media companies for professional journalists increased rapidly. Along with this, communication and journalism departments have become among the most popular departments at universities in Indonesia. Communication departments or journalism programmes ideally create journalists with good ability and understanding on various issues, including climate change. However, in reality journalism education in Indonesia as a system faces some fundamental problems to be able to fulfil this expectation.

Theoretical framework

System Theory

System Theory is one of the strong tools of analysis available to understand the dynamics of the journalism education system in mainstreaming climate change as an issue. Journalism education from this theoretical perspective is a complex system which contains some sub-systems and many elements. Niklas Luhmann introduced his system theory called Autopoietic System Theory. Ritzer (2011) explained the characteristics of Luhmann's autopoietic system theory in simple terms: it produces basic elements that build the system itself; the system organises itself in two ways, arranging boundaries and internal structure; the system arranges its boundaries by determining parts of the system and parts of the environment using binary code; there is no direct link between system and its environment; however, system relates to representation of the environment.

Analysis of system theory focuses on connection between the system and its environment. Environment is everything else, or everything outside the system. Analysis of the difference between system and its environment starts with an assumption that system can never be more complex than environment (Luhmann, 2000). The relationship between the system and its environment is always asymmetric (Luhmann, 2000). To survive, a system has to reduce its complexity by differentiation process.

How adaptive does the system give feedback to the environment? To measure it there are several concepts that should be considered: selection of problem complexities, autopoietic-self-referential, structural-coupling adaptation and differentiation. The basic definition of adaptive communication is a form of communication to adjust with certain change in the environment. In the case of journalism education of climate change, adaptive communication is defined as the capacity of the journalism education system to adapt with change and process information in order to cope with challenges.

Media and climate change

Mass media is an important and influential part of the information society. Main activities of media are to create and diseminate information, culture, and knowledge (McQuail, 2010; Luhmann, 2000; Baran, 2006). Information is a basic element that enables social systems to work. What people know about themselves, family, friends and their environment come from mass media (e.g. television, book, newspaper, magazine, radio, film or internet). McQuail (2010) explained that the power of mass media could attract and direct public attention, influence behaviour, and provide definitions of reality to audiences. Mass media is a system to construct reality (Luhmann, 2000). Media also has the ability and power to frame an issue. Media framing theory explains that media will organise principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to structure the social world meaningfully (Reese, 2001).

Related to the climate change and environmental issue, mass media is a key actor to identify and interpret it (Boykoff & Boykoff, 2007). Mass media also acts as an observer of society (Luhmann, 2000). Scholars from various disciplines identify climate change as one of our environmentally serious problems. Some scholars have tried to find out and explain about media, climate change and other relevant elements such as policy or journalism field (e.g. Gess, 2012; Smith, 2005; Shehata & Hopmann, 2012; Takahashi & Meisner, 2012). Kenix (2008) noted that the public learns about climate change not only through mainstream, but also alternative media. Schmidt, et al. (2013) explained that 'media coverage may increase societal awareness and knowledge of the issue, ideally fostering informed individual and collective actions'.

Many media in many countries have put the climate change issue as an important topic. But, even though media coverage about climate change increased in many countries (Schmidt, et al., 2013), Boykoff and Boykoff (2007) have shown a problem when the characteristic of the media coverage of climate change often uses unfamiliar terms. Mass media, especially the journalists, sometimes use terms that are hard to understand by their audiences. The professional language has difficulty in being translated smoothly into the crisp, unequivocal commentary that is valued in the press. There are some notes from media people about

problems in decision making regarding climate change issues.

Besides the internal issues within media and journalism, there are some external factors related to how the media influences the public sphere, namely quality of mediated politics. Some commentators in this domain discuss some factors that influence the optimism and the pessimism valued in climate change issues, i.e., 'media influence', 'journalistic practice' and 'the adequacy of coverage' (Gavin, 2009). Also, Gavin (2009) concludes that the coverage of climate change issues was very much influenced by politics of climate change policy in a country. Therefore, he suggests that the climate change policy must take this international public sphere into account to understand how the mitigation of global warming should be approached and encouraged with all its limitations.

Media and journalism education

Journalism school prepares students to be a 'real' journalist and work in media institutions. But from an ideal perspective, journalism education does not only prepare students to contribute in media industry, but also prepares them to understand about media and society then they can contribute positively. Ideally, journalists come from a journalism school in a university or academy. However, many journalists also come from other disciplines or schools such as law, economy, philosophy, even biology. The main debate in journalism education is whether journalists need to be college (university)-educated, whether they need a liberal arts degree, or whether they need professional education that combines liberal arts and practical training (Folkerts, 2014).

Trying to relate those environmental issues with the role of journalism education, the discipline plays an important role as the bridge to prepare students to enter journalism practice. Some educational goals have mentioned in a main research about communication education in Southeast Asian countries. There are three perspectives: ideal, media industry, and career in non-media industries (Hwa & Ramanathan, 2000). Research in Indonesia has shown that the first aim of communication education in Indonesia is to help students prepare for their long term career in the media industry (Nasution, 2000, p. 59). From that research it is interesting to note that the main aim stated by the educators in Indonesia is not the aim of the ideal perspective, but that they highlight more the practice perspectives to prepare jobs in the media industry. This result is actually contrary to the role of the education that should highlight more critical and ideal aspects of journalism and not only the practical side. Thomas Hanitzsch (2001) conducted research about journalism education in Indonesia and showed some 'flaws' that constrain the journalism education curriculum, ranging from lacking synergy between education and industry, inadequate technology, to the issue of teaching staff with minimal qualifications. Some of it seems to have become the problems faced by journalism education in Indonesia until today.

Wendy Bacon, a senior journalist from the Australian Centre for Independent Journalism (ACIJ)[1] presented facts about 'media wars' in journalism education, in the case of Australia and to a more limited exent in New Zealand (Bacon, 2012). Media wars related to an issue about the relationship of cultural and media studies to the education of journalists. She highlighted that journalism education should focus on linking robust and informed journalism with the media research that contributes to social development both in the broader community, the media industries and inside the academy (Bacon, 2012). In climate change issues, this debate has relevance in which idealism and practical issues influence the decision making process.

Methodology

This study was conducted using a qualitative approach. The data was collected through some procedures, specifically observation, online content analysis and interview. Content analysis was the research method used to explore the content of media. Holsti (1969) defined content analysis as any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages. Krippendorf (2004) described that content analysis examines directly communication via texts or transcripts, and is aimed at the central aspect of social interaction. This analysis was applicable for both quantitative and qualitative operations. It could also provide valuable historical/cultural insights over time through analysis of texts (Krippendorf, 2004). For this study, simple content analysis was applied with qualitative style. This method of application aimed to describe the tendency and comparison of the numbers of articles with specific keywords.

The object of content analysis in this study is climate change issues coverage of *Kompas*, a mainstream as well as the largest newspaper in Indonesia. The research procedures implemented were: first, collecting some relevant articles which were selected with certain keywords on the online version of *Kompas*. In this study, articles from *Kompas* were obtained through e-paper access (epaper.kompas.com) and Kompas Information Center (pik.kompas.co.id). Secondly, the articles were analysed using determined unit of analysis. Main unit of analysis in this article was keyword 'environmental issue'. This keyword was used in two aspects. Firstly, environmental issue coverages were compared with other public issues, and secondly, varieties of environmental issues that had been covered by newspaper were mapped.

Observation was chosen as a collecting data method to catch information related to the landscape of mass media or communication education in Indonesia, as well as the social context of climate change issue. The portrait of communication science and journalism education development in Indonesia was obtained from some websites, such as the website of the Ministry of Research and Higher

Education as well as the official database of the Accreditation Board of Higher Education (http://ban-pt.kemdiknas.go.id/). Interviews were conducted with several lecturers and students from departments of communication sciences and journalism from several universities in Indonesia, such as Gadjah Mada University (located in Central Java), Padjadjaran University (located in West Java), Mataram University (located in West Nusa Tenggara), Surabaya State University (located in East Java), Lambung Mangkurat University (located in South Kalimantan), and Malikussaleh University (located in Aceh). Some issues explored were the existence of climate change issues in the curricula of the department, and their commitment to mainstream climate change issues in the courses. Interviews were conducted via telephone and email due to technical reasons as the interviewees came from various and different locations in Indonesia.

Findings

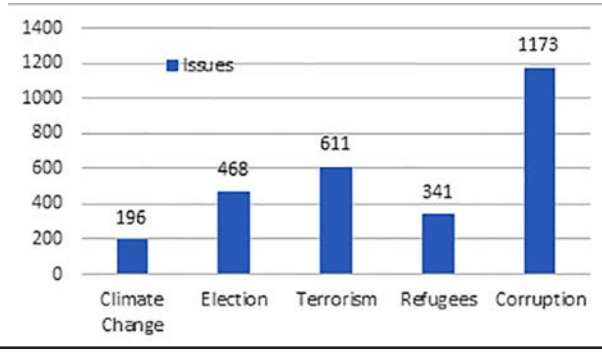
A. Climate change issue and mass media in Indonesia

Television is the most popular media in Indonesia with the number of households who own TV reaching 86.7 percent of total population, which is equivalent to 56.4 million households (Kominfo, 2015). Currently, there are 13 free to air (FTA) national TV stations in Indonesia namely, RCTI, SCTV, Indosiar, Trans TV, Trans 7, Metro TV, Global TV, TV One, Net TV, TVRI, ANTV, MNC TV, RTV, iNews TV and Kompas TV. The most popular TV programmes are news, soap operas, and music events (Kominfo, 2015). Some TV stations actually have a programme related to environmental issues, for example *Jejak Petualang—Traces of Adventurer* on Trans 7 TV, *My Trip, My Adventure* on Trans TV, and *Mancing Mania—Fishing Mania* on Trans 7. However, these shows tend to be tourism and entertainment programmes. Climate change issues have been raised on some talk shows that highlighted environmental and climate change issues, such as episodes of *Kick Andy* on Metro TV that invited environmental activists as its guests. In one of its episodes, *Setetes Air untuk Kehidupan (A drop of Water for Life)*, the talkshow invited an 'environmental hero' called Sadiman, who has single-handedly planted trees in the forest area of Wonogiri, Central Java, for 19 years.

Even though television has still become 'the king' and new media has been growing rapidly, unlike in many other countries, print media consumption in Indonesia has increased (Austin *et al,* 2015). This positive trend in print media was followed by advertising cost increases in newspaper (see http://www.nielsen.com/id/en/press-room/2016/Nielsen-Belanja-Iklan-Tumbuh-Positif-di-Tahun-2015.html). Readers of newspapers in Indonesia seem to be more interested in political issues, entertainment, and sports. One of the largest and most popular newspapers in Indonesia is *Kompas*. This newspaper has more than two million readers and

has reached the largest circulation of 530,000 copies each day in 34 provinces. *Kompas* has been published since 1965. Until now, *Kompas* is the most reputable newpaper in Indonesia. But, how has *Kompas* been covering the climate change issue so far? From content analysis research during January-July 2016, there were 196 articles on climate change (Figure 1). In 2015, the number of articles containing keywords 'climate change' in *Kompas* reached 381 with 330 articles in 2014. However, most articles that contained these keywords did not put this issue as the title or the main focus.

Figure 1: Number of articles about issues on *Kompas*, 2016

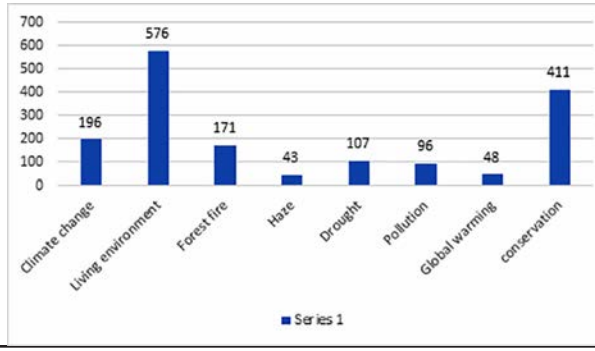


Note: Period from January to July 2016.

Figure 1 shows the comparative number of articles with keywords about climate change versus other public issues. The number of articles containing 'climate change' keywords are much fewer compared with other keywords like terrorism, elections, refugee issues, and corruption. The data indicated that there were 1,173 articles using the keyword 'corruption' on *Kompas* during January-July 2016. Corruption coverage is still the major topic of mass media in Indonesia. In the second level, the keyword 'terrorism' was found in 611 articles. Election issues were covered in 468 articles, refugees 341 articles, while some keywords which are strongly associated with 'environmental issues' such as climate change, environment, forest fire, smoke, drought, pollution, global warming, and conservation overall were only found on 196 articles (Figure 2).

Figure 2 indicated further details, including comparison of the number of articles with relevant keyword 'environmental issues' on *Kompas* from January-July 2016. The keyword 'living environment' was the most often used in articles, approximately 576 articles, and the keyword 'conservation' was found in a total of 411 articles. Other keywords were climate change (196 articles), forest fire (171 articles) and drought (107 articles), global warming (48 articles) and haze (43 articles).

Figure 2: Number of articles about 'environmental issues'

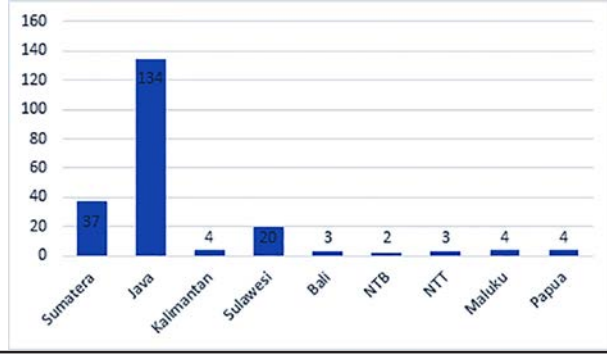


Note: On *Kompas* from January to July 2016.

B. Journalism education in Indonesia

The development of mass and new media contributes to the increasing number of Departments of Communication Science in Indonesia. Communication science has become one of the most popular social sciences fields in Indonesian universities. Geographically (Figure 3), the Department of Communication Science in Indonesia exists in all regions of Indonesia from the western part (Java and Sumatra), central part of Indonesia (Sulawesi, Kalimantan, Bali, NTT and NTB), to the eastern part of Indonesia (Papua and Maluku).

Figure 3: Departments of Communication Science in Indonesia



Note: Data compiled from Indonesian National Accreditation Board for Hiher Education (BAN_PT) 2016.

Every year, thousands of applicants apply to the departments of Communication Sciences in various state universities, but few of them are accepted due to limited capacity. The Department of Communication Sciences, Gadjah Mada University, for instance, only accepted 75 applicants for this major through a tight selection process from a total of 5000 applicants in 2015. Similarly, University of Indonesia received 6000 applicants and accepted only 80 of them

as communication sciences students. In the eastern part of Indonesia, The Department of Communication Sciences in Hasanuddin University accepted 45 students out of 3000 applicants. Unsuccessful applicants may then enroll in private universities, which can accommodate more students. The Department of Communication Sciences in University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta attracted approximately 2344 applicants with 565 of them being accepted. The University of Multimedia Nusantara in Jakarta accepted 541 applicants out of 1248 who applied in 2015.

Since the number of prospective students in this major increases rapidly, more Indonesian universities, both state and private have been opening Departments of Communication Sciences. In 1999, there were only 40 Departments of Communication Sciences in universities or higher education institutions in Indonesia (Nasution, 2000). In 2016, this number had grown to 212. In addition, 28 universities also provide masters programmes in Communication Sciences. Some universities in Jakarta, such as University of Indonesia, Sahid University, as well as Padjadjaran University in Bandung, have opened doctoral programmes. This situation leads to an unbalanced ratio between the number of lecturers and students, particularly in private universities. On the other hand, the ratio of lecturers and students in public universities is relatively equal since they limit the number of students accepted.

Generally, departments of Communication Sciences in Indonesia are managed under the supervision of the Higher Education Ministry of Republic Indonesia. Besides, there are also departments of Communication Sciences that are under supervision of the Ministry of Religion Republic Indonesia. They are Islamic universities such as Islamic state universities and Islamic private universities managed by Indonesia's largest Islamic organisations, Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). These Islamic universities develop departments of Communication Sciences as well Islamic broadcasting departments. According to the data from the Accreditation Board of Higher Education (see http://ban-pt.kemdiknas.go.id/), the total number of Islamic Communication and Broadcasting Departments are 116. These numbers are mostly situated in western Indonesia. Unlike general departments of Communication Sciences in Indonesia, communication sciences in Islamic universities belong to the Social and Dakwah Faculty where they are seen as key elements of Islamic propaganda. The number of departments of Islamic Communication and Broadcasting is growing rapidly along with the growing interest to study communication sciences in Indonesia.

Journalism is a programme under the Department of Communication Sciences. Other programmes are public relations, media management, strategic communications, advertising, communication development, or other specific fields. Communication sciences has opened as a faculty at Padjadjaran University, West Java, with journalism becoming a department under the Faculty of Communication Sciences. In other types, at the Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta (central

part of Indonesia), journalism only became a programme along with advertising, public relations, and entertainment media. It can be seen that the number of students who choose to study journalism at several universities, is always smaller than other specialisations in strategic communications, public relations or advertising. From the interviews, some lecturers in the Department of Communication Sciences, Lambung Mangkurat, South Borneo,as well as in Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, said that the number of journalism students tended to be less than the number of students of other specialisations. The same tendency occurred in most departments of Communication Sciences in Indonesia. There is a paradox situation with the tendency of journalism student numbers to decrease amid a high demand of communication sciences in Indonesia.

Analysis

From the media and climate change perspective, the limited coverage and weak framing in climate change by Indonesian mass media has impacted on the climate change in that the issue has not been noticed as important. It could be concluded that there are some challenges to mainstreaming the climate change issues for public discussion. The coverage of climate change issues faces some challenges, both internal and external. Internal factors are related to the dynamic of media journalism and decision making process (i.e. some unique characters of climate change issues versus the credo of journalism and problems of coverage on scientific issues) and external factors (i.e. mediated politics and the politics of climate change). Assumption increases that the condition of climate change journalism weakens because Indonesian social politics atmosphere does not consider climate change as a relevant issue. Climate change is more popular on the international agenda, and many relevant actors fail to transfer this issue into a more local context. This situation contributes further to the difficulties of sharing and understanding the approaches and encouragement of mitigation of global warming.

From the system perspective, the structure of Indonesian journalism education system consists of internal element system, such as educational actors and educational infrastructures. Educational actors comprise lecturers and students. Educational infrastructure consists of curricula, academic environment and structure of management (faculties, departments concentrations), and the policy of the Higher Education Ministry at the national level. In the external environment, there are also many problems. They are: demanding socio-political issues such as economy, politics, environment, and climate change issues. The Indonesian journalism education system is not adaptive to respond to its existing demanding environment. It is categorised as not adaptive because there are so many problems existing. However, the internal system does not proceed as an important issue. The issues of climate change exist outside the system and are always positioned as part of the external environment.

Indonesian journalism education system development is too general and does not give special attention to journalism education for climate change. The issues of climate change are not placed as a part of the system, because the internal system does not make sense of it as an important problem. The autopoietic mechanism is weak because the system is not adaptive to communicate and give feedback to their environment. Fast response to the system should create an internal system to answer the needs.

From the perspective of journalism education, it shows that within Indonesian journalism education system, there exist problems in some layers. The system is not responsive enough to give feedback to many substantial problems, which should be developed to strengthen the awareness of students in climate change issues. Curriculum designed to answer climate change issues does not exist. No special class to discuss journalism and climate change, climate change discourses are under development and there is not much contribution from the journalism education or university in general to answer climate change issues.

At the micro level, there is a lack of lecturers who are highly skilled in climate change issues. The issue of climate change has specific characteristics of knowledge. Lecturers have to learn how to find the entry point to cover specific themes about climate change, especially how to communicate the problems. Lecturers should understand the issue comprehensively, and be able to inspire students to have high skills in covering climate change issues. At a messo or organisational level, the media or departments of Communication Sciences in Indonesia have less concern with the real problems existing in their environment. They failed to position their existence through institutional visions. In this context, to realise the goal, the department can show their responses by building adaptable vision, mission and journalism curricula which are oriented on environment conservation. If the Department of Communication Sciences can show their clear position and involvement in the movement to reduce climate change issues, they can play a larger role in reducing the impact of climate change, as one of the real problems that they should address.

At a macro level, the media and departments of Communication Sciences face difficult circumstances. In society, public, private and political level, reactions to climate change are still relatively small to what powerful scientific, economic and moral arguments demand. The situation is uneasy because the Indonesian mass media landscape was coloured by a private-commercial atmosphere. Entertainment programmes with low quality cannot be hindered in this situation. Climate change programmes have presented only in good quality talk shows and on the news programmes. However, both exist in a limited numbers.

The quality of journalism education in mainstreaming climate change issues has many obstacles regarding the soft structure (substantial, skill and competence) and hard structure to the situation and condition in communication or journalism

department. Several potencies and challenges for Indonesia are:

- Big numbers of Communication Departments in Indonesia have real potential. However, at the same time this is not in line with the strong engagement in climate change issues.
- Students favour concentrations of strategic communication over the journalism. The students prefer mass communication, strategic communication (PR and Advertising) and media entertainment to journalism studies. With this structure, communication departments in Indonesia focus more in preparing their alumni to work and serve in the industry.

The struggle to establish strong climate change journalism in Indonesia still has a long way to go. More efforts and comprehensive actions are intensely needed to search for the the ideal model of journalism education. The skills on how journalists handle phenomena based on science perspective is very important. Journalism should keep up with the science to catch important phenomena in the society. At a practical level, media and communication departments can invite scientists to train students on how the logic of science works. They can learn the reasons for the facts or finding in science.

The specific characteristics and the uniqueness of climate change coverage need to be acknowledged by the students in journalism institutions. Although, there are some requirements—internal and external—to be fulfilled to achieve ideal conditions to succeed for mainstreaming climate change issues, particular factors namely specific competence to cover the climate change issues, and strengthening structure in the journalism education to support coverage in climate change issues are really needed to be considered.

The future of Indonesian journalism education for climate change

Although the academic climate in journalism education is lacking, from the statements of young scholars and lecturers in Indonesia there is still hope that the climate change issue will become really important for students in journalism or media and communication departments. In the future, efforts to strengthen the climate change discourse in journalism education should be realised through some activities:

1. Mainstreaming climate change issues through immersion of the climate change issue in many subjects or courses. Although there is no specific course about climate change, basically the issue can be discussed in many subjects which involve all phases of journalism. Cited from Carvalho and Burgess, it should be mind 3 phases of journalism in which the main issues can be discussed (Boykoff & Timmons, 2007). Firstly, news production phase, secondly, public discourse phase, and thirdly, media consumption and personal engagement with climate change issues.

Relevant subjects which could be developed are starting from economy politics, media campaign techniques, strategic communication, and strategic framing analysis.

2. Improving public awareness on climate change through strong journalism. The specific characteristics of climate change demand some competencies in covering climate change issues. As reflection of the idea of Smith (2005), particularly about the internal factors influenced decision making process, the students acknowledged that the narrative of climate change in dramatic terms will make it difficult for people to connect with the decisions about lifestyle and resource use that they make every day. To avoid it they have to learn the specific narrative suitable for the climate change issues, also they will have other perspectives to reflect the uncertainty, to prove the truth in the sense of climate change and the sustainable development.

It needs several requirements to activate journalism education as the main pillar of climate change issues. Coping with the climate crisis is inevitable for saving the future. The role of science in general and specific institutions and universities plays very crucial role. Communication department students, who in the future will be journalists, should learn the basic principle that the 'journalism as the software' of mass communication is an important tool to serve and generate issues in society. It is really necessary to prepare students to cover climate change in smart, proportional and professional ways. This competence needed to rejuvenate the society with new ideas and inspire citizens for better living is the main function of mass media. To achieve this ideal condition, finding and developing best learning strategy in climate change issues is not only necessary but also fruitful for a better future.

Note

1. The Australian Centre for Independent Journalism (ACIJ) was closed by the University of Technology Sydney after a final seminar paying homage to its quarter century of journalism and media training on 29 April 2017.

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8. Climate change in Vietnam

Relations between government and media in the period 2000-2013

Abstract: Vietnam is fifth in the hierarchy of countries likely to be severely impacted by climate change. Since 2007 there has been a major expansion of reporting and discussion of this issue in Vietnamese news media. This article reports on a research study of climate change coverage from 2000 to 2013 in four major news outlets: Vietnam Television (VTV), *Tuoi Tre* newspaper, *Nhan Dan* newspaper and *VnExpress*. It found considerable variation in the content and temporal spread of coverage, but also some interesting commonalities, in particular an unusually prominent role for NGOs as sources. There is currently a unity of purpose in the Vietnamese government's approach to this issue. In other environmental issues, the major factor affecting government latitude for independent reporting has been the unity or conflict within government on the matter. Where there has been no conflict there has been considerable latitude for journalists to take initiatives in independent reporting, expand the field of media independence and in the process develop their own capital and professional capacities. Thus far in climate change reporting journalists have not taken advantage of this opportunity, but if the scientific predictions of catastrophic impacts are valid, the social, economic and political effects will be major, posing strong challenges to Vietnamese journalists.

Keywords: case studies, climate change, climate change adaptation, environmental reporting, independent reporting, journalism, media freedom, newspapers, Vietnam

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Introduction

CLIMATE change, with associated extreme weather events and rising sea levels, is widely recognised as a significant global issue for the 21st century (CCBC, 2010, p. 5). In Vietnam, it poses very specific and complex problems. Vietnam has more than 70 percent of its population working in agriculture, mostly on the low-lying coastal plains and major river deltas. The country is going through Doi Moi (translated as 'renovation' in English) with major economic development goals and rapid growth in GDP, making it very challenging to protect the environment at the same time. NGOs, both national and international, have

been playing a signficant public role which is unusual in this communist state. The government has been encouraging reporting on the issue by journalists to promote the success of its climate change awareness campaign.

The government and NGOs are therefore key players in the field of environmental journalism on climate change: their roles as sources are significant and dominant. However, the policies and projects pursued by the government have many problems and limitations with respect to climate change, and these are largely unreported by journalists. Media coverage mostly responds to the government and NGOs' articulated concerns, and its content is mainly based on their information without further independent investigation. There are limitations in the capacity and understanding of journalists and journalistic institutions regarding the domestic climate change context. Analysis of climate change issues would be considerably more complicated if it were to consider the implications for political-economic development.

It is clear that the media have an important role in raising people's awareness of climate change and policy. At this time, most of the discussions in the media are descriptive and have not analysed or evaluated government policies. For this to happen, it is necessary for journalists to accumulate knowledge and standing (capital in Bourdieu's terms) to become experts in the environmental field. On the one hand, such capital helps the media to become more efficient and useful to the community in the dissemination of information. On the other hand, it expands the capacity of the media to accumulate heteronomous capital (that is, capital from non-media fields of knowledge), which increases the position and power of Vietnamese media. Climate change is extremely significant in the context of Vietnam because it will become the biggest challenge for development; if journalists develop more environmental knowledge capital, then communication between the NGOs, government and media could become much more complex and precipitate significant changes in the relationship among stakeholders.

Field theory

In order to explore the interactions that occur in the relationship between the media and the government fields we use broadly Bourdieusian field theory (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) as the theoretical basis. Bourdieu suggests three key concepts—field, capital and habitus—to explain the structure and nature of social relationships. Boundaries or parameters or limits of a field are created by the activities and reactions of the participants within the field (Webb et al., 2002, p. 184). However, the players' activities must be framed within the standards and values of fields. For our purposes in this research, media content analysis may demonstrate how Bourdieu's conceptualisation of 'position-taking' can clarify the different role of each stakeholder and their interaction. There are various stakeholders: the government, the media, NGOs and business enterprises. At the

same time as they are engaging in the response to climate change field, they are operating in their own fields such as the political field, journalistic field, NGOs field, economic field, social field and environmental field. Each field therefore accommodates the participation of players from other fields with different rules and boundaries. Since the opening up to a market economy, the power of the government has not been maintained in the same manner as earlier, and this affects the position and relationship of the players. It will become clear that these are very complex, dynamic and multi-dimensional relationships. For Bourdieu, orthodox and heterodox are two basic types of positions that a player can adopt with respect to the configuration of power relations in a field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 100). Because of the changes taking place in the media field in Vietnam, the orthodox/heterodox descriptors are unstable, but they can help to explain the shifting power relationship between the media and the government in the climate change case.

Capital enables the exercise of power but only through activity in a field. Capital in the journalism field includes the level of knowledge of the journalist about a specialised field (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 101), as well as the more generalised professional ability to explore problems and take appropriate action to produce reports. Journalists need dual capital because they work in the symbolic field in producing media, but do that by observing and reporting on other fields. In order to do their work, journalists need autonomous capital (for their own field) and heteronomous capital (for the different field being reported about). Above the level of the individual journalist, the form of capital in media institutions varies according to economic-cultural factors including sources of income, target audiences, relationships with stakeholders, and so forth.

The third important factor in Bourdieu's field theory is habitus (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 52), which is a socialised subjectivity and is the expression of capital in the field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 126). This is central to Bourdieu's thought. Habitus can be characterised as a 'way of being in the world' and helps enable the reproduction of practice in a field. For journalists, Bourdieu's concept of habitus is a way of theorising news values, news sense and journalism practice for this study (Nash, 2016, c. 6). Journalists need habitus to operate in both their own profesional field and the field about which they are reporting, which derives from the two sorts of capital discussed above. Habitus manifests the capacity to analyse and explain the situation in a field, the power relations that created the developments at a certain time and the potential future developments that constitute newsworthiness. Habitus helps a journalist meet the professional standards to publish the report on behalf of their news organisations. Habitus also identifies the processes signifying shifts in relationship between the media and the government, because journalists need to understand those shifting processes in order to be able to perform their professional duties.

To summarise, Bourdieu's field theory provides a relevant framework for the methodology of this study in order to clarify the relationship between the political field and the journalistic field. The relationship of journalists to sources can be hypothesised by the three interlinked concepts of field, capital and habitus. In this study we examine these relationships and interactions with respect to the reporting of climate change in Vietnam, which was part of a larger doctoral research project examining four case studies with respect to environmental journalism in Vietnam.

Bourdieu (1998, p. 53) in discussing French broadcasting makes an important point about the changing characteristics of the journalism field in response to the contextual shift from public sector to commercial broadcasting. The application of this insight to Vietnam is relevant but different because of the local context of a one party state. Under Marxism-Leninism, the media is the voice and the arm of the party, but in Vietnam a commercial element is being added to the mix. Whereas in a Marxist-Leninist political structure the party intervenes in or controls the media, in a capitalist society it is private enterprise which funds media through advertising, and therefore potentially influences both the media and the government. This then creates a very complex situation for Vietnam.

Development journalism ideology adds another element to the mix, because it posits a close relationship between the media and the government in presenting and achieving development goals. Although the political field in each country (the government, political regime, law enforcement authorities) influences the journalism field (television, radio, newspapers, digital media) at different levels depending on the prevailing political cultures, even in the most constrained context journalism is still clearly a distinct field and has an impact on the other fields via its power of information for readers and audiences.

Bourdieu's theory of fields enables the conduct of field analyses in media reporting, including the role of sources, subjects and themes. At the same time, it encompasses the interaction between the journalism field and other fields, particularly the political field (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 98). Objective relationships linking the participants are the key to understanding the nature of any given social reality, so it is important to look at each field's components to understand the relationship between the media and the government (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, pp. 96-97). For example, policies, documents, regulatory frameworks and so forth play important roles in institutions.

This research conducts a source and content analysis of the reporting of climate change, and compares that reporting to official and independent (corporate and NGO) documentation on relevant policy and practice. It shows the similarities and differences between stakeholders, what their concerns are, and also analyses their interactions and conflicts. It can reveal the ways in which various sectoral interests are represented and the issues characterised by journalism. This includes

evidence of responses in one field to pressure in other fields. For example, the government responds to media reports, business enterprises respond to government actions, media responds to business enterprises and government actions, and media outlets respond to each other. The adequacy of the policy, practice and responses by government and enterprises are mutually calibrated against each other and against the journalistic coverage.

Methodology

This research (Pham, 2017) involves an analysis and evaluation of environmental journalism relevant to climate change in four media outlets (three newspapers and one television national network) in Vietnam in the period 2000–2013.
The four media outlets are:

- Vietnam Television (VTV). This is the national broadcaster of Vietnam.
- *VnExpress*. This is the first and most popular online newspaper in Vietnam (commenced February 26, 2001, with no hardcopy version).
- *Tuoi Tre* newspaper. *Tuoi Tre* newspaper has grown to become one of the largest and most independent newspapers in the country.
- *Nhan Dan* newspaper. This is the official newspaper of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

This media study involves both quantitative and qualitative elements:

- Quantitative: analysis of content (genre, length/duration, date of publication, sources and their organisational affiliations)
- Qualitative: Close reading of significant reports (keywords) to analyse the characteristics of content in its environmental, social, economic, public health and political dimensions.

By 'triangulating' the positional documentation from the various stakeholders with the media reporting, the research produces a field analysis of the contemporary relationships within climate change in Vietnam among the government, the economic sector, the NGOs and the media. This analysis should enable some observations about the contemporary interactions and relationships between fields. It should be noted that there is not a system of 'star journalists' in Vietnam. Therefore, we are not looking at the work of individual journalists, but focusing on the output overall. Nor are we looking at the issue of conflict between journalists and their organisation. All the evidence suggests that editors and journalists are generally working together and there is no evidence of significant conflict within media organisations.

Climate change in Vietnam

According to research by UNDP, Vietnam is one of five developing countries that are most affected by climate change. Since 1990 the country has suffered from six or seven major storms and many other natural disasters each year,

causing the death of 457 people and economic damage of USD 1.9 billion, equivalent to 1.3 percent of GDP (Huong et al., 2009, p. 157). According to scientists (RECOFTC, 2014, p. 9), by 2100 the average temperature in Vietnam could reach 30 degrees Celsius (the current average temperature is 24 degrees Celsius) and the sea level could rise by one metre. Research by other scholars (Thuy et al, 2012, p. 2) shows that climate change has already been causing serious consequences for Vietnam, particularly in agriculture which contributes about 21 percent of GDP (OXFAM, 2014, p. 3; World Bank, 2011, pp. 2-11).

The context

Climate change also has significant impacts on aquaculture and fisheries, which contribute about four percent of Vietnam's GDP (Vien, 2011, p. 17; Reid, 2008, p. 3). High rates of deforestation have exacerbated climate change impacts through the loss of the carbon sequestration capacity of forests (DARA, 2012, p. 223). Local communities are particularly dependent on forest products for meeting basic needs, through both agriculture and illegal logging. Climate change is expected to impact on human health, as temperature rise is a precondition for the development of certain viruses and diseases, including malaria and dengue fever. Natural disasters and rising sea levels also threaten people's lives and destroy the infrastructure system, exacerbating existing levels of vulnerability. It could lead to crises involving the largest migrations in history (McMichael, et al., 2003, p. 106). It is clear that climate change has the potential to be a most devastating environmental challenge for Vietnam, impacting on economic goals and the sustainable development of the country, including poverty reduction.

Public awareness

As a developing country, Vietnam in the transitional period has witnessed mass migration from rural to urban areas and between rural areas of people looking for work. About 70 percent of people are still living in rural areas (World Bank, 2014, p. 2) and two-thirds of these are engaging in agriculture and fisheries. Thirty years after the start of Doi Moi, many people's lives have improved. The poor and very poor are still likely to live in rural areas, including the Far North, Central Coast and MeKong Delta. Most of them are ethnic minorities.

Across Vietnam people have experienced changes in climate via unpredictable extremes of hot and cold temperatures. Extreme weather events have created problems in many areas. According to a report of the BBC Media Action (Copsey et al., 2013, p. 11), 85 per cent of Vietnamese expressed concerns about how their health was affected by changes in environment and climate, although they were less worried about fresh water, food and electricity problems. Flooding has occurred more frequently in Ho Chi Minh City and directly impacted on people's lives. In general, the public can see the obvious changes in weather. According to a report of the Australian Red Cross Vietnam (Sterrett, 2015, p. 29), more than

70 percent of interviewees showed an increase in knowledge of climate change and believed that climate change is happening. However, more than 20 percent reported that they had not heard of climate change and they did not think climate change could occur. Most of the people could name an action to adapt to climate change (Sterrett, 2015, p. 29).

The government

Vietnamese legal framework on climate change

In recent years, the policy-making bodies and the leaders of Vietnam have changed their perceptions about climate change issues. Climate change is now considered one of the most serious challenges that Vietnam is facing today. A resolution of the 11th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV, 2011, pp. 4-6) concluded that responding to climate change would be prioritised over the next decade.

The government is gradually improving the legal framework on climate change, disaster risk reduction, cleaner production and energy. In 2007, it published a National Strategy on Prevention and Disaster Reduction to 2020, and followed this in 2008 with the National Target Programme to Respond to Climate Change, and Decision 380/QD-TTG on the pilot payments for forest environmental services. In 2011, it established a National Strategy on Climate Change, and since 2012 a succession of green growth strategies, including low-carbon growth, as well as the handling of environmental issues, a National programme on REDD+ for forest protection and targeted mitigation programmes in industry and agriculture.

Vietnam's efforts in international negotiations on climate change

Vietnam participates in the global effort to curb climate change through the promotion of important mitigation policies. The Vietnamese government considers the Convention of the United Nations Framework on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the Kyoto Protocol as the main legal framework to address climate change (Prime Minister, 2008, pp. 1-2). In terms of implementation, in the 1990s it became party to the UNFCCC, the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer, the London Convention and the Copenhagen Convention, in 2002 the Kyoto Protocol, COP13 in Bali in 2007 and all subsequent COP events, and in 2009 the United Nations Collaborative Programme on Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation in Developing Countries (UN-REDD).

The government's development of the Support Programme to Respond to Climate Change (SP-RCC) has created a forum to share policies among government agencies and the international development partners on issues related to climate change in Vietnam (MONRE, 2012, p. 3). The programme is responsible

for supporting the implementation of important national policy on climate change through mitigation (energy efficiency, renewable energy, forest conservation, waste management and agricultural policy), adaptation (water resources, coastal zone management, natural resources, infrastructure including transportation, health and agriculture) and an interdisciplinary approach through functional integration, financial mechanisms and awareness raising. Over the period 2009-2014, the development partners of SP-RCC have contributed US$873 million to the SP-RCC programmes (MONRE, 2012, p. 6)).

There are other cooperation programmes of the government of Vietnam which aim to:

- Enhance sustainable economic development and low emissions;
- Improve investment in clean energy and energy efficiency in order to enhance energy security, limit greenhouse gas emissions, improve air quality and promote economic growth;
- Reduce emissions through enhanced alternative initiatives such as Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD +), Payment for Environmental Forest Services and the Alternative Livelihood Options; and
- Strengthen the resilience of urban areas and rural areas to the impacts of climate change and disaster risk mitigation. (USAID, 2015, p. 3)

NGO engagement

The Network of NGOs in Vietnam and Climate Change (VNGO & CC) was founded in 2008. Today, VNGO & CC has 110 member organisations and plays a huge role in combating climate change in Vietnam.

According to Reid et al. (2012), NGOs in Vietnam have been actively involved in:

- Developing, funding and implementing important climate change programmes, both in adaptation and mitigation;
- Cooperating with the government in the development of climate change policies and plans; and
- Conducting study and projects on climate change.

The Climate Change Working Group (CCWG) since 2008 includes domestic NGOs and international NGOs (Oxfam, CARE, RECOFTC, CRS, SNV, EMW, WWF, Challenge to Change and SRD). CCWG purposes are:

- Sharing ideas and knowledge of NGOs on climate change;
- Developing policies on climate change and developing the relationship between NGOs and policy-makers; and
- Developing capacity of NGOs

It is clear from the activities of these networks and their members that NGOs, in particular international ones, have a large influence on climate change policy and action in Vietnam, to an unprecedented degree for this strongly nationalist state. This is evident in their role as sources for journalists.

Media coverage of climate change

The numbers of climate change reports in the selected news organisations over the period 2000 to 2012 are as follows: VTV—146; *Nhan Dan* newspaper—476; *Tuoi Tre* newspaper—454; *Vn Express*—30. Among these, 476 out of 1106 articles on climate change were international, while 630 were national and sub-national. The scale of media discussion shifted over time: before 2007 the media discussed the issues at an international level only, but since 2008 more national and sub-national discussion has been included. Specifically, there were large increases associated with the participation of Vietnam in COP13 in Bali and particularly COP15 in Copenhagen in 2009, and this created a forum for politicians, policy makers and leading officials. However, the media publicity without analysis of the position of the Vietnamese government in COP15 was still dominant in the coverage. As Copsey et al. (2013, p. 37) suggested, journalists in Vietnam needed to have more information and knowledge (capital) in order to effectively discuss climate change in the national socio-political context.

The media showed a swift transition from mainly reporting international climate change before 2007 to national activities afterwards, which can in part be attributed to massively increased attention internationally to COP15 in Copenhagen and afterwards, and collaterally in response to the increasing range of government and NGO interventions cited above.

Table 1 details the spread of reports on climate change for the four mastheads over time, showing a cascading and spreading coverage.

Table 1: Media reports in each year

Year	VTV	*Nhan Dan* Newspaper	*Tuoi Tre* Newspaper	*VnExpress*
19/1/2000	1	0	0	0
2001	3	0	0	0
2003	1	0	1	0
2004	0	1	2	0
2005	2	2	3	0
2006	1	4	6	0
2007	15	16	18	0
2008	12	36	33	1
2009	35	180	165	2
2010	26	112	1105	7
2011	35	69	72	12
2012	15	56	49	8

VTV had the earliest reports, and they focused on information about the Climate Change Conferences of the United Nations and the Kyoto Protocol in the early 2000s (VTV, 2000). VTV was the only media agency that reported on climate change during this period.

Climate change has been more widely mentioned in Vietnamese media since 2007. According to Thuy (2012, p. 7), the media began to report on climate change when they realised the importance of climate change in the global debate at COP13 in 2007. Poor foreign language skills and limited understanding about environmental issues were identified as the cause of the lack of reporting on climate change in Vietnam before then. Since then, the number of stories on climate change has increased significantly. Dung (2008, p. 5) also suggested that the increasing number of articles could be due to the fact that the MONRE had been more active in the dissemination of information on climate change, and the leadership of the newspapers was more supportive of the work of environmental journalism.

Media themes, subjects and sources

Story themes

We coded stories according to the general narrative themes, to reveal the order of preference for themes in the media coverage. The more popular themes demonstrate the close relationship between reportage and the government's activites and priorities. Out of the stories, 59 percent reported on global climate change topics, 31 percent provided information about government actions, 5 percent of the stories reported stakeholders' proposed solutions to mitigate and adapt to climate change. Only a small number of media reports focused on health and the legal framework. There were no media-generated stories about climate change; that is to say, the Vietnamese news media did not take any initiatives to report stories on climate change, but deferred the story initiation process to mainly government and NGOs. So while climate change was certainly becoming a major topic for Vietnamese media, it was very difficult for the media to cover the issue independently in the context of their limited understanding and knowledge about this issue.

Story subjects

Subjects are the actual events that occasion the news reports, such as a policy announcement, market event, environmental problem, etc. and the choice of subject area influences the frame within which the event will be presented. Table 2 collates the character of these reports into groupings to illustrate how the media organises its climate change discussion in the context of Vietnam.

All media agencies had a majority of stories reporting on subjects of politics and policy-making. *Tuoi Tre* newspaper and *VnExpress* had a similar interest in

Table 2: Subjects mentioned in each media organisation				
Subjects	VTV	*Nhan Dan* Newspaper	*Tuoi Tre* Newspaper	*VnExpress*
Politics and policy	89%	75%	57%	40%
Economy and market	4%	15%	18%	10%
Environmental issues	6%	6%	16%	30%
Governance situation	0%	Less than 1%	2%	0%
Health	Less than 1%	2%	3%	0%
Science	0%	Less than 1%	2%	10%
Culture	0%	0%	0%	0%
Society	0%	0%	0%	0%
Other	Less than 1%	1%	2%	10%

economic and market subjects. *VnExpress* had only three articles on this subject and VTV had six reports (4 percent) on this subject. VTV and *VnExpress* each had nine articles on environmental issues. *Nhan Dan* newspaper had 28 articles (6 percent) on this subject and *Tuoi Tre* newspaper showed a major interest with 73 articles (16 percent) on this subject. Only *Tuoi Tre* newspaper and *Nhan Dan* newspaper published discussion about the governance situation: *Tuoi Tre* newspaper had nine articles (2 percent) and *Nhan Dan* newspaper had two articles. One in ten articles of *Nhan Dan* newspaper and *Tuoi Tre* newspaper focused on health, while VTV had only one report on this subject. Another nine articles in *Tuoi Tre* newspaper discussed science subjects, while *Nhan Dan* newspaper and *VnExpress* had three articles on this subject. Culture and society subjects were not mentioned in any media reports. A small number of articles discussed other subjects, such as conjecture about and the assessment of future climate change.

News sources

The source of information is the decisive factor contributing to the quality of the content of stories and the authority of the claims for truth made in the stories. Sources also contribute strongly to narrative themes and subjects in media stories. The importance of sources guides the activities of journalists in the story, including source selection, source position and source editing. It can also bring multiple voices to media stories. Every source in the selected stories was coded and then collated into groups, as shown in Table 3.

Six in ten stories quoted government representatives, who were clearly the key sources of information for the media. International sources and NGOs are also significant sources on climate change. As well, journalists acknowledge workshops and business enterprises as important and useful sources of climate change information. Although Thayer (2009, p. 20) posed the challenge for press

Table 3: Sources in media stories	
Stories Quoted Sources	Percentage
Workshops	7%
International sources	12%
Government representatives	58%
Business enterprises	2%
Non-governmental organisations	17%
Local people and readers	3%
Others	Less than 1%

freedom in Vietnam that government representatives are the key sources of information for the media, it is significant that Vietnamese journalists consider other organisational bodies and even local people and readers as important sources of climate change information.

Most of the media stories on climate change were news items (150–450 words) and news briefs (100–150 words). One in 30 stories were features of 1,000 to 1,500 words, focusing on global climate change or with quotes from international media. There were only a few articles over 2,000 words, and they were in-depth features. The longer reports provided extensive information on climate change as a global issue and gave forecasts at an international level. This begged the question of climate change impacts at a national level: the lack of national climate change information creates problems for the political and public understanding of the local implications of the issue, as well of course for the capacity of journalists to produce locally meaningful reports.

Most of the climate change reports were posted in the news or the environment section of all the media agencies. Reports on government activities always appeared on the front page or equivalent position of all the media publications. Other climate change stories were printed on pages 3, 5 and 6—in the News, Environment, Economy or International sections.

Discussion and conclusion

This research was part of a larger doctoral project that examined a period of very rapid change in the relationship between the government and the media in Vietnam, in the post-Doi Moi period. It examined case studies from four areas of environmental threat and/or degradation and each case study revealed differences in the relationship between the media and the government. The four case studies were Vedan industrial pollution, bauxite mining in the mountains, de-forestation and climate change. It examined examples of journalism about these areas from the same four major national media outlets as above, namely Vietnam Television (VTV), *VnExpress*, *Tuoi Tre* newspaper, and *Nhan Dan* newspaper.

The media–government relationship in Vietnam is very heterogeneous and dynamic. The relationship is becoming more flexible but there are also internal contradictions. The key factor in the variation among stories and outlets is the existence of unity or division in government on the political ramifications of the issue. For example, the unity of the government in the Vedan industrial case enabled the expansion of relative independence in media practice on environmental issues. *Tuoi Tre* newspaper and *VnExpress* were able to develop their journalistic capital to forge a level of independent initiative in their practice, which broke the previous mould. It showed a more complex relationship between government and journalists, and dynamic interactions between them. In contrast to government unity in response to Vedan's industrial pollution, the bauxite mining case involved high-level conflict within government over bilateral relations with foreign governments and corporations. In that case journalistic independence was much more circumscribed, although the reporting included publicity for high-profile opponents of the mine. This was significant in the relationship between the media and government because the media outlets rarely voice opposition to the policies of Party and State, even after Doi Moi. In the bauxite mining project, the government outlined clear boundaries for the political movement and journalistic practice. Independent media practice was a challenge to the operation and interests of the government, which stopped giving media agencies the scope to expand their capital by dynamic reporting of political conflict, and so actively inhibited their practice.

Climate change, on the other hand, is a multi-lateral global issue and also a complex problem for a developing economy, affecting the lives of millions people in Vietnam. It requires the involvement of many agents to address the problem, including the government, the UN, foreign government aid programmes, NGOs, business enterprises and the public. As such, it can be seen as a very complex and multi-dimensional issue that requires stakeholders to cooperate, and therefore some degree of open discussion through the media. Climate change has the potential to be the most destructive of all environmental challenges for Vietnam, therefore posing enormous challenges for government policies and journalists.

NGOs and government therefore have a dominant role in this field. They have been working together on climate change since 2008 to help Vietnam develop policies and projects to protect and restore the environment. Oxfam, CARE, RECOFTC, CRS, SNV, EMW, WWF, Challenge to Change and SRD play an important role in providing education and policy experience (CCWG, 2009, p. 3; Reid, 2012) which gives them many advantages in dealing with the government and media. The NGOs earn heteronomous capital through their practice and become a part of the orthodoxy in the political field, which is a new situation for them.

The government is starting to develop an effective policy to mitigate and adapt to climate change. It has issued some important legal frameworks on climate change, including the National Strategy on the Prevention and Disaster

Reduction, the National Target Programme to Respond to Climate Change, the Decision 380/QD-TTG on the pilot payments for forest environmental services, the National Strategy on Climate Change and the National Programme on REDD+. However, the government does not have detailed plans to mitigate the effects of climate change on different sectors. It would pose a very difficult policy and political challenge if Ho Chi Minh City starts to flood every year and the rising sea levels submerge the Mekong Delta, affecting the fish farms and agriculture. Today, climate change is manifesting as extreme weather events and rising sea levels that could threaten the Mekong delta, but in 30 or 40 years' time, what is Vietnam going to do? It could pose the gravest threat for the country and therefore challenge to government, industry and the media, not to mention civil society. At this time, 'the penny has not dropped'.

The media have not helped people to realise the extent of the problem. The four media agencies remain heavily dependent on government sources of information. Media coverage emphasises the international importance of climate change but does little to link the problem to the national context. This poses a question about journalists' capacity and knowledge about the domestic political-economic context. Journalism needs to increase its capacity in order to have a more effective role. Although VTV and *Nhan Dan* newspaper played a big role in this case and the government gave them power to expand their capital, their practice is still limited. On this issue, journalists have more freedom to find other important sources, but they have not followed through the implications of this freedom. There is the potential for much more assertive and independent reporting.

Climate change programmes attracted many reports in the media but most of them were descriptive and did not assess the quality or effectiveness of the programmes, as they had done in the Vedan industrial pollution case. They also need to take serious actions to inform Vietnamese people and help them to deal with climate change in future. The media outlets could become big players in this field and affect government policies.

It is very instructive that different environmental problems can prompt variable relationships between the media and government. A developing economy always has to deal with multi-faceted socio-economic challenges and this is why a highly centralised government can give the media power to address some problems. There is a great opportunity for the independent development of the media on the climate change issue.

It is a fact that Vietnam is undergoing very rapid change in the relationship between the government and the media, and this change is not uniform, but varies according to the type of issue and its relation to the power of the government. The media-government situation in Vietnam is therefore variable and dynamic. The relationship is becoming more flexible but there are also many contradictions. The key factor in media coverage in Vietnam is unity or division within the government.

The study of these matters is revealing because it shows journalism in Vietnam has become much more complex and textured in its relationship with government, which could contribute to new understandings of media development in the context of major economic, social and cultural transition.

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Māori Indigenous Screen Symposium
Ngā Wai o Horotiu Marae, St Paul's Street
Saturday 9th September - Sunday 10th September 2017
Call for Papers and Panels

Indigenizing Storytelling & The Screen

Māori and Indigenous storytelling on screens, from giant multiplexes to hand-held devices, from epic feature films, to web-series, gaming, and digital innovations, has proliferated in recent decades. This has occurred alongside a small but growing body of conceptual, empirical and theoretical literature for, with and by Indigenous peoples. This Symposium provides an opportunity for emerging scholars, and those with an extensive background in the academic fields relating to Māori indigenous screen production, to share their research and work. This includes those who have also produced creative outputs.

Proposals for papers or panels may address, but are not limited to, issues such as:

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- The Māori voice in cinema
- Māori storytelling within the international mediascape
- Māori innovation in media/social media
- The participation of Māori women in media production
- Uses of media/social media by Māori tamariki/rangatahi
- Iwi media – policy, production, reception, innovation
- Government policy in the shaping of Māori production and/or reception of media
- News media representation of Māori
- Māori journalism and media practices
- Media representation and the development of Māori social policy
- Impacts of mediated discourse on the lived experience and identities of Māori

Paper abstracts up to a maximum of 250 words. Abstracts should include name, institutional affiliation, full contact details, and a short biographical note.
Panel proposals up to a maximum of 500 words. Proposals should include: the panel purpose and its relationship to the Symposium themes; details of (minimum) three and (maximum) four papers and presenters to be included in the panel.

Paper abstract and panel proposals due:	**July 28th 2017**
Decision of submissions to be advised by:	**August 14th 2017**
Full papers to be submitted at the Symposium	**September 9th 2017**

Submit proposals and any queries to Symposium Organisers:

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NGĀ PAE O TE MĀRAMATANGA

Thanks for the Ngā Pae o Te Māramatanga Knowledge Event Support Grant

9. Pacific climate change adaptation

The use of participatory media to promote indigenous knowledge

Abstract: Pacific Island communities are increasingly experiencing the impacts of climate change. Inaccessibility to relevant information about contemporary climate change adaptation strategies at the community level presents challenges. At the same time, indigenous strategies to adapt to climate changes have been overlooked in both local and global climate change debates. This article discusses a project undertaken with a community in Andra Island, Manus Province, Papua New Guinea. Climate change impacts and adaptation strategies were explored through photo essays developed by community members, engaging in approaches of visual participatory action research and indigenous research approaches. The collaboration with the Andra Island community created a space for reflective dialogue about challenges posed by climate change as well as how photo essays can be used to promote Indigenous Knowledge (IK) as a viable capital for community-based adaptation (CBA). Within this context, this article demonstrates how climate change is both a natural and cultural process of change which poses socio-economic challenges. These challenges can compel people to engage in unsustainable practices that might exacerbate natural climate change impacts. The article highlights that building community capacity in participatory media can be an important tool to forge collective synergy, dialogue and ownership in local climate change initiatives. In particular, the authors demonstrate how participatory media can be harnessed to integrate indigenous knowledge in community-based climate change adaptation.

Keywords: climate change adaptation, participatory media, photo essay, photography, indigenous, Indigenous Knowledge, Papua New Guinea

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Introduction

THE PACIFIC basin is the epicentre of much of the world's climatic, thermal and oceanic activities and impacts, being the oldest prevailing ocean which holds about three-quarters of Earth's water (NOAA, 2014). It is not surprising that climate change adaptation has become one of the most prominent issues among the Pacific Island Countries and Territories (Mimura, 1999). Climate change challenges in the region include extreme events such as droughts, ocean acidification, and rising sea levels and sea-surface temperatures (PIRCA, 2012). More broadly, the Asia-Pacific region has been 'hit by more than 5,000 disasters causing more than two billion fatalities and affecting the lives of more than six billion' over the last four decades (ESCAP, 2015, p. 7).

Many Pacific Island countries have suffered increased incidences of natural disasters in recent years. Case studies from Fiji, Cook Islands, Samoa and Vanuatu reflect first-hand impressions of the political and socio-economic implications of climate change hazards and disasters (Gero et al., 2013). For example, between 2005 and 2015, massive devastations were incurred from the Samoan tsunami in 2009; to successive floods in Fiji from 2009 to 2012; as well as tropical cyclones in Cook Islands (2010) and Vanuatu (2012), respectively. Those events were greatly exacerbated by inherent deficiencies in disaster response systems. Consequently, socio-economic costs of loss and rehabilitation have depleted meagre financial, social and infrastructural resources in those small island countries (ADB, 2013).

In 2015, the 21st Conference of the Parties (COP21) reaffirmed the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and its call for a 'pro-active approach to informing, motivating and involving [vulnerable communities] in all aspects of disaster risk reduction' (UNISDR, 2005, p. 2). COP21 incorporated the Durban Platform for Enhanced Action into a new 'legally binding agreement on Climate Change' among the 196 party countries (Pokana, 2015, p. 1). Other relevant resolutions include Article 7 for greater integration of Indigenous Knowledge (IK), and Articles 10, 11 and 12 for technology transfer and capacity building (ibid, 2015). Crucially, those conventions also address the fact that:

> Despite the impact of climate change on indigenous peoples and their traditional knowledge, international experts most often overlook [their] right… as well as the potentially invaluable contributions from indigenous peoples' traditional knowledge, innovations and practices in the global search for climate change solutions. (IWGIA, 2008, p. 3-4)

Emphasis is shifted from external actors as panacea for dilemmas posed by climate change. The potential of indigenous communities to contribute alternative solutions has received growing interest among development (Dutta, 2011) and resource management agencies (Cinner, 2005). This article is based on a

study undertaken on Andra Island, Manus Province, Papua New Guinea. The project explored a way in which community members can use photography and storytelling as platforms for discussing and incorporating their indigenous knowledge into community based adaptation (CBA) strategies.

Communicating climate change adaptation

Public misconceptions about the imminence of climate change is a major barrier to concerted action (Abbasi, 2006). One cause for this dilemma is the lack of scientific engagement with the capacity of local communities 'to observe their [environment]', anticipate changes, adapt, and communicate their experiences to build resilience' (Dekens, 2007, p. 62). Another is that facts are presented in formats that bear minimal legibility beyond academia or bureaucracy, leaving the bulk of the population 'in the dark' (CRED, 2009). Therefore, much has to be done to better communicate scientific concepts to the public without distorting the intended messages (Mullen, 2013). This barrier has been the focus of concerted strategising in climate change communication in recent years.

Today, a number of projects have been initiated to develop public-friendly platforms that facilitate the integration of science and lay dynamics to communicate, understand and address climate change challenges. According to CARE International (2010, p. 5), CBA 'projects are interventions whose primary objective is to improve the capacity of local communities to adapt to climate change' through no-regret strategies that draw on local knowledge and capacities. No-regret strategies are preventative actions that involve methods that are locally relevant, cost effective and increase human resilience to deal with climate hazards. Such programmes are undertaken among indigenous communities 'to secure... community support and participation [in order] to ensure climate change measures are successful' (DIICCSRTE, 2013, p. 257).

CBA projects in indigenous communities capitalise on their oral traditions which have thrived over thousands of centuries (Showren, 2014). Knowledge embedded in the oral traditions of Pacific Island cultures, similar to other oral cultures, contain timeless threads of traditional technologies that have been channelled through legends, dances, artefacts, languages, architecture and even in mundane rigours of daily chores (Sanka, Eyison, & Darteh, 2014). Proponents of indigenous knowledge claim that the reliability of ancient wisdoms lie in their success over a long time of use in response to hazards and disasters (Lefale, 2010).

Creative communication tools can be used in building capacities for CBA strategies by strengthening dialogue through collaborative documentation of local knowledge and the translation of scientific concepts into local community contexts (Harris, 2014). This way, indigenous knowledge can be appreciated as a vehicle for generating, sustaining and transferring information (Mercer, 2010).

Indigenous Knowledge (IK) as media

Pacific Island cultures have evolved as people learned symbols and meanings that framed their perceptions about past experiences, present realities and future expectations. Those symbols and meanings range from natural phenomena and artistic expressions to customary norms, folklores, and worldviews. This underlines the essence of IK as an epistemology that emanates from a dynamic meaning making process which 'emphasises [the]… holistic [integration of] the metaphysical and pragmatic... language and place, and… values… within a relational web' (Kovach, 2009, p. 57). All these are framed in oral traditions through observations, lived experiences and by word of mouth.

It can be argued that there are alternatives to text-based literacy in oral traditions. Taylor (2003) pointed out that other competencies for meaning making are now increasingly acknowledged as alternative 'gateway skills' to advanced intelligence and productivity in life. There is, in essence, no privilege of one form of literacy over others as being more adept (Fish, 1980). They are merely competing perceptions and worldviews with their own strengths and weaknesses. This point is more aptly made by Sanka et al. (2014) that 'facts' or 'realities' are socially constructed propositions which constantly evolve through contact with competing perspectives.

Pacific Island countries have rich oral traditions through which they employ innovative ways of representing and interpreting life. Creative forms of 'oral tradition' or 'oral literature' like folk dances, artefacts and legends are dynamic genres that nurture, preserve and transport ideas, symbols and beliefs (Roundell, 2003). These forms of oral literacy have aesthetic as well as functional significances (Finnegan, 2012). Certain studies about the potential of integrating indigenous and scientific tools have found that IK is very reliable among communities 'generally lacking extensive long-term scientific data records of climate change impacts' (Alexander et al., 2011, p. 482).

In summary, climate change impacts pose challenges that increasingly require strategising at all levels of society in order to integrate a wide range of knowledge and expertise. This need is well articulated by international conventions' call for synergy and transfer of appropriate technology between stakeholders in order to enhance CBA capacities in local contexts.

Methodology

Visual Participatory Action Research

The research incorporated a visual methodology in order to engage the voices of the Andra Island community on the issue of climate change adaptation. That was facilitated by embedding respondent-generated visual data (Prosser & Loxley, 2008) in the daily socio-cultural constructs of their community (Tauli-Corpuz, Enkiwe-Abayao, & Chavez, 2010). Hence, members of the Andra

focus group were engaged as 'co-researchers' (Helden, 1998). In privileging local knowledge, the study also advanced the cause of decolonising research among indigenous peoples (Thomas, 2011, p. 185).

The production of photographic essays as creative narratives, also served as a way of understanding how the research participants and their community were responding to climate change impacts. The visual narratives enabled the participants to capture and project their indigenous understanding of climate change impacts in 'a rich and analytical [way]' (McSwain, 1977, p. 27). This was a hands-on opportunity for them to experiment how to employ the aesthetics of the camera to satisfy their collective need for a voice.

A creative media workshop was facilitated with 13 participants from Andra Island to capture understandings about the issue of climate change adaptation through creative synthesis of local experiences and cultures. The focus on participatory action research (PAR) 'on action and change… [ensured] substantial collaboration and participation' of the target community in all phases of this research (MacColl, Cooper, Markus, & Viller, 2005, p. 2). The process encouraged the community to explore the strengths and weaknesses of their socio-cultural capitals to generate insights into their dilemma and alternative measures for climate change adaptation. This process observed notions of inclusivity, contextual relevance, local ownership and long term sustainability (Bhandari & Malakar, 2009). A photo exhibition was held within the community after the completion of the workshop.

Indigenous Research Approach

Initial contact for this research project was established by Aaron Inamara who is from Madang Province in PNG. Building on the relationships established by the Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS), Inamara involved both the ***kamal***[1] and the Andra Ward Committee in negotiating the participation of the community. Endorsements by community leaders created an atmosphere of trust that spurred people to engage in the research. Ensuing workshop sessions explored the dynamics of discursive reflections and actions as individuals, small groups and a community by pooling together Andra's socio-cultural resources (Hammersley, 2008). The sessions integrated community traditions and PAR methodology to serve as a platform for the moderation of power relations to accommodate varied participatory spaces and voices.

The incorporation of an indigenous research framework complemented the visual and action research by grounding the research design and methods within a Melanesian context. The whole research process was thereby founded on values of social obligations and mutual reciprocity (ABS, 2002). The values and experiences of the target community were thus engaged 'in their natural settings…to make sense of…[climate change impacts] in terms of meanings people bring to them' (cf. Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 2). Data collection was

framed through a combination of interpretive and naturalistic approaches (ibid, 1994) which teased out links between climate change impacts, changes in Andra culture and the capacity of the islanders to be resilient.

Andra Island, Manus Province, Papua New Guinea

Andra is a low lying atoll situated in the north of Manus in the Pomotu-N'drehet, Kurti-Andra Local Level Government. It is approximately one kilometre long, less than five hundred metres wide (Moore et al., 2012, p. 21) and reaches no more than a metre above sea level at its highest point (Narayan et al., 2015). Like other small islands in Manus, Andra is highly vulnerable to prevailing trends of extreme climatic variability (Kaluwin, Duguman, Kiele, & Poselei, 2013). Socio-economic activities on Andra are centred on fishing and marine resources exploitation as '[t]he waters surrounding… Andra… support a highly diverse fish fauna' (Moore et al., 2012, p. 22). It has been a research site for the Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS) over the past ten years. This research project built on the support and relationships developed between WCS staff and the Andra community. Examples of existing WCS projects on Andra include coral cultivation, clamshell farming and dry-stone sea wall building (APEC, 2015).

Comparative studies showed that agriculture was virtually abandoned on Andra Island between 2002 and 2007 due to insufficient land (Wia et al., 2012). Fishing, harvesting of coral reefs, trochus (*lalai*) and *béche-de-mer* (sea slugs) for commercial sale had consequently surged (Cinner, Marnane, McClanahan, Clark, & Ben, 2005). These studies established that unsustainable exploitation of marine resources had already caused declining fish density and hence dwindling catches in Andra Island waters (Goreau & Hayes, 2008). While this is a threat to food security for Andra, it also offers an opportunity for the islanders to revive indigenous resource management practices to bolster local resilience to negative climate change impacts (McMillen et al., 2014).

Indigenous climate change adaptation strategies

This section presents a selection of the indigenous measures used to adapt to negative climate change impacts explored by community participants through photo essays. The research findings focus on issues around food security. Research participants agreed that socio-cultural changes among Andra Islanders were aggravating existing vulnerabilities such as limited land, food insecurity and rapid decimation of socio-cultural values. An elder from Loniu clan said:

> As an old woman, I have not been going out to the sea and the mainland but I think there are some changes. The biggest cause of the changes is ourselves. Now people say that things are changing. I tell them, 'The changes are yourselves'. (L. Rasei, personal communication, 2 November 2014)

It was discerned that impacts of climate change contribute to changes in Andra culture which in turn contribute to unsustainable practices. Another elder from Kama-at clan made the observation that, 'As the place is changed by the climate, peoples' attitudes are also changing. The traditions and customs of the past have now also changed' (J. Pak, personal communication, 4 November 2014). Andra Islanders fear that changes in their lifestyle had demeaned cultural practices that could boost local responses to climate change challenges.

The following section explores key aspects of research participants' photo essays about possible IK adaptation measures for water and food insecurities.

Oral tradition

Francis Papi's narrative essay on oral tradition underpins the value of the *kamal* and wisdom of the *lapan* (local chief). It features the story of Condrad Kalolo, an elderly *lapan* from Kikiu clan who is portrayed as one of the last living custodians of Andra's culture. In the essay the old man schools a group of boys about the history and transition of the use of the *koheh*[2] fishing net and the *pwengai*[3] bowl (Figure 1).

Papi's essay articulates the value of *kamal* as the 'storehouse' of IKs. It alluded to the need to revive former uses of indigenous artefacts such as *koheh* and *pwengai*. For instance, the present use of *koheh* as a lime-making[4] apparatus

Figure 1: Teaching young boys about the *pwengai* (wooden dish) and the *koheh* (fish trap basket).

could be forgone for its former use in selective fishing to encourage sustainable management of the fishery resources.

Traditional Water Holes (Wa-nga)

Lack of fresh water on Andra is highlighted in Joe Halas' narrative about two traditional water wells. It features a boy's appeal for the islanders to maintain traditional water wells because they were disfigured by debris. The photo essay ends with a caption relaying an appeal for everyone on the island to 'clean and maintain their ancestral water wells again' (Inamara, 2016, p. 15) (Figure 2). One of the elders expressed that despite recent introduction of modern tanks, the islanders still resort to the inherited water wells:

> When there has been a long dry spell, we resort to boiling and using waters from these water holes for cooking and drinking. In this time of climate change…we rely on these water holes. (J. Pak, personal communication, 4 November 2014)

J. Pak said children should be taught that traditional wells were useful to 'our forefathers in the past, to us today and would continue to benefit our people in years to come' (personal communication, 4 November 2014).

Figure 2: Sileh wants the people of Andra to clean and maintain their ancestral water wells again.

Papai fish trap

A *papai* fish trap is a shin high, semi-circular structure made out of reef stones over portions of the inshore reef. Ancilla Pais' narrative describes the benefits of this fishing method through the success that a fisherman had in supplementing protein for his family. Though caution must be exercised to minimise impacts on the surrounding marine life, after their construction, *papais* afford lasting habitats for polyps and other fisheries to thrive (Figure 3).

Figure 3: *Papai* is good not just for catching fish but it also provides a conducive habitat for seashells like trochus (*lalai*).

Clamshell farming

Stanis Sale's photo essay describes clamshell farming as a traditional mariculture developed to ensure food security during the northwest monsoonal season (Figure 4). People would take clamshell seedlings and farm them close to the shore. The photo essay captures the rigours of clamshell farming, from seedling collection and nurturing to harvesting and preparation for meals. Clamshell farming has the potential to help Andra Islanders cope with the recent trend of declining fish stocks.

Line fishing

Techla Lawen's photo essay portrays what an average day out fishing would entail for an Andra fisherman. The essay shows the present struggle to make

Figure 4: Clamshells mature after about six months.

catches due to declining fish density in waters around Andra and encouraged sustainable fishing. 'The only methods of fishing in the past were fishing lines, woven fishnets and traps' (G. Lohai, personal communication, 3 November 2014). People now prefer nylon strings, metal hooks and lures as they offer greater potency. However, they still rely on the traditional art of reading weather forecasts to determine opportune timing and location for successful fishing. An elder from Paluwaha clan commented that despite increased use of modern fishing methods and climate change impacts, the skills of reading movements of celestial bodies, lightning flashes and wind currents were still significant in predicting weather and fishing seasons (P. Sion, personal communication, 5 November 2014).

Barter trade

Lawrence Ndrokul's photographic essay is an expository that explored the socio-economic value of barter trade. It showcases the speciality of Andra Islanders and the mainlanders in producing sea and garden food, respectively. Andra Islanders had traditional trading partners from the mainland with whom they exchanged fish for sago and garden foods such as *galip*[5], banana and taro. R. Kebilas, a female elder from Rai clan said barter trade was essential as it afforded her people access to food that could not be grown on the island. It played

Figure 5: Surplus fish and sago are used as commodities in barter and cash trade.

a key role in ensuring food security during the northwest monsoonal season when it was not safe to travel for trading and fishing trips (Figure 5).

Sago preservation

The introduction to Lillian Kawel's expository expresses the importance of sago preservation by stating that sago is a scarce but highly demanded staple on the island. It mentioned that, 'Sago preservation used to be especially important during the northwest monsoon period when it was difficult for fishing and barter trade trips to the mainland' (Inamara, 2016, p. 40). Andra Islanders have two sago preservation methods. One of these is sun drying which involves sago powder being placed in a bowl, exposed to direct sunlight and sifted until dried and crisp (Figure 6). The other process is where sago powder is dried by being placed over fire heat. An elder said that the islanders should sustain that practice as it is 'a traditional bulk store that they would depend on in times of food crises' (L. Rasei, personal communication, November 2, 2014).

Though these IKs can potentially enhance Andra Islanders' capacity to respond competently to food insecurity, many of them were changing and on the verge of extinction.

Figure 6: They place sago powder in a bowl, place it in the sun and stir the sago at regular intervals.

Photo essays as climate change communication tool

A photographic exhibition was organised in the community, and people, including students, were invited to attend and comment. Participants expressed gratitude for the sense of inclusivity and ownership in the research processes, data, and creative production outputs. P. Sion pointed out that:

> The workshop has introduced something that we have never had before on our island. A picture is the best means to pass the message of climate change. Some of those photos amaze me as they are telling our community's stories. (personal communication, 27 October 2014)

F. Papi aptly summarised these points in his reflection about the essence of active community engagement in the research. He said that due to changes taking place there was a need for more collaboration between the government and NGOs in partnership with the local peoples around the country. He pointed out that:

> The government needs the support of NGOs to do more training at the grassroots level to support government programs. That way, the local people - not just on Andra - but in all other wards in Manus would share

> expertise in related fields so that they could attain a level of understanding that resonates with the experts…to help reduce risks of climate change. (personal communication, 27 October 2014)

The islanders were keen to continue to develop the concept of photographic essay production as they felt it had great potential in reviving useful cultural practices to help address negative climate change impacts. G. Lohai made the observation that, 'Doing pictorial stories of our cultural practices will enable our people to see, think and decide to revive cultural practices that can help our community' (personal communication, 21 October 2014). Creative media was seen as an incentive for the revival of Andra Island's IK.

There was a concerted appeal for community-based creative media productions about local capacities for adaptation and resilience. F. Papi said, 'If we are provided with cameras and the means to produce photographic essays, we can create a community organisation to support provincial and national authorities through production of awareness and educational materials about local climate change adaptation measures' (personal communication, 21 October 2014). Further, it was commented that:

> Photographic essays can really have an impact in communicating the reality of the impacts of climate change in the community. People would appreciate the photograph images more than reading written reports. (B. Semer, personal communication, 25 October 2014)

From this project a photographic booklet was produced that includes all stories from the community participants and that serves as an educational resource (Inamara, 2016).

Maintaining Indigenous Knowledge for climate change adaptation

A recurring view among Andra Islanders was that climate change had caused their culture to change. To them, stresses caused by climate change such as seasonal variability, sea level rise and loss of fish, had changed the way they value and use their limited resources. They observed that sustainable traditional practices to do with customary norms and values had lost their significance. Changes of attitude were therefore linked to an increase in commercial exploitation of their resources.

This research has identified certain aspects of Andra Island culture and IK centred around livelihood practices and vulnerabilities (UNISDR, 2005). These were captured in research participants' photographic essays about traditional water holes, *papai* fish trap, clam shell farming, fishing, sago preservation, barter trade and oral tradition. The narratives reflect the potentials of local adaptive responses to negative effects of climate change. Andra IK possesses useful traits

that emanate from a long history of 'resilience to environmental variability and unpredictability' (McMillen et al., 2014, p. 1).

At the time of this research, there were ongoing WCS projects on Andra Island. These projects reflect global efforts to integrate scientific and IK to enhance climate change adaptation (Alexander et al., 2011). This research adds a new dimension to such work through building basic creative media capacity to promote local, no-regret adaptive strategies on Andra Island.

Proponents of local adaptation initiatives criticise the imposition of so-called universal strategies as they are not compatible with the contexts of the target communities (Diamond, 2006; Mullen, 2013). Capacity building efforts to enhance the resilience of vulnerable communities must be about sharing of experiences, ideas and appropriate technologies (Briggs, 2005). Climate change adaptation and disaster risk reduction initiatives in the Pacific have therefore employed a holistic approach that highly esteems multi-stakeholder involvement and the use of the local knowledge of target communities (Gero, Méheux & Dominey-Howes, 2011). This is the core value of community-based adaptation that is advocated by international and regional conventions such as the Hyogo Framework for Action, COP21 and the 46th APEC business leaders meeting (APEC, 2015; UNFCCC, 2015).

Community participation and voice in climate change adaptation

While it is important to see climate change adaptation receiving global prominence, the participation of local, vulnerable communities in dialogues about the issue is largely limited. 'Participation in climate adaptation needs to bridge the gap between policy-makers and the personal experiences and aspirations of citizens' (Holstein, 2010, p. 7). According to Gero et al. (2011), the Pacific is leading efforts to align externally determined climate change adaptation approaches with CBA measures. CBA is suitable for sharing of expertise between target communities and external actors as it privileges the '[indigenous] knowledge, needs and priorities' (Warrick, 2011, p. ii).

The agency of the local culture and experiences was reinforced through the engagement of 13 research participants in producing photographic essays as visual data (Herman, 2015; McNamara & Prasad, 2013). This facilitated dialogue and transfer of knowledge and skills between the research participants and the researcher. Citizen participation through visual exercises thus can provide a 'powerful…hands-on [strategy] that incorporate artistic means of communicating complex science'(Mullen, 2013, p. iii). This is a move away from mainstream science and media in how climate change adaptation issues are often documented and presented. The creative media workshop allowed the islanders to reflect on shared experiences, understand their present predicament and identify local responses.

The application of a holistic approach catered for discussions and evaluations

of Andra Island's IK. A sense of collective voice and ownership emanating from the experience underlined the value of CBA. This resonates with ongoing projects in Fiji (Hulan & Eganbrod in Hanson, 2009), in Samoa (Lefale, 2010) and other island countries (Gero et al., 2011). The cultures and experiences of Pacific communities inform adaptation initiatives that incorporate innovative media strategies (Papoutsaki, Kailahi, & Harris, 2014).

Dialogue through participatory photography

The research on Andra Island was focussed on creating an avenue for the islanders to come into the dialogue about a phenomenon that concerns their very existence and future. Priority was accorded to generating dialogue within the community through a process of open expressions of narratives (Helde, 2012; Schnüttgen, 1997). The existing 'relationships, infrastructure, and the cultural setting' (Flora & Arnold, 2012, p. 2) were harnessed to engage Andra Islanders in focus group discussions, interviews, creative media production and community feedback sessions.

The outputs from the creative media workshop projected the experiences and insights of Andra Islanders into the broader dialogue about climate change adaptation. As an oral culture, PNG has embraced performative arts (Coogan, 2011) as way to generate awareness among its citizens. Also, creative media is now increasingly used as an influential medium for re-educating people about their cultural rights and identity (Chilisa, 2012). Particularly, the widening access to digital media among citizens has been tapped into by various agencies to document local perceptions about cross-cutting issues and how to respond to them (Fanon in Sullivan, 2003).

A media tool does not merely promote the agency of the user (McLuhan in Hodkinson, 2011), it is socially re-constructed into a new vantage of contact, dialogue and resolution between established notions and emerging narratives. A camera wielded by Andra research participants connects and contrasts their indigenous constructs about climate change adaptation against 'outside' notions (Prosser & Loxley, 2008). The research participants thereby assumed a powerful position where they could see, feel, hear and think through the camera. Photography then assumes a meditational dimension rife with personal reflections on contemporary immediacies and deeper convictions. This 'conceptual monologue' within each research participant imbues the images captured with a rich tapestry of constructions and meanings (Rolling, 2010). This result came through the rigours of focus group and community dialogue from the creation of storyboards to the capturing of images, to the final assembling and exhibition of photographic essays and of a resource booklet. The Andra Island community, and others, could these processes and resources for further reflection, modification and replication in the future (Inamara, 2016).

Conclusion

This article presented a case study to highlight the socio-cultural dimensions of climate change impacts and adaptation processes. It demonstrates the use of participatory media at community level to reflect on adaptation processes involving indigenous knowledge. Using participatory media involving oral storytelling and photography allowed indigenous practices to be made visible and made accessible for reflection and discussion among various generations.

Community media therefore can support the strength and the knowledge of the community and and have communities create their own resource materials. The harnessing of oral storytelling and visual media in Pacific communities is an important component in climate change adaptation in the region. It does not only capture local climate change adaptation strategies but records community traditions, structure and processes that have been developed over long periods of time, and as in the case of Andra Island, might have been disregarded due to modern influences.

While this research study focussed on exploring processes within one community there is potential to consider undertaking similar processes in a number of communities to form a larger network and resource hub for the integration of indigenous knowledge in climate change adaptation. Further, linking community media outputs to Pacific mainstream media, where appropriate and relevant, might be another consideration.

Notes

1. The *kamal* refers to a grouping that is defined by patrilineal groups. It is a social institution that mediates customary laws and relations, including the organisation and distribution of land and property.
2. A woven fish trap now used in lime production.
3. A wooden dish or bowl, which is hardly used nowadays.
4. Lime-making refers to the harvesting of corals to create lime, a powder that is used in combination with a mustard stick when chewing betelnut.
5. A local tree or the nut it bears.

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10. Climate change advocacy in the Pacific

The role of information and communication technologies

Abstract: This article explores the phenomenon of the use of ICT for climate change activism in the Pacific. Climate change activism in the Pacific is characterised by the use of ICT tools such as social media. The article draws on semi-structured interviews and an analysis of social media sites to examine the use of social media in Pacific climate change campaigns. While other campaigns such as relating to West Papua have also been facilitated by social media, it has been generally NGO, citizen-led and varied in Pacific government support. In contrast, climate change campaigns in the Pacific are fully supported at the NGO, citizen, and state levels. Furthermore, while early Pacific ICT-based climate change campaigns used iconic images of Pacific Islanders leaving their homelands, more recent campaigns have leveraged social media to depict Pacific Islanders not as victims but as 'warriors'. This new imagery aims to empower Pacific Islanders and engender a regional Pacific identity that shows strength and solidarity on the Pacific's stance towards climate change.

Keywords: citizen journalism, climate change, COP21, Fiji, grassroots regionalism, ICTs, MOOCs, online activism, social media

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Introduction

PACIFIC ISLAND nations currently face many socio-economic and environmental challenges (Robie, 2014a). Climate change has been identified as one of the critical challenges of this century. Being dominated by the vast Pacific Ocean, the Pacific Islands are particularly susceptible to climate change. Rises in sea level and changes in climatic conditions have meant that Pacific Islands face many threats. These include; coastal inundation and the submergence of low lying islands, increased salinisation of water sources and changes in the distribution of biodiversity potentially threatening food security and economic prosperity (Keener, Marra, Finucane, Spooner, & Smith, 2013).

Coupled with fragile economic structures, climate change has proven to be a formidable undertaking for Pacific leaders and communities.

Climate change and its causes is a problem of global proportions. The causes of climate change lie beyond the Pacific and disproportionately impact on Pacific Islanders who face inundation in their lifetimes. This poses particular problems for Pacific activists as they strive to educate and raise awareness on climate change. Pacific climate activism refers to the ever increasing numbers of individuals, groups and organisations in the Pacific working on climate change related issues. These groups focus on the various multi-faceted dimensions of climate change activism. This ranges along the spectrum of devising and implementing climate mitigation strategies at the community level, lobbying policy makers and increasing the level of climate change awareness amongst the general public. Lobbying by Pacific Islanders at the international scale is thus vital in addressing this issue. ICTs have great potential to assist in the dissemination of climate change information and in the mobilisation and coordination of people for the purpose of climate change advocacy.

In the Pacific, ICT tools and platforms such as social media have grown in their popularity and outreach (Finau et al., 2014; Singh, 2017). Improvements in technology have facilitated an exponential increase in accessibility to ICTs around the world. World Bank (2014) statistics for the Pacific indicate that access to ICTs is increasing at an exponential rate. With these increases, the potential of ICTs to be used as a means of reaching out to people and fostering climate change awareness and activism, also increases. With the limited resources available, Pacific Island governments, organisations and individuals have striven to disseminate information and mobilise interest in climate change. Over time, ICTs have come to play a prominent role as a means by which individuals, groups and organisations can spread messages, gain the interest of the populace and organise movements and activities centred on climate change activism. ICTs also have potential to act as a catalyst for the rebirth of grassroots regionalism. In essence, there have been points in Pacific history where widespread interest at the grassroots level on a particular issue has led to a bottom-up push that advocates for action on issues of regional interest (George, 2011). This is evidenced in the Free West Papua campaign. In this case, ICT tools were employed to garner interest throughout the region in the issue of West Papua (Robie, 2017). Through ICT tools such as social media, activists from around the Pacific region communicated and organised to articulate messages of protest against human rights violations in West Papua (Titifanue, Tarai, Kant & Finau, 2016). Thus, the exponential growth rates of ICTs in the Pacific region have emplaced ICTs and their related platforms as being important means of diffusing news.

This exploratory research scrutinises the situation in the Pacific and the contemporary phenomenon of ICTs and how ICT tools have been utilised for

disseminating and articulating messages on climate change, and bringing about behavioural change. The article examines how ICT platforms such as social media have been adapted by individuals and groups for use in climate change activism. The roles that ICTs have in the potential rebirth of grassroots regionalism is also examined.

Climate change in the Pacific context

Climate change in the context of this article refers to human induced climate change that has been caused by greenhouse gas emissions. Such changes in climate have resulted in changing weather patterns around the world. Extreme weather events have increased in frequency with countries recording unprecedented levels of extreme precipitation and/or heat (Adger, Huq, Brown, Conway, & Hulme, 2003). The mean global temperature has also risen. This has resulted in the melting of polar ice caps and rising sea levels. This is further exacerbated by the fact that increasing temperatures cause water to expand thus resulting in the thermal expansion of oceans (Beaumont et al., 2014).

The islands of the Pacific region include many coral atolls and raised limestone islands. These islands have very low elevation above mean sea level. This low elevation means that a mere rise of several centimetres in sea level can potentially inundate entire islands. In small island states such as Kiribati, entire communities have been forced to relocate due to rising sea levels inundating their homes (Hall, 2015). In the case of island nations such as Kiribati, Marshall Islands and Tuvalu where all their islands have extremely low elevation, the very real possibility exists that citizens of these states may soon be displaced. Marcus Stephen (2011), the former president of Nauru, warned that there is a very real possibility that 'the low-lying nations of Tuvalu, Kiribati and the Marshall Islands may vanish entirely within our grandchildren's lifetimes'. In addition to rising sea levels, climate change brings about the threat of an increase in the frequency and severity of extreme weather conditions (Banholzer, Kossin, & Donner, 2014). Such extremes would mean prolonged droughts or wet seasons, and a potential increase in the severity and frequency of hurricanes and cyclones (Anderson & Bausch, 2006). In the Pacific context, this would mean the potential prolonging of the 'cyclone season' meaning cyclones would occur more frequently and with greater intensity (The World Bank, 2013).

Climate change has thus become a crucial issue that Pacific individuals, groups, organisations and states are striving to cope with. However, climate change is not a local problem that can easily be solved. Human induced climate change has been scientifically proven to be caused by industrialisation and a rapid rise in carbon emissions that has occurred around the globe since the time of the industrial revolution. Pacific Island nations number among the lowest carbon emitters in the world. However, they are on the frontline of experiencing

the detrimental impacts of climate change (Wéry, 2013).

International cooperation and consensus is thus required to deal with the issue of climate change and how its impacts can be curbed. In order for the Pacific to lobby at international levels, massive resources are needed to educate, inform and foster the participation of citizens from all walks of life. Given the fragile economic structures that typify Pacific economies, ICT tools have huge potential to become a cost effective avenue for climate activism. ICT tools have become prominent in informing citizens and encouraging them to participate in climate change related activism.

The media landscape in the Pacific

Apart from being geographically diverse, media and communication networks are also heterogeneous (Papoutsaki & Harris, 2008; Papoutsaki, McManus, & Matbob, 2011). Various researchers reveal these diverse forms of media and communication play a crucial role in socio-economic and political change in the region (Harris, 2014; Robie, 2014b). Radio is the most effective and far-reaching coverage in the region while television maintains viewership mostly in urban centres. Print media has undergone major changes with the advent of ICT revolution, with many newspapers now accessible online (Tacchi et al., 2013). The ICT revolution that the region is undergoing is having an impact on the media and communication landscape, with many people now accessing radio via mobile phones (Cave, 2012; Intermedia Europe, 2012).

Pacific ICTs, journalism training and climate change online education

> A range of professional bodies provide climate information and engagement tools online. This wide range of bodies can cater to different audiences with tailored, meaningful climate engagement information. The growth of new media has provided ways for established institutions, as well as grassroots organisations, to engage individuals in more personally meaningful way. (O'Neill & Boykoff, 2012)

Pacific leaders have cited climate change as being the greatest threat that the region faces currently. The former Secretary-General of the Pacific Islands Forum, Tuiloma Slade, has likened the situation to the Pacific Ocean being, 'under siege' (Mateus, 2014). The vast majority of the scientific community agree that climate change is occurring, and that it is human induced (Maibach, Myers, & Leiserowitz, 2014). However, for the Pacific region, there is still a lack of awareness and education at the grassroots level on the impacts of climate change (Harris, 2014). In such environments, journalists play a pivotal role. However, as Harris (2014) notes, journalists have recognised that more training is needed in order to improve on climate change reporting to the general public.

Journalists around the Pacific region have thus been engaged in various training aimed to help them leverage ICTs for the purpose of climate change reporting. For instance, in 2013, 11 days of training with journalists from all around the Pacific region was conducted by Deutsche Welle. Participants stated that such training was aimed at 'helping journalists and people like myself to provide information on climate change and disaster risk reduction using multimedia tools'. Another participant from Samoa, in highlighting the importance of the training, alluded to how the internet played an increasingly important role for news providers, as people tended to rely on platforms such as Facebook to get their information (NAB, 2013). Additionally, as recently as March 2017, training relating to climate change reporting was carried out in Vanuatu.

In addition to such training, ICTs have been leveraged to provide Pacific Islanders with the means to learn more on climate change. With only one major regional university that caters for much of the Pacific region, educating citizens on the intricacies of climate change has posed a challenge. The development of ICT technology has led to new educational delivery systems. One such example is the 'Massive Open Online Course' (MOOC). This refers to an online course that has unlimited participation and allows free and open access via the internet. ICT developments in text, audio, and visual communication enable real time video conferencing between citizens in various Pacific Island countries. Through online forums, and resource sharing sites, citizens can access a multitude of information in seconds. MOOCs seek to amalgamate these features into a platform that facilitates interactive learning for an unlimited number of citizens free of charge. One such example is the MOOC platform designed by the Pacific Centre for Environment and Sustainable Development (PACE-SD) based at the University of the South Pacific. The following paragraph provides discussion on this MOOC system and how it uses ICT tools to educate and disseminate information to citizens.

PACE-SD, in collaboration with funding partners, has designed a MOOC system titled 'Climate Change and Pacific Islands'[1]. This course amalgamates a variety of ICT platforms that have enabled online community interactions between students and teaching staff. In the spirit of a Habermasean public sphere (Habermas, 2006), an online platform has been created where members of the public interested in climate change can access data and carry out dialogue and debate in an unrestricted fashion. The platforms employed are described below:

1. Use of audio visual material
   On the course site, audiovisual materials such as videos and images are provided to give students a thorough grounding on the issues centred upon climate change in the Pacific. These materials include video recorded lectures as well as hyperlinks to other educational resources that students can visit to further their knowledge.

2. Use of social media teaching forums
   The course is not limited to being simply a provider of information through audiovisual tools. The MOOC platform is linked with social media platforms where students and the teaching team can confer and debate on issues related to climate change and the educational material provided by the course. The course material is also linked to Twitter and 'a Facebook group'[2]. On these platforms, students and teaching staff interact and discuss climate change issues. Thus, a public sphere comprised of students from around the Pacific has been created.

Overall, the examples mentioned above describe how ICT tools can foster dialogue and participation on issues relating to climate change.

ICTs and citizen journalism in the Pacific

As access to ICTs increase around the Pacific, individuals and groups have greater opportunities to become active content creators. These opportunities permit them to share their accounts of events that impact them. In her review of Stuart Allen's book on citizen witnessing, Rupar (2013), noted how in this day and age, 'people in extraordinary situations do what journalists do: collect, process and disseminate information by tweeting, blogging and posting texts, images and video recordings'.

ICTs are now facilitating a growth in 'citizen journalism'. Singh (2017) notes how in Melanesia, citizen journalism is now picking up pace. ICT platforms such as social media are now being employed as a means to report on human rights issues in media repressive countries such as West Papua (Robie, 2017; Titifanue et al., 2016). The potential power of these tools is formidable, and as Macleod (2016) noted, social media has started influencing the opinion of heads of state, with Pacific leaders such as Gordon Darcy Lilo, former prime minister of Solomon Islands, and Peter O'Neill of Papua New Guinea acknowledging social media's role in highlighting human rights issues in West Papua.

Various groups are now using ICT platforms to foster their climate activism. Examples can be seen in the use of tools such as Snapchat to garner international interest in climate activism. This is evidenced by 350.org activist Fenton Lutunatabua who stated in an interview that:

> 'Snapchat is real life, showing how things look without a filter,' he said. …. The shorter the video, the more likely it will be viewed. 'People are way more likely to watch a 10-second snap. And it's from your point of view, you can show the world what's really happening.' (Cronin, 2016)

With regard to climate change reporting, it is also noted that grassroots reporting of environmental events can fill in a gap in mass media reporting and knowledge. As Patel (2006) notes, journalists in the science and environmental

fields are expected to 'know too much … [and] to grasp, communicate and synthesise scientific, political and economic issues'. Citizen reporting adds the invaluable dimension of providing the outlook of people at the grassroots level. Through such means, environmental issues can be reported more holistically, and in a manner that precisely illustrates how people at the grassroots are impacted. As Robie (2010), noted, 'participatory journalism involves citizens using the internet to play a role in collecting, reporting, analysing and disseminating news and information'.

Apart from being a means to report, educate, and inform on climate change issues, ICTs have also been tapped into as a means to further activism. The usage of ICTs for climate change activism is discussed in the following sections.

ICTs and climate change activism

In activism and advocacy work, dissemination of information and the generation of discussion and participation in issues of interest have traditionally been done by the mainstream media, non-government organisations (NGOs) and lobby groups (Tarai, Finau, Kant, & Titifanue, 2015). Platforms such as television, the radio and print media have long been the means for informing citizens and enabling discussion and participation. However, the means of diffusing information and fostering activism are not set in stone. They are constantly evolving. ICT tools are the latest tools available with the efficiency they provide in communication and the dissemination of information.

In the Pacific context, the region is geographically isolated and in the past communication between Pacific islands and with the rest of the world was difficult. ICTs offer the means to greatly facilitate communication and offset the past challenges the Pacific faced due to its geographic isolation (Cave, 2012). In the Pacific, individuals, groups and organisations all around the region are concerned with, and striving to address, the issue of climate change. However, given that climate change is an issue that needs to be addressed at a global level, it is vital that these various individuals and organisations work cohesively and in coordination. A means of coordinating the activities of these various interest groups and fostering the sharing of information, debate and cooperation is needed. ICTs though relatively new to the region are being harnessed to articulate the climate change narratives of the region.

As technology develops, new means of outreach and advocacy have sprung up in an attempt to tap into the activism tools offered by new technologies. This is illustrated by how, in 1997, the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL) widely utilised the internet and computer mediated communication to gain international momentum and foster the signing of a treaty to ban landmines (Williams, Goose, & Wareham, 2008). Over a decade later in 2010, the International Red Cross was tapping into cellular phone text messages to encourage people to

make donations towards earthquake relief in Haiti. In four days, these outreach efforts had assisted in raising US$7 million (Rotman et al., 2011).

ICTs and their platforms have thus become a key instrument in climate change activism. Tools such as video conferencing, emails, e-Learning platforms, and social media have been incorporated by activists, organisations and states as advocacy tools. Through ICTs, an online public sphere has developed in the Pacific whereby citizens can confer and debate in unrestricted fashion about matters of general interest that are pertinent to the issue of climate change. Not only have ICTs been used to foster debate and discussion, they have also been used to help encourage and organise various advocacy activities. The next sections of this article delve into how ICTs and their affiliated platforms have been used in the Pacific for the purpose of disseminating information and fostering advocacy and activism.

Carter (2016, p. 206; 216) states that the continuous international meetings in relation to climate change have allowed for the transformation of climate diplomacy. International associations that Pacific states are part of have recognised the need to communicate their messages and policy positions to the public. With the proliferation of ICTs, state and non-state actors, and interest groups have become ever more connected and become more aware and attuned to the progress of these international meetings. These international state based associations (such as PSIDS, G77, Least Developed Countries (LDCs), Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS), Coalition of Rainforest Nations, Climate Vulnerable Groups, Coalition of Atoll Nations on the issue of Climate Change (CANCC)) have started utilising ICT-enabled social networking sites to communicate messages rather than relying on traditional media. This has opened up avenues for more innovative forms of climate change diplomacy and making possible dialogue to a more wider, global audience (Carter, 2016, p. 216). This sentiment was highlighted by Professor Elisabeth Holland who stated;

> Social media is a powerful tool and will help highlight to the world, what the Pacific is fighting for in Paris and how that will affect the smallest communities in our large ocean states. (Pacific Island Forum, 2015)

Social media platforms such as Facebook and Viber are greatly conducive to communication, and have been adopted by climate activists for communication purposes. Facebook and Viber offer instant messaging as well as audio and video calling features. Such features only need access to the internet in order to function. With the burgeoning penetration of ICTs and technological advances, access to the internet has greatly improved and become more affordable. Through this connectivity, information is shared amongst individuals before being disseminated to a wider audience. This is illustrated by the planning

of a climate justice protest that took place on the 23 September 2015 in front of the Australian High Commission in Fiji. Interviews with participants revealed that instant messaging services were used to rapidly spread word of the planned event amongst interested individuals. The communique encouraged interested individuals and groups to share the message broadly on their own networks and to make use of social media hashtags to 'please amplify everyone else's photos, quotes, rallies at your websites, FB pages, Instagram, etc.' (COP21 Urgent Action Hub, 2015).

While effective as a means of communication dialogue and information sharing among activists, social media has not simply been limited to being a communications tool. Individuals and groups have devised tactics that have allowed them to social media, for the purpose of coordinating and promoting climate activist events. As individuals and groups strive to gain momentum in their advocacy and activism, several social media features have come to play a role in facilitating this. Most notably these features include multimedia content, event invitations and the hashtag tool.

Multimedia content such as images, videos, and artwork, serve as a powerful means to capture the attention of the social media audience. Robie (2010) noted how iconic media images have been used to highlight the plights Pacific Islanders face with the advent of climate change. Social media platforms (such as Facebook groups and/or pages) easily facilitate the creation and sharing of such multimedia. This serves to garner the interest of people and raise the political and policy profile of issues. Furthermore, the interactive tools offered on social media platforms allow users to carry out discussions and debate around the issues related to the multimedia content posted.

Event invitations allow users to add on a description of an event and link this event to online mapping applications for the purpose of providing directions to the location of the event. The significance of this feature is that once the event is created, individuals can access information on the event and forward invitations to their own personal networks, resulting in a snowball effect. The event platform also allows the posting of multimedia content related to the event. This enables users who access the event to know not only when and where the event is taking place, but also to derive information relating to all issues surrounding the event.

Lastly, Hashtags, which refers to the prefixing of a phrase or slogan with a hashtag (#) symbol, and the creation of a hyperlink that, when clicked on, will show users a complete list of social media content that contain the hashtag. In the context of online activism, these hashtags are used to ensure cohesion and allow ease of access to social media activities carried out by climate activists. Using hashtags mean that users are able, at the click of a button to view all social media content relating to a particular climate change theme.

The use of these features is prompting a resurgence of grassroots/bottom-up regionalism. While regionalism is typically characterised by interactions between various state actors (Fry & Tarte, 2016), there are instances when individuals and groups at the grassroots can carry out a bottom-up push that places pressure on regional issues of general interest (George, 2011). Examples of these include anti-nuclear movements in the Pacific, whereby, from the 1960s to the mid-1990s, various western powers such as the USA and France carried out nuclear testing in the Pacific. Over time however, regional solidarity seemed to take a hiatus at the grassroots level and became simply something that decision makers and academics concerned themselves with. In recent times however, through digital interconnectivity, there has been resurgence in grassroots interest on key issues that have captivated the public imagination. This can be evidenced by the surge in interest and outrage around the Pacific over human rights issues taking place in West Papua (Titifanue et al., 2016).

Climate change and bottom-up regionalism

Being an international issue that is caused and exacerbated by carbon emitting activities in industrialised countries, the countries that will feel the brunt of climate change are typically those who have contributed little towards causing it (Duong, 2010). International cooperation, consensus, and action in addressing climate change is thus crucial. Pacific leaders such as former Kiribati president, Anote Tong, and more recently, Fiji Prime Minister Voreqe Bainimarama have thus been issuing calls and challenges to the global community on the need for unified action on climate change. Furthermore, in December 2015, Pacific leaders gathered at the 21st Conference of Parties in Paris (COP21) with the aim and intent of representing the plight of their respective countries in the hopes of achieving a climate treaty that could help Pacific islands 'survive'.

These climate negotiations and stances have followed the conventional regionalism definition, with negotiations occurring between state representatives at global and regional platforms. However, grassroots activism and advocacy have acted to fuel much debate and discussion prior to, during, and after COP21. With climate change projected to affect the entire the Pacific in terms of rising sea levels (Adger et al., 2003), increased spread of diseases (Potter, 2008), and degraded food security (Barnett, 2011), individuals and groups around the Pacific have become heavily invested in the issue of climate change in a manner that transcends political and ethnic borders.

Bottom-up regionalism in the context of climate change activism from civil society is evidenced by 350.org's Pacific-wide 'Warrior Day of Action' global campaign with the message 'We are not drowning. We are fighting'. (350.ORG, 2013). This campaign mobilised Pacific Islanders at prominent locations 'to perform their unique war challenges, songs, and dances'. The idea behind this

campaign was to change the global narrative from a dystopian narrative that Pacific islands are drowning from sea-level rise associated with climate change to one where for Pacific Islanders (and the global community), 'it's not yet time to give up on the Islands':

> So it's time to change the global narrative of the Pacific Islands—from drowning and victimisation, to building the power to fight the fossil fuel industry, and climate change. And as the global climate movement, it's our job to never give up on them, and to fight every step of the way with them. (350.ORG, 2013)

'We are not drowning, we are fighting' is an empowering call to action of climate advocacy championed by 35.org. The traditional attire adorned by Pacific climate activists draws on their 'oceanic identity', working a historical image of ancestral responsibility to their oceans, islands, and most importantly, their homes. The warrior is seen as a fierce protector of his chief and of his people. In essence, his is the burden of calling on and challenging neighbourly rivals or warring adversaries. Now the climate warrior is calling on and challenging the world, highlighting climate change, far beyond his typical foes of warring tribes.

Figure 1: Collage of climate warriors.

The Pacific communications coordinator of 350.org argues that:

> We are dignified warriors, who stand by these principles: A warrior is resilient …. not aggressive or violent, but …. Assertive …. serves to protect their community, culture, land and ocean …. always learning …. responds to the needs of those around them and of the greater good …. non-violently stands their ground against an adversary, against injustice and against oppression …. respectfully embodies their local culture and traditions …. is accountable for their actions and words …. serves those who cannot fight for themselves — future generations, animals and plants, environments. (Lutunatabua, 2014)

The array of tools provided by digital technologies has facilitated increased cross border interaction and advocacy. This is apparent in the tools and campaigns assessed in this research which demonstrate the multitude of individuals and groups across the Pacific that regularly use digital technologies to share information, communicate, and organise. Participants at COP21 alluded to how they used digital technologies to strengthen their voice at the bargaining table. As one focus group interviewee stated:

> …Most at COP are opposition—most that have the Pacific marginalised we try to get some leverage—For some of them we know that they have their mission pages on twitter … we visit these accounts. For example—Philippines —we mass tweet their members that are part of the COP21, …. In addition to this we also have members; friends and young people on that end [in Pacific region] that are able to make noise. This way we triple or maximise the noise …. We're coming in from more angles. (Focus group interviewee, 2016)

Through digital technologies, greater interconnectivity has been fostered amongst individuals and groups. Content analysis of climate change related social media pages reveal that there is a wide cross section of individuals partaking in the sharing of information and dialogue. Figure 2 shows how activists and campaigns have enlisted the support of Pacific sports celebrities. The campaign below used the slogan 'Enough is Enough' and the unifying hashtag: #STANDUPFORTHEPACIFIC. As earlier noted, Robie (2010) has shown how iconic media environmental images of Pacific Islanders were used to communicate the plight of Pacific Islanders caused by climate change. Robie further goes on to make the point that; 'the Pacific is unwilling to simply be cast aside as stateless "climate refugees", as portrayed by the Western media'. This is noteworthy, as in a further evolution in the adaptation of digital technologies, in recent social media campaigns Pacific Islanders are not depicted as climate change victims but as 'warriors' fighting climate change. These campaigns seek

350 Pacific, Facebook Page

Figure 2: Pacific Island sports personalities rallying around #STANDUPFORTHEPACIFIC hashtag.

to engender a unified Pacific identity showing solidarity in the Pacific on the issue of climate change.

Conclusion

With increases in ICT penetration levels, the diffusion of information around the Pacific is taking place more rapidly than ever. The decentralised nature of ICTs and their ability to reach large numbers of people in a short time has enabled increased education of citizens in the matter of climate change. Apart from being a means of educating people and disseminating information, ICT related platforms such as social media have proven to be a useful and effective means of fostering debate on climate advocacy and translating this debate into protests and marches. ICTs have contributed to the creation of online communities where citizen from various walks of life disseminate information and debate on the issue of climate change in an unrestricted fashion.

ICT tools offer ordinary citizens the potential to become active content creators and allow their narratives to be heard. The potential ramifications of citizens having the power to actively create and disseminate content on a regional and global scale are a phenomenon that deserves further attention and research. ICT platforms offer a variety of tools that have been tapped into by activists and advocates alike for the purpose of mainstreaming their messages. With a global

outreach that is continuously growing, ICTs remain a potent tool for activism.

The apparent revival of bottom-up grassroots regionalism is an intriguing notion that this research has explored. It is noted that Pacific Islanders at the grassroots have historically rallied together over issues that profoundly impact the Pacific. While the Pacific region faces a number of issues, nuclear testing, and the current issues of West Papuan human rights, and climate change have captivated the public imagination to a greater extent. This research posits that Pacific grassroots regionalism is brought about when issues arise that can captivate the public imagination on the basis of their impact in terms of livelihoods, morality, and existence. This is evidenced by the waning of grassroots cohesiveness in the post-nuclear testing era, and its advent with the issues of West Papuan human rights, and climate change.

It must be noted, that while ICT penetration rates are burgeoning in the Pacific, this remains a predominantly urban phenomenon. Urban populations in the Pacific are the best placed to take advantage of new ICT resources. This is changing as ICT technologies increasingly become more affordable and ubiquitous. However, at this stage in time, mass media tools and in particular radio stations remain the most widespread and effective means of communicating information to the greatest number of people around the Pacific.

This research aims to contribute to the limited literature that exists on online activism in the Pacific region. Future researchers delving into this field would benefit from carrying out more comprehensive interviews with a larger cross-section of activists and organisations. Employing online analytics tools would also enable future researchers to carry out a more systematic analysis on the efficaciousness of online climate change activism. Future research projects would benefit from assessing the impact of how increasing access to ICTs in rural areas influences citizen discourse on matters of general interest.

Notes

1. The link to the MOOC site: www.uspmoocpaccc.org
2. Links to the twitter and Facebook forums used can be found here:
Twitter: @uspmoocpaccc
Facebook: www.facebook.com/groups/uspmoocpaccc/?ref=ts&fref=ts

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11. Metaphor use in the political communication of major resource projects in Australia

Abstract: This article explores the patterns of political communication surrounding the environmental regulation of major Australian resource projects during the Business Advisory Forum of April 2012. The Forum discussed business and government responses to major project approvals to improve national productivity at a time when these projects also posed significant implications for anthropogenic global warming. The article's method is to examine print news articles published during this period. While the international literature has long demonstrated how the American fossil fuel lobby has employed metaphor to characterise climate change as a 'non-problem'—therefore allegedly making regulation of greenhouse gas emissions economically and politically unnecessary—no Australian study of metaphor use in climate science news has been conducted. This article, in finding news stories on so-called 'green tape' environmental regulation were saturated with metaphor clusters, argues that journalistic metaphor use has made the complex issue of environmental regulation accessible to mass audiences. But, in so doing, we also argue this metaphor use has supported business and government's position on environmental deregulation of major projects. Finally, this article also argues that some journalists' use of metaphors encouraged policy-makers to adopt, and re-use, journalists' own language and, in so doing, allow those journalists to be seen as complicit in the shaping of softer public attitudes to the impact of major projects on anthropogenic climate change.

Keywords: agenda setting, Australia, climate change, deregulation, emissions, environmental journalism, fossil fuel lobby, greenhouse gas, metaphor, newspapers, rhetoric

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Introduction

IT HAS long been a truism that those who control political language also control policy outcomes. Ancient and modern scholars have argued that the scrutiny of political leaders' language offers invaluable insight into how public opinion is shaped. This, in turn, offers scholars an understanding of how liberal democratic leaders 'purchase' mandates to steer public policy (Stockwell, 2005, p. 35; Nisbet & Huge, 2006). Moreover, scholars have known at least since the time of Aristotle and Plato that rhetoric—the 'manipulation of signs and symbols for influence and effect' (Brummett, 2003) to influence the behaviour of others—is the most effective non-violent form of mass persuasion. Intuitively, in a digital age defined by 24-hour news cycles, ubiquitous social media and an explosion in political public relations, the study of rhetoric has never been more germane. Understanding the language devices used by political actors—state and party leaders as well as those who seek to influence policy debate, for example, pressure group leaders—is essential to understanding how changes to public policy can be 'sold' to citizens and the news media.

The science of rhetoric—establishing truths or proofs to aid rational argument and political deliberation—was first systemised by Aristotle (Stockwell, 2005, p. 37), who detailed three forms of persuasion, or 'proof': ethos (established through the character of the speaker), pathos (established by emotional appeals to the audience), and logos (established by logical presentation of the facts) (Rapp, 2010). Accordingly, Aristotle regarded metaphor use as a key element of rhetoric that assisted speakers in effective, and appealing, communication (Stockwell, 2005, p. 42; Rapp, 2010). Moreover, the most persuasive rhetoric is brief (Plato, 380BCE; Thibodeau & Boroditsky, 2011, p. 1). Accordingly, proofs—either subjective or objective truths—can be established in 'tropes', 'memes' or other concise statements easily transmitted, repeated and understood—by an often under-informed or disengaged public (Toncar & Munch, 2003). In an emerging 'post-truth' political milieu (Stone & Kuznick, 2013, p. 532), understanding how political language can be manipulated for policy outcomes has therefore never been more critical.

The role of resource-rich pressure groups in shaping public policy, either directly through advertising or indirectly through news media agenda-setting, must also be considered, especially when the signs and symbols of political language of powerful sectional groups can become more persuasive than objective facts. Anthropogenic made climate change is a case in point: heavy carbon-producers enjoy an interest in steering government policy away from punitive carbon taxes—regardless of the scientific consensus on climate change – and instead toward policies that maintain fossil-fuel dependencies.

Hall et al (2013, p. 57) have argued that a key mechanism by which power is exercised is via the 'interpretations' of social events offered by the media, that

is, through 'primary definers' (sources) and 'secondary definers' (journalists). Declining newsroom resources too often mean primary institutional sources are 'over-accessed' by 'secondary definers' and this, in turn, risks 'reproducing the definitions of the powerful.' Additionally, Hall et al (2013, p. 59) argue that news outlets use their editorial, or 'public idiom', to campaign openly for reforms, and often where class interests are represented as the interests of the general public. Moreover, despite a Fourth Estate commitment to objectivity that requires the news media to balance its sources, 'certain strategic areas of silence' can emerge which can, for example, restrict the range of solutions the news media might print or broadcast during a dispute, or even 'render them invisible' (Westergaard in Hall et al, p. 65).

An increasingly common term is 'junk' science: itself a powerfully concise metaphor designed to confuse public understanding of the science of global warming and to shape public opinion on government responses to climate change (Herrick & Jamieson, 2001, p. 14; Jacques, Dunlap & Freeman, 2008, p. 349). Critically, American fossil fuel corporations have co-opted such metaphors as 'junk' science, and even Hippocrates' 'Do no harm' has been mooted as a call to resist carbon regulation (McCright & Dunlap, 2000 p. 510; Livesey, 2002, p. 128). Some conservative bloggers go further and describe climate change as 'myth', 'gospel' or 'bible' to support the over-arching metaphor of 'science as religion' (Nerlich, 2010, p. 419). Yet it is important to note that moralism is hardly partisan in this debate: former Labor Prime Minister Kevin Rudd, for example, framed much of his campaign for the 2007 federal election around climate change representing the 'great moral challenge of our generation' (Rudd 2007; Williams 2008, p. 113).

Metaphor

Metaphor is at the heart of political persuasion. According to Stockwell (2005, p. 42), Aristotle (1991, p. 1410) regarded the metaphor as 'the archetype of human communication' because this rhetorical tool enables speakers to communicate their arguments with 'swift understanding'. Underpinning metaphor use is the process of 'framing' which produces 'symbolic devices' such as metaphors, catchphrases, stereotypes and vivid visual images (Gamson & Modigliani in de Vreese, 2012, p. 367; Entman, 1993, p. 52; Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 56). Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 3), for example, found that metaphors are not merely poetically ornamental but essential to everyday functioning: human cognition is 'fundamentally metaphorical in nature'. It is, therefore, the metaphor's power to penetrate human cognition that comprises the core of this article.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 4) argue that personified metaphor is used to better communicate abstract elements of an argument to relate more easily to readers' instances of personal or physical conflict. Typical economic examples

include 'inflation has attacked the foundation of our economy' and 'our biggest enemy right now is inflation' (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 33). The elegance of personified metaphors is their offer not only of a 'specific way of [abstract] thinking' but also a 'way of acting toward [a solution]' which, in turn, can justify contentious political action (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 34). More specifically, Miles, Huberman & Saldana (2013, p. 281) argue that metaphors act both as literary and 'data-condensing' devices. For example, Krennmayr (2015, p. 542) found greater numbers of metaphors are required in newspapers 'to explain complex situations and concepts' to non-expert readers. Moreover, in a phenomenon known as 'reasoning by policy metaphor', other cognitive studies have shown how news metaphors can shape consumers' positions on complex policy issues such as health and crime, even—or perhaps especially—when consumers possess low knowledge, or are unaware of the covert nature of metaphor use (Schlesinger & Lau, 2000, p. 611; Thibodeau & Boroditsky, 2011, p. 16782). As Rowinski (2014, p. 9) argues, this succeeds because political metaphors allow consumers to justify unorthodox views on contentious issues which, in turn, can legitimise political actors' policy choices. Bates offers a deeper explanation of the 'method in the metaphor' which, he argues, allows leaders to employ rhetorical strategies that, in drawing upon metaphor clusters, work in tandem to achieve political objectives. US President George H. Bush's Persian Gulf War rhetoric in 1990, for example, drew on *savagery* and *civilisation* metaphors (Bates, 2004, p. 455) where the former problematised the crisis and the latter justified what appeared to be an auspicious solution. Frequent repetition of 'antithetical' metaphor clusters can also increase persuasiveness (Bates, 2004).

Significance of this study

A study of metaphor use in the communication of major resource project approvals and attendant public policy is timely given both the climate emergency and increased scholarly interest in metaphor use. This is critical as the international science community reaches a near perfect consensus as to the extent of humanity's role in global warming (Walther et al 2005; Stocker et al, 2013, p. 17; NASA, 2016). Perversely, despite what is probably the 'largest scientific assessment exercise in history' (Woodward et al 2014), public consensus on climate change trails that required for meaningful government responses (Gibson et al, 2015). Indeed, climate science scepticism is so noisily articulated that even moderate western governments are slow to adopt economically challenging solutions (Jacques, Dunlap & Freeman 2008, p. 349; Tranter & Booth, 2015, p. 163; Dayrell et al, 2016). Profits and losses by major infrastructure corporations are also important drivers of government policy but here, too, vivid metaphor has arguably played a salient role in delegitimising regulation. For example, during Australia's mining tax debate in 2010, the mining lobby effectively defeated the

Rudd Government's Resource Super Profits Tax, partly via the lobby's strategy of claiming 'the tax is the equivalent of killing the goose that lays the golden egg' (McKnight & Hobbs, 2013, p. 311).

In what superficially appears to be an abrogation of Fourth Estate principles, international studies show that news and wire outlets use increasingly fewer scientific sources in climate change news reports—a dearth which permits the dissemination of misinformation (Trumbo, 1996, p. 281; Boykoff & Boykoff, 2004, p. 134; Antilla, 2005, p. 350). Similar trends in the politicisation of climate science via news media have been observed in Australia (Bacon & Nash, 2012; McGuarr, Lester & Painter, 2013) and the Pacific (Robie, 2014). Fortuitously, the scholarly literature is replete with research on metaphor use in the news media, with Anderson (2002), for example, citing references of Hillary Clinton as Madonna. Significant Australian studies have also been done on such vexing social problems as Indigenous health (Brough, 1999), immigration (Burke, 2002), asylum-seekers (Saxton, 2003), Lebanese youth gangs (Noble & Poynting, 2003), heroin abuse (Watts, 2003), methadone treatment (Fraser, 2006), and 'boat people' (McKay, Thomas & Blood, 2011). However, far less research has been conducted internationally on metaphor use in the reporting of environmental regulation and climate science—Lakoff (2010) and Luokkanen, Huttunen & Hildén (2014) are among the few —while no research has been conducted in Australia. This article offers to fill this need through an analysis of metaphor use in the Australian reporting—within a climate change and human health frame—of major resource project news. As such, this article argues that journalistic metaphor uses by print journalists and Australian Associated Press (AAP) during the 'green tape' 'crisis' of 2012 made this complex issue accessible to mass audiences. But, in employing metaphors—almost half of which favourably framed business and government positions on environmental deregulation—journalists failed to uphold their Fourth Estate principles of objectivity and neutrality. Given that some journalists' liberal use of metaphor in turn shaped the public narrative by encouraging policy-makers to adopt and re-use journalists' own language, it can be further argued that some journalists were at least tacitly complicit in the shaping of softer public attitudes to the impact of major projects on anthropogenic climate change.

Method

This research adopts a mixed-methods approach designed to reconcile epistemological and ontological issues arising from the joint use of interpretivist and objectivist methodologies (Miles & Huberman in Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2005, p. 377). The research design draws on standard international journalism methods including interviews with participants, content analysis and an original Freedom of Information request. This article, however, presents only the most significant results from the content analysis-based metaphor research.

The Business Advisory Forum of the Council of Australian Government's (COAG) meeting of April, 2012, was chosen as a 'politically important' and 'information rich' case (Onwuegbuzie & Collins, 2007). As such, it sits comfortably within Miles & Huberman's typology (Onwuegbuzie & Collins, 2007). This article aims to determine why the 'green tape' term increased in use, what journalists understood by the term 'green tape', and whether journalists challenged, or contributed to, the term's wider adoption as a seemingly neutral synonym for environmental regulation. The final sample is based upon a Factiva search of all Australian newspapers and AAP articles for the period April, 2012, using the search string 'green tape'. Crucially, the prevalence of personified metaphors found in 'green tape' stories encouraged the authors to develop original taxonomies, as suggested by Bourdieu (2005), to analyse rhetorical structures in the news. According to Bourdieu, the first task of the researcher when dealing with journalists—as the 'visible agents' of political leaders—is to make explicit via taxonomies the authorities' implicit rhetorical schemes (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 38). In simple terms, Bourdieu invoked Plato who demanded the 'strings' of the 'puppets' be identified. This is considered essential given journalists 'are manipulated as much as they manipulate': a phenomenon described as the 'evil circle of information' (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 246; Bourdieu in Petersen, 2003, p. 253).

The 'green tape' crisis of April, 2012

The formidable power of the resource sector's political communication in Australia has been well established (Tsokhas, 1998; Pearse, Burton, & McKnight, 2013; McKnight & Hobbs, 2013; Marsh, Lewis & Chesters, 2014). In separate studies, Macintosh (2009) and McGrath (2014) assessed the merits of the *Environment Protection & Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999 (EPBC)* regarding global warming and the regulation of resources projects. Matters of National Environmental Significance (MNES), such as World Heritage Areas, the Great Barrier Reef, migratory species and internationally important wetlands were specifically analysed. Little is known, however, about the political communication of major infrastructure and resource projects in Australia, or about the discourse surrounding the *EPBC* in its regulation of major projects, including how fossil energy use drives global warming (DEA, 2013, p. 24; Macintosh, 2009, p. 341; Harris et al, 2009). A landmark change to this environmental regulation in Australia in 2012, discussed below, serves as a useful case study.

Liberal Prime Minister John Howard introduced the *EPBC* in 1999 to delineate the responsibilities of the three levels of government, and to avoid replicating the legal disputes of the famous *Tasmanian Dams Case* of 1983. However, in the wake of the Global Financial Crisis, the key pressure group the Business Council of Australia (BCA) told the Commonwealth Government this Act jeopardised $900 billion in major projects and required urgent 'streamlining' (BCA, 2012,

p. 5). The issue came to a head at the inaugural Business Advisory Forum of April, 2012, convened by Labor Prime Minister Julia Gillard, whose assembly of the Forum's 25 business leaders coincided with a COAG meeting. Gillard had warned that excessive regulation, or 'red tape', was impeding productivity, and a Forum was required to hear directly from major businesses (Bradbury, 2012). Not unexpectedly, the BCA had long characterised the often conflicting business regulations under Australia's nine governments as the 'dead hand of red tape' (Shepherd, 2012). Critically, business leaders, the federal Coalition opposition, conservative state premiers and much of the news media described Commonwealth oversight of major projects under the Act as both 'red' and 'green tape': a form of bureaucratic regulation impeding major projects. Interpretations of events at the Forum vary, but significant approval powers over major projects were handed to the states in principle. Unreported until now, the authors can reveal the terms of a landmark BCA/Commonwealth plan—to withdraw the Commonwealth from significant environmental oversight – was secretly struck prior to the Forum (FOI/2015/240). While the BCA hailed the deal as a 'great leap forward' (Shepherd, 2012), the Wentworth Group of Concerned Scientists said the Commonwealth's withdrawal set 'environmental policy in Australia back decades' (WGCS, 2012) and, importantly, had been conducted without any community consultation. Similarly, Doctors for the Environment contested the issue, and described the 'green tape' phrase as dangerous rhetoric that masked identification of adverse health impacts from major projects (DEA, 2013, p. 18). Indeed, Australian scholars have found state governments successfully hindering, sanitising or delaying public health and environmental research, with harmful exposures in the environment the third most suppressed type of research in Australia (Yazahmeidi & Holman, 2007, p. 553).

Results

Content analysis of 'green tape' stories from the Forum offer six main findings. First, newspapers saw the Forum, and the political fallout from the meeting, as eminently newsworthy, with 90 'green tape' stories (67 of them 'hard' news) written in just 13 days. News coverage peaked in the week of the Forum, which also saw COAG confirm the Forum's agreement to hand significant powers to the states. Coincidentally, the Greens' federal leader Dr Bob Brown resigned at this time. Importantly, Opposition leader Tony Abbott adopted the BCA's full proposal as Coalition environment policy the following week. Second, in important expressions of their 'public idiom' (Hall et al, 2013), the rival News Corp and Fairfax stables considered the Forum deliberations significant, and published editorials in *The Australian*, *The Age* and *The Sydney Morning Herald*. Both *The Australian* and *The Sydney Morning Herald* editorialised with their own personified metaphors to describe environmental regulation. In the

context of an example of the BCA's use of 'green tape', *The Sydney Morning Herald* wrote how 'all the hydra heads belong to the same snake.' Similarly, *The Australian* opined that 'green tape' was 'tying business in knots', while *The Age* dismissed 'green tape' as 'political spin' designed to help 'shred' environmental regulation by making it 'indefensible.' Third, the bulk of 'green tape' coverage was conducted by the country's three agenda-setting national news outlets, *The Australian, AAP* and the *Australian Financial Review (AFR),* although *The Age, The Sydney Morning Herald, The Courier-Mail* and *The Daily Telegraph* also provided significant coverage. Fourth, Forum decisions were not a 'beltway' issue: rural and regional newspapers, which consume *AAP* copy and serve regional audiences in major resource project areas (McLachlan, 2013, p. 13) also ran significant numbers of 'green tape' stories. Fifth, and consistent with Hall et al's concept of 'public idiom', journalists made in their stories 18 references to jobs and job creation under major projects.

Sixth, and most importantly, MNES received modest coverage across the 90 news and opinion articles despite the important implications of the deregulation of major project approvals on both global warming and human health. Content analysis of 90 stories showed 40, or almost half, neglected to mention environmental values. Of the other 50, journalistic balance was shown in the 47 mentions of MNES. Among these, 23 mentioned the potential impact on 'World Heritage Areas', 11 to the Act itself, six to the Great Barrier Reef, four to uranium mining and uranium reactors, and three to the Murray Darling Basin and wetlands. Crucially, there were just 11 references to global warming or climate change in the total 90 story sample, but just four in news stories and, of these, two were in the context of the regulatory burden on business. There were just six references to potential impacts on national parks. Despite the climate and health impacts of major projects (Macintosh, 2009; Harris et al, 2009; DEA, 2013), there were only four references to human health impacts, and only two of these in news stories.

A taxonomy of metaphor use in 'green tape' news stories

The article now turns to an analysis of the normalisation of the term 'green tape' via a set of original taxonomies. Given hard news stories often rely on metaphor to better communicate abstract concepts (Krennmayr, 2015), this research finds that news reports of Forum proceedings were saturated with additional metaphors that shaped—along four lines—the narratives of the competing pro-regulation 'For', and anti-regulation 'Against', cases.

Four key points emerge. First, 130 metaphors, in addition to 'green tape' and 'red tape' references, were found in the 67 news stories, or almost two per story. Second, metaphors were most commonly found—by a factor of over three to one—in journalists' paraphrasing outside interviewee quotes. Third, almost half the metaphors described the claims and counterclaims of protagonists, usually in

personified and violent terms. Fourth, the metaphors exhibited six themes. Consistent with Bourdieu (2005), these themes have been developed into a taxonomy: (1) *constraint;* (2) *suffering fatal violence or injury*; (3) *war and fighting*; (4) *euphemism;* (5) *suffering obstacles*, and (6) *deception*. This original taxonomy is now anatomised.(1) The *constraint* metaphor cluster was coded from metaphors used by journalists to describe how environmental regulation impedes major projects regarding costs and delays to resource and infrastructure developers. The *suffering fatal violence and injury* cluster was coded from metaphors used by journalists in two ways: first, in their own words to describe what regulations were doing to developers and their projects; and, second, in interviewee quotes from political and business sources chosen to describe what regulations were doing to major projects, and infrastructure developers. The *war and fighting* cluster was coded from metaphors used by outlets in two ways: first, to describe how regulation should be treated, and why; and, second, to describe the claim and

Table 1: Metaphor cluster in 'green tape'reports, April 2012

Metaphor cluster	Metaphor (occurrence)	Examples
Constraint	Tie up economy/ project (3) Burden (3) Hobbling projects (1) Clogging (1) Ballooning (1) Drain on economy (1)	…a mine, port, rail line or tourist project must meet state and federal environmental rules, which can tie up the project for years. (Cut green tape in development. AAP, 13 April, 2012)
Suffering violence	Strangling (3) Tortuous (2) Hamstrung (1) Threatened (1) Suffocated (1) Choking (1)	…COAG Business Advisory Forum to streamline the way in which major projects are assessed for their environmental impact and cut other red tape which is strangling business. (Training, green tape moves at COAG, AAP 13 April)
War and fighting	War (2) Unwieldy (2)	Companies urge war on `green tape' (The Australian, 11 April) THE business community has united to demand Julia Gillard and the state premiers slash unwieldy environmental assessments and approvals processes, warning `green tape' is jeopardising $900 billion in resources and infrastructure projects

Note: News reports coded according to manifest position of the protagonist as either 'Against' or 'For' the continuation of Commonwealth regulation of major projects under the EPBC Act. See primary references for citations

counter-claim of protagonists in the 'green tape' field. The *euphemism* cluster was coded from metaphors used by journalists, business people and politicians to describe how regulations can be changed, and why. The *suffering obstacles* cluster arose from metaphors in government and business interviewee quotes that describe impacts on developers, and the economy. The *deception* cluster arose from metaphors used by journalists in interviewee quotes from conservationists. Importantly, these 20 euphemistic metaphors presented the deregulation case in auspicious terms.

Table 2: 'Against' metaphor clusters continued (Euphemism)

Metaphor cluster	Metaphor (occurrence)	Examples
Euphemism	Streamline (8) Fast-track (8) Declutter (2) Overhaul (1) Harmonise (1)	GREEN groups have slammed Tony Abbott's policy to strealime environmental approvals for major projects, warning that any moves to slash the green tapes choking development must not come at the expense of environmental protections. (*The Australian*, 21 April)

Importantly, journalists used large numbers of these personified metaphors of physical conflict to help explain these abstract news events to non-expert readers.

Table 3: Journalistic use of metaphor to describe argument

Metaphor cluster	Metaphor (occurrence)	Examples
War and fighting	Slash (25) Slam (17) Cut (12) Axe (2) Ran into flak (1) Backfire (1) Launch attacks (1) Targeted (1)	But Senator Brown told the *Weekend Financial Review* he believed Labor's move to open the door to softening environmental protection laws - to appease demands for less 'green tape' - could backfire and help his party. (AFR, 14 April

Note: Use of personified metaphors of physical conflict in an explanatory context.

The Labor and Opposition leaders, who agreed in principle on this deregulatory change, used these vivid metaphors in bold to communicate their position to the public.

Five key conclusions can be drawn from Tables 1 to 5. First, the results indicate that political and business leaders opportunistically recycled influential journalists' personified metaphors for their own political ends, with those metaphors later quoted prominently by the agenda-setting print media. The personified metaphor

Table 4: Journalists choosing to quote metaphors from IVs

Metaphor cluster	Metaphor (occurrence)	Examples
Suffering violence and death	"... killing new projects ..." (2) "... strangled in a tangled web of green tape ..." (2) "... cripple and industry ..." (1) "... stifling ... "(1) "... threatened industries" (1) "... tortouous" (2) "... at the mercy" (3)	"The kind of green tape that has strangled residential development ... will be slashed under the proposal," Mr Abbott said. (Green tape slashed under Coalition plan, *AAP*, 20 April)
Suffering obstacles	"undergrowth" (1) "bedevilled" (1) "approvals act as brake on growth" (1)	"Governments can act and clear this undergrowth of regulation that doesn't need to be there," the Prime Minister said. (PM sells skills as red tape targeted, *Canberra Times*, 13 April).

Note: Where journalists chose to quote metaphors from interviewees, or 'the talent', in support of the 'Against' case.

Table 5: Location of 'for' journalistic metaphors from IVs

Metaphor cluster	Metaphor (occurrence)	Examples
War and destruction	"... war ... "(2) "... bulldoze ..." (1) "... rip ..." (1) "... stifling ... "(1) "... new age of environmental wreckage ..." (1) "... declare open season" (1) "... biggest assault ..." (2)	... the push by business has prompted a furious response from Bob Brown, who accused big business yesterday of declaring war on the community because it wanted to "bulldoze decades of environmental law" to provide protections to big miners (The Australian, 12 April).
War continued		The agreement to speed up environmental assessments is likely to anger the Greens, who labelled the idea "a war on the Australian people's quality of life and the environment by the big end of town". (Premiers to slash green tape, SMH, 12 April).
Deception	"Orwellian" (1) "two-faced" (1) "water down" (1)	Greens leader Christine Milne said it was "Orwellian" for Mr Abbott to claim to be a conservationist while launching an assault on environmental protection laws. (AFR, 21 April)

Source: Author's own analysis

strangling, for example, first appears in a journalist's own words, and then later in the source quotes of Federal Liberal leader Abbott and Queensland Liberal-National Party Deputy Premier Jeff Seeney. Similarly, tortuous appears in a journalist's own words, and then in BHP leader Marius Kloppers's quote. Again, War first appears in a headline, and then later in a Greens' MP's direct quote. In short, metaphor use in the 'green tape' field suggests circularity among journalists and politicians. Second, the metaphors enjoying the greatest frequency were those evocative of personified violence such as strangling, war, slash and slam. Third, both the 'Against' and 'For' cases drew upon the explanatory power of the personified metaphor of violence, although the personified metaphors used in support of the pro-regulation case were infrequent. Fourth, the metaphor clusters suggest an existential struggle played out publicly via two contending narrative arcs that shape the representation of the 'Against' and 'For' cases. On the one hand, for example, the Australian Industry Group's chief executive, Innes Willox, described environmental regulation as a 'brake' on progress and that business demanded regulations be 'streamlined'. Similarly, Gillard described environmental regulation as 'undergrowth', while the Coalition claimed these regulations were 'strangling' projects. Conversely, and consistent with Hall et al's (2013) 'strategic silence', conservationists—protesting that miners were 'rapacious'—were marginalised. The conservationists' narrative was that regulations protecting Australia's environmental treasures were being 'bulldozed' and icons 'assaulted'. Arguably, therefore, the metaphor clusters were internally consistent with each side as each generated a narrative consistent with Lakoff and Johnson's 'metaphorical entailment' (1980, p. 97).

Fifth, and perhaps most importantly, personified metaphor uses such as 'strangling', 'choking' and 'stifling' anthropomorphises the abstract concept of 'green tape' as an enemy threatening business, jobs and consumers. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), personified metaphors cue consumers' reactions which, in a liberal democracy, legitimise government intervention.

Discussion

The manner in which metaphor clusters worked together in AAP and agenda-setting newspapers during the 'green tape' dispute of 2012 parallels the rhetorical 'method in the metaphor' phenomenon (Bates, 2004). In short, journalists wrote their own personified metaphors into the 'green tape crisis' using such terms as 'war', 'strangling', 'stifling', 'tortuous' and 'streamline'. Critically, party leaders recycled these metaphors and allowed news reports to attribute them as leaders' own terms. This suggests influential journalists possess the power, via their news copy, to cue leaders in metaphor use which, in turn, allows influential journalists to participate in the shaping of public policy. Critically, no converse examples were found of journalists using metaphors in their own words in support of the pro-regulation 'For' case.

This evidence suggests journalists used the personified metaphor of violence, especially in headlines and lead paragraphs, to simplify for readers a complicated matrix of claim and counter-claim. Importantly, leaders' metaphors supporting the 'Against' case appeared in quotes; a practice consistent with press norms (Whitaker, Ramsey & Smith, 2013). However, content analysis found that conservative premiers, the federal Labor leadership, multinationals BHP and Rio Tinto, business pressure groups, and the South Australian Labor Premier dominated the debate through their articulation of the 'Against' case—one opposed by Greens leaders and, to a lesser extent, federal Labor Environment Minister Tony Burke. Importantly, based upon the relative frequency of metaphorical support provided to these protagonists, the frequency of deregulatory 'Against' case metaphors significantly outnumbered those 'For'.

Interviewee quotes are potentially powerful persuasion tools for readers, especially in stories without balanced quotes (Gibson, Hester & Stewart, 2001, p. 67). Crucially, in our sample where pejorative metaphors (18.5 percent), euphemistic metaphors (14.5 percent) and 'Against' case direct quote metaphors (14 percent) are totalled, we find almost half (47 percent) of metaphor use in journalists' copy occurred in a manner designed to attract readers' attention at a deep conceptual level: via metaphor and interviewee quotes. Crucially, this 47 percent of metaphoric language was employed by the dominant deregulatory 'Against' side that sought Commonwealth withdrawal from major project approvals; a withdrawal critiqued by the Wentworth Group of Concerned Scientists (WGCS, 2012). This evidence indicates business pressure groups used their power to publicly warn that 'red tape' threatened major project investment, and the taxonomies suggest key elements of the Fourth Estate provided a rationale for the preferred solution of business and government, surprisingly, via journalists' own vivid metaphor. It appears news outlets set the agenda and normalised the 'green tape' term, with the consequent use of personified and euphemistic metaphor providing a public rationale for the bargain publically struck at the Forum. In sum, the landmark plan for the Commonwealth to withdraw from significant environmental oversight—the terms of which were dealt with in secret between the BCA and the Prime Minister's office and only announced at the Forum—was enveloped in metaphoric justification (substantially in journalists' own words) by some news outlets the day prior to, and after, the Forum(2). This finding lends urgency to calls by international communication scholars to develop 'carefully researched metaphor', or counter-metaphors, to bridge media fragmentation and overcome partisan identity in climate change news (Nisbet, 2009, p. 15; Painter, 2013, p. 10).

Second, the Fourth Estate ideally functions as a scrutineer of government and business power. But this research offers evidence that many news outlets ignore Tony Koch's (Healy, personal communication, 2016) warning to report-

ers not to get 'too close to the animals in the cages', that is, their sources. In the 'green tape' sample of 2012, for example, some journalists regurgitated and embellished authorities' economic messaging in a way that wholly or partially ignored environmental and health risks. A significant paradox of this finding is that those charged with defending the Fourth Estate, at least in terms of 'green tape' reporting, have been at least partly complicit in undermining Fourth Estate principles of neutrality and objectivity.

Conclusion

This research offers scholarship key findings on the political communication of major resource projects, and especially on the role of metaphors used to justify reductions in environmental regulation. This research also offers original taxonomies that deliver new metaphor clusters, based upon authoritative field theory, and a study of existing metaphor clusters in environmental news reporting overseas. The research aligns with Bourdieu's (2001) 'evil circle of information' model—where 'journalists manipulate as much as they are manipulated'—in demonstrating how metaphor use in journalists' copy can appeal to readers on a deep conceptual level while, concomitantly, tacitly supporting the commercial interests of major project proponents. Given journalists are reporting at a time of heightened environmental risk, the authors urge further research into metaphoric language in the news media to better understand the shaping of public narratives and, in turn, contentious public policy.

Notes

1. The addition of euphemism stems from Bourdieu's emphasis on the role of euphemism in discourse, particularly the concern to 'speak well' and 'speak properly' to respond to the requirements of the market (Bourdieu in Matheson, 2003, p 16).
2. Given mitigating factors such as house style and 'public idiom', the authors make no claims about the conduct of individual reporters. Indeed, as Bourdieu (2001, p. 246) points out, 'the further you get in the analysis of a given milieu, the more likely you are to let individuals off the hook'.

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12. Newspaper coverage of climate change in Fiji

A content analysis

Abstract: Media plays a crucial role in the global fight against climate change, acting as a tool for awareness, advocacy and policy change. For Fiji, this role becomes even more essential with the country's vulnerable island system facing the direct impact of current and future climate change threats. The primary aim of this study was to analyse climate change coverage in the Fiji press. *The Fiji Times*, Fiji's national newspaper, was examined to identify trends in climate change coverage between January 2004 and December 2010. A quantitative analysis was initially carried out to see the volume of reports, followed by a qualitative look into the context and thematic values of the news reports. Empirical findings showed an increase in coverage over time, although there was a transiency in the high levels of coverage when looked at on a monthly basis. Published reports also showed a trend of event-based reporting with more than 80 percent of articles being generated out of, or following up on, a climate change convention, meeting or report launch. An overall consensus on the scientific realities of climate change in the newspaper coverage, and relatively high coverage of impacts and threats of climate change highlighted the plight of the islands. Reporting of climate change issues needs to be prioritised if the press is to fulfill its role in providing timely information on climate change. Journalists' training and collaboration with national stakeholders would assist in more effective climate change coverage instead of the great reliance on one-off events to spark recognition of the major environmental problem. Developments in the discourse since this research was conducted will be worth noting as climate change has continued to rise as one of the most salient global environmental issues.

Keywords: climate change, content analysis, Fiji, Fiji media, journalism, media, news coverage, newspapers, *The Fiji Times*

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Introduction

CLIMATE change is one of the most critical environmental issues facing the world today. Defined as 'a change of climate which is attributed directly or indirectly to human activity that alters the composition of

the global atmosphere and which is in addition to natural climate variability observed over comparable time periods' (UNFCCC, 1992), climate change is fast becoming a stark reality.

As both the developing world and industrialised nations seek to find and utilise all possible avenues available to tackle this global issue, the media's extensive role in the combatting of climate change becomes even more pivotal. The role extends from spreading awareness on the environmental issue, in its basic understanding, to the more complex workings of influencing policy making and shaping the minds of a mass audience (Boykoff, 2009).

Media and climate change

The media plays an important role in this context by relaying information about climate change to people. Environmental organisations, scientists and climate change experts may know more about the different aspects of climate change, but these messages would not be conveyed effectively without the use of the media. 'The majority of citizens will not come into direct contact with scientists through extended conversations and will continue to rely upon messages conveyed to them by various forms of media: television, newspapers, websites, magazines, radio' (Hulme, 2009).

The media influences who has a say in what matters, and how. 'Clearly science and politics have influenced media coverage of the environment over time. But conversely, media representations have also shaped on-going scientific and political considerations, decisions and activities' (Boykoff, 2009). It is also a necessary agent for change, proving to be a great tool for awareness and advocacy. Fulfilling these roles, though, is not an easy task given the multi-faceted nature of climate change and its cross cutting issues which is further complicated by political and ethical elements (Boykoff, 2009).

Research shows coverage gaps in 'making stories more relevant to audiences, raising the profile of adaptation and the perspectives of the poor, and reporting on ways to address climate change that bring additional benefits' (Shanahan, 2007). This poses a challenge for newsrooms, editors and journalists who are dealt the responsibility of reporting on climate change, putting an especially greater strain on media in developing countries that have fewer human resources, time and money (Shanahan, 2009). As explained by Patel (2006), environmental reporting does not have its own beat in the media in countries such as in the Pacific and 'dedicated environment reporters are luxuries that few publications, even in the United States, can afford'.

Previous research: Newspaper coverage of climate change

In the latest update at the time this research was conducted (June 2011) of the World Newspaper Coverage of Climate Change or Global Warming statistics

(see Figure 1), apart from North America, and the Asia/Middle East regions, climate change coverage seems to have slightly picked up again since April in Europe, South America/Africa and the Oceania region (Boykoff & Mansfield, 2011). The figure, which has been following climate coverage across 20 countries, shows trends in coverage picked up in 50 newspapers across the world since 2004.

Over the seven plus years, the highest coverage trends in all the regions were concentrated around December 2009. While no analysis is provided, this period also coincides with the global conference COP15 that was held in Copenhagen, Denmark, giving an indication on how the meeting may have influenced media reports on climate change. In general, the trends show how climate change is increasingly becoming an important topic in the news today, at varying consistencies over time.

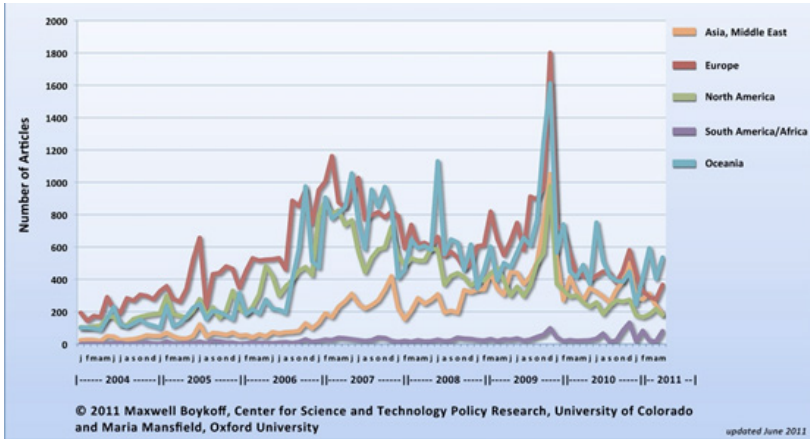
In terms of more in-depth analysis of climate change coverage in newspapers, the bulk of this research has been concentrated in developed countries such as the US, UK and Japan, although a few studies from the developing world do exist. Research in developing countries is limited in comparison and for the purpose of this article reference will be made to the few known studies, in India (Billett, 2009), a collection of case studies in Honduras, Jamaica, Sri Lanka and Zambia (Harbinson et al., 2006) and another, a summary of climate change research that has been carried out in non-industrialised countries (Shanahan, 2009).

Much of the research on newspaper coverage of climate change in the UK and US is attributed to Maxwell Boykoff (2004, 2007) and for Japan, Sampei and Aoyagi-Usui (2008) take a look at newspaper coverage of climate change from January 1998 to July 2007, and the coverage influenced public opinion during some of that period in their study.

While the role of the media is crucial in non-industrialised, developing nations, research in some of these nations depicts their inability to fulfil this role as they '… have a poor understanding of the climate change debate and express little interest in it' (Harbinson et al, 2006). For this research, Harbinson et al (2006) conducted interviews with journalists and media professionals in Honduras, Jamaica, Sri Lanka and Zambia. In all four countries, interviewees, through their personal observation/media work experience, found the coverage on climate change related issues lacking.

The only research on climate change coverage in the Fiji media exists through Figure 1, which shows a month-by-month tracking of 'World Newspaper Coverage of Climate Change' by Max Boykoff and Maria Mansfield (2011). The research, which began at the University of Oxford, Environmental Change Institute, 'tracks newspaper coverage of climate or global warming in 50 newspapers across 20 countries and 6 continents' (Center for Science & Technology Policy Research, 2011).

Graph 1: World newspaper coverage of climate change 2004-2011



Fiji is represented here under the 'Oceania' category, which consists of five Australian newspapers, three newspapers from New Zealand and one newspaper from Fiji, *The Fiji Times*. The overall trend shown in coverage is therefore a misrepresentation and does not solely depict the coverage of climate change in Fiji. 'Due to sampling, the relative trends across regions are more useful than absolute numbers in the figure' (CIRES, 2011). These, therefore, are not a very reliable representation of the newspaper coverage by *The Fiji Times*, and do not provide audiences with proper insight into climate change coverage trends in Fiji over those seven plus years.

For a country that is in the direct line of fire when it comes to the effects of climate change, media coverage of the issue is lacking. This article will therefore provide insight into the efficacy of climate change coverage in Fiji. The primary aim is to analyse newspaper coverage of climate change in Fiji by answering the research question: *What kind of climate change coverage is there in The Fiji Times?* Through a content analysis of the national newspaper, the research aims to find out the trends in climate change coverage in *The Fiji Times*; not just how often it is reported on, but also in what context.

Theoretical framework and application to research

What the media leaves out of their reports, or chooses to put more emphasis on, whether intentionally or unknowingly, has implications on how the issue is perceived by the readers. How a newspaper frames a story through what it considers its gate-keeping responsibilities, giving priority to one matter over another eventually ends up in their having set an agenda with regard to that issue.

Studies show the effects of this framing process on individual thinking,

which can vary depending on the way news is framed, as according to Chong and Druckman (2007), depending on 'the strength and repetition of the frame, the competitive environment, and individual motivations'.

Gatekeeping theory

On a similar strand as agenda setting and framing, is the gatekeeping theory in mass communication. This theory is based on the premise of a filter on the information that is relayed to the public by the media. Introduced by Kurt Lewin, a social psychologist in 1947, the gatekeeping theory was based on the flow of goods and ideas through society, with those in power, or with influence in control of the flow as 'gatekeepers'.

The Fiji Times – A brief history

The Fiji Times, which was first published in 1869, is the country's oldest daily English-language newspaper. The newspaper has the highest circulation figures for any Pacific Island state, 21,000 for Mondays—Friday and 40,000 for Saturday (Pacific Area Newspaper Publishers Association, 2011).

A media survey in 2010 by market research consultants, Tebbutt Research, showed an average readership of 114,024 for the newspaper on Saturdays, the highest for any publication in the country (as cited in Burese, 2011). There is also a free online version of the newspaper, increasing the readership even further.

The newspaper changed hands a few more times before it was finally acquired by the Rupert Murdoch franchise, News Corporation Limited in early 1986 (F. Ledua, personal communication, 26 June 2011). The next change in ownership came in September 2010 when it was sold to a Fiji conglomerate, Motibhai & Company Limited.

Case study description

The time period 2004 – 2010 was selected for analysis using two major climate change events, Kyoto Protocol and COP15, as markers for comparison. While Fiji signed and ratified the Kyoto Protocol in 1998, it only came into force in 2005. The analysis is therefore done from the year preceding 2005 to be able to better fathom any changes that may have occurred in climate change reports in *The Fiji Times* from the time the Kyoto Protocol was put into force.

The analysis ends in 2010, a year after COP15 to enable us to gauge any changes in coverage that may have occurred after the Copenhagen meeting. COP15 was monumental in that the meeting was to begin talks on the renewal of the Kyoto Protocol that was to expire in 2012 (UNFCCC, n.d).

Content analysis process

Firstly, *The Fiji Times'* library was used to access its digital archives that are

only available through their intranet. The librarian did a search of the keywords 'Climate AND Change' and 'Global AND Warming' for the years 2004–2010. The search was done for every six months starting January 2004 to give a more accurate result.

The initial search produced approximately 230 hits, which reduced in number after a read-through as it was discovered that some articles were repeated in the results. Editorials, opinions columns and letters to the Editor were omitted from the analysis so as to only analyse climate change coverage in 'news stories'. (Hedman, 1981) Sports articles and those that only made a single word, casual reference to the issue for example, in the form of a word on a list mentioned in an article, were also omitted as climate change was a "peripheral" (Boykoff & Boykoff, 2004) issue in those articles. The final number of articles returned from the database search was 207.

After the database search and filtering to ensure only relevant articles were used in the analysis, the articles were studied on a thematic basis. According to McQuail (2005), '…news exhibits a rather stable and predictable overall pattern when measured according to conventional categories of subject matter.'

For this purpose, human coding was used for the analysis and a codebook was derived under the four major climate change themes, 'Action', 'Impact & Threats', 'Science' and 'Responsibility' based on the methodology process

Table 1: Codes used on coverage of science and impacts

Code 1 coverage of existence of climate change
• S1 Article argues that climate change does not exist today
• S2 Article argues that climate change may exist today
• S3 Article argues that climate change does exist today
• S4 Article denies impact link to climate change
Of those coded S3: code 2 - coverage of the causes of climate change
• S5 Suggests that present-day climate change is naturally forced
• S6 Suggests that present-day may not be naturally and/or anthropogenically forced
• S7 Suggests that present-day climate change is anthropogenically forced
• R1 Uses environmental change as evidence of climate change
• R2 Uses scientific research as evidence of climate change
Coverage of impacts resulting from identified climate change
• A1 Article refers to the impacts of climate change
• A2 Article refers to the impacts of climate change in Fiji
• A2a Article refers to the impacts of climate change in P. I. Cs
• A3 Article refers to the impacts of climate change globally
• A4 Article refers to the impacts of climate change as a threat in Fiji
• A5 Article refers to the impacts of climate change as a threat in P. I. Cs
• A6 Article refers to the impacts of climate change as a threat globally

carried out by Billett (2009) for his study of the Indian newspaper coverage on climate change.

Billett's (2009) codebook was adjusted accordingly to suit the news presented in *The Fiji Times* articles and each article was coded accordingly (see Table 1). Instead of random sampling, all the 207 articles derived from the database search/filtering process, due to their manageable count, were used in the coding analysis.

Results and discussion

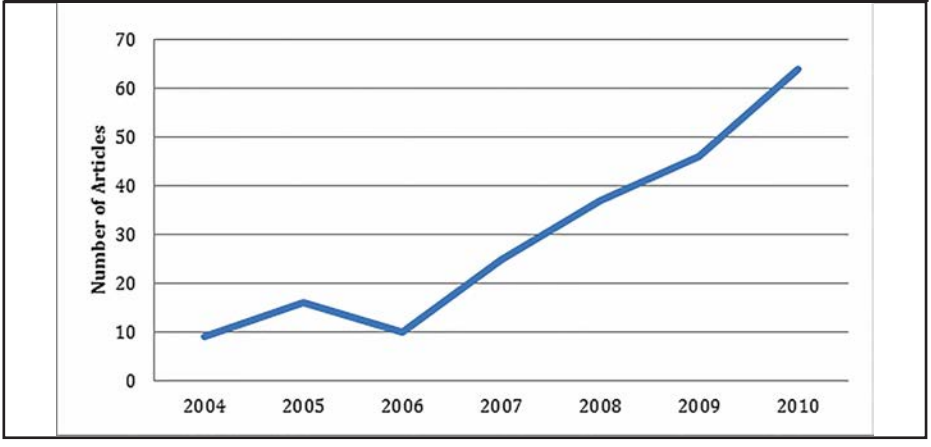
The articles were first analysed for overall coverage and then by date, then by month (and event coverage) and eventually according to the themes they reported on. The analysis produced three major findings:

1. High incidences of coverage did not last long. Constant fluctuations in coverage although the overall general trend showed an increase.
2. Majority (88.4 percent) of the articles were reporting on/following up from or generated by an event.
3. Thematic analysis showed 'Action' receiving the highest frequency of coverage (75.8 percent).

Fluctuations in coverage

The coverage of climate change during the period 2004–2010 shows an increase over time, apart from a slight decline in 2006. While an increase in coverage is indicated after 2006, the rate of increase slows down every year until 2009, rising by more than 50 percent in 2010.

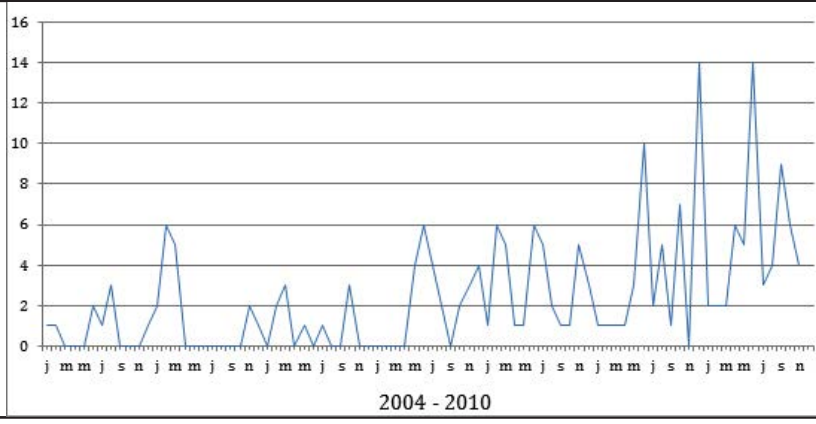
Figure 2: Newspaper coverage of climate change in Fiji 2004-2010



The trend is somewhat similar to that summarised by Boykoff and Smith (2010) when looking at global climate change reporting trends over time. 'The amount of media coverage of climate change or global warming rose through the end of

2006 and into 2007. It then stagnated until mid-2009 when coverage underwent a "hockey-stick"-like sharp increase, due primarily to coverage of the upcoming UN Conference of Parties Meeting in Copenhagen, Denmark' (UN FCCC COP15). This trend ran true for *The Fiji Times* as well with COP15 receiving the great bulk of coverage bringing up overall coverage figures (see Events Based Coverage section).

Figure 3: Newspaper coverage of climate change by date



By-date review of coverage

While a yearly view of results shows an increase in coverage over most of the seven years, a closer month-by-month review shows great fluctuations in the coverage of climate change since 2004. The same keyword search but, broken down by month, shows articles were published sporadically with some months showing more coverage and some showing none at all.

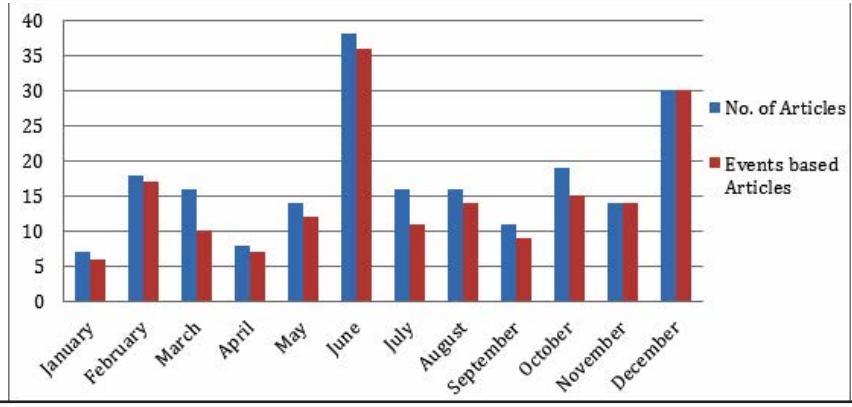
The period 2008–2010 showed a more spread out coverage in comparison to the preceding years, although several months had as little as only one article being published. November 2009 also broke this trend in the slightly more continuous coverage as no articles were published on climate change that month. The by-date account of coverage also reveals that high incidences of coverage did not last a long time.

Events-based coverage

The coverage analysis was further broken down into individual months in the seven years to highlight any trends in reporting. A closer look at content showed the majority of the articles published in each month were either reporting on an event, generated by an event or following up on an event. These included both local and international workshops, meetings, conventions on Climate Change and the Environment, as well as launches of books or reports on the issue.

Of the 207 articles, 103 were event-based coverage of climate change (88.4

Figure 4: Number of articles published per month 2004-2010



percent). For the stories that did not fall in this category, three were written by Environmental NGO Communication Officers (WWF, SeaWeb), two were world reports from foreign media, one was on climate change in Tuvalu and at least five were discussing the weather/El Nino effects.

June and December for each year showed the highest coverage of climate change and covered a variety of events, the bulk of the articles reporting on COP15/16, National/World Environment Week and both local and international climate change workshops/conventions. These events also increased the coverage over time with the additional events 'Earth Hour' and 'Kyoto Protocol coming into effect' being added to the list.

In general, though, apart from COP15, which received a high amount of coverage in one month, and Environment Week that helped increase coverage over time, the rest of the events that generated climate change newspaper coverage were an equal and random mix of local and international conventions.

For 88.4 percent of the articles to be event-based reports on climate change is a high incidence. While the articles did dwell on human-interest stories, or impacts of climate change, they still needed to be initiated by a current event to be worth reporting on. For those that were not generated by meetings or conventions, the reports were a result of either natural disasters such as cyclones and weather phenomenon like El Nino, leaving a very low percentage of articles that could be considered to show an entirely stand-alone report on climate change.

Major events: June/December

June

Two-week regional Pacific Island Training Institute on Climate and Extreme Events—Suva

- 'Fijian Studies: A contemporary Fiji' book launch, USP

- Environment Week x8
- Sea-Grass monitoring/training workshop Fiji
- IPCC AR4
- Climate Change Forum-USP
- Regional workshop on Forest Genetic Resources Conservation and Management in the Pacific, Fiji
- One degree Campaign x2
- UN Conference on Biodiversity in Bonn, Germany
- Nature Journal research published on oceans
- Health Emergency, Disaster and Climate Change Adaptation workshop, Fiji x3
- UNFCCC negotiations-Bonn
- Climate Project Australia Asia Pacific Summit, Melbourne
- AUSaid workshop on Climate Change Adaptation in Rural Communities of Fiji X2
- Pacifika Climate Leadership workshop, Fiji x6
- COP15 x2
- One Million Tree Planting campaign
- University Green Pulse Environmental group formation
- Int'l scientific journal published

December

- 2004: 10th session of the Conference of Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change in Argentina
- 2005: Welcome Ceremony – Greenpeace chief executive, Fiji
- 2007: UN climate change negotiations, Bali x3
- Launch of HD Climate change report, Fiji
- 2008 UNFCCC meeting Poland x2
- Earth Hour
- 2009: Pacific Islands Geographical Information System and Remote Sensing Conference, USP x2
- (COP 15) Climate Change meeting Copenhagen x12
- World Human Rights Day
- 2010: Thousand-tree campaign by USP/give back to Fiji concert
- COP 16-Climate change conference Cancun, Mexico x2
- Cities in climate change initiative Program
- International Conference on Renewable Energy and Climate held in Fiji
- OZ/NZ Business Forum

Table 2: Major events over time	
Kyoto Protocol coming into effect (6 articles)	As stated in earlier chapters, the Protocol was signed by Fiji in 1998 but only came into effect in 2005 and got media attention based on its enforcement as well as on the backlash from Fiji and other countries over the withdrawal of US from the Protocol. Although only six articles over the seven years discussed its coming into effect, altogether nine articles focused on it being a good protocol and the need for it to be signed by the unwilling parties (K1).
Earth Hour (5 articles)	The event began in Sydney, Australia in 2007 and now has 135 countries and territories taking part in the action against climate change where citizens and businesses turn their lights off for an hour in March. (EarthHour.org, 2011) Fiji's participation in Earth Hour began in March 2008 which is when it received the most media coverage that included discussion of climate change, and then once in December the same year. The event did not generate continuous articles mentioning Earth Hour and Climate Change since then.
National/World Environment Week (11 articles)	After COP15, Environment Week got the highest volume of coverage in The Fiji Times, with most of the articles published over the May and June from 2007–2009. It is usually celebrated in June and coincides with World Environment Day on June 5 each year
COP 15 (16 articles)	As was the case globally (Boykoff & Smith, 2010), the Copenhagen convention generated a great amount of coverage in Fiji as well. While still a small number in relation to the overall results of 207 articles, in terms of single events that generated coverage, COP15 had the highest results
One Degree Campaign (4 articles)	This event is to show a relatively low volume of coverage derived from a national environmental campaign run by the newspaper. Launched on June 25, 2007, the campaign was started by the newspaper then parent body, News Limited, with the aim to "empower individuals, our staff, families, and communities to take charge of the climate change issue—and by doing so, change our collective future." (1 Degree, n.d) As part of the campaign the company resolved to reduce its carbon emissions and also ran feature articles encouraging the public to do the same through, for example, reduced electricity and fuel use, better use of household appliances. Although the campaign was geared towards combatting climate change, the articles published regarding the campaign did not focus on climate change, hence only four articles showed up in this research as part of the climate change coverage for the 3.5 years that the campaign was running. Articles on reducing carbon footprints, a mainstay of the campaign, were published, only further contributing to the 'small actions' coverage by the newspaper.

Thematic coverage

Action

While overall Action gets the highest coverage in relation to the other themes, a closer look at the elements that make up this theme shows that it consists of a few different aspects of 'Action'. Out of the 157 articles discussing 'Action', only 24 percent identified 'action that has been taken locally to reduce contribution to/impact of CC' (M1) while 21 percent 'suggests mitigation action should be local' (H4) out of which the majority (21 out of 33 articles) suggested that this action should be taken by local people (J3). The remaining few acknowledged the need for the Fiji government and local NGOs to take action.

As such, it can be seen that while 'action' makes up the bulk of the content in *The Fiji Times* articles, a further breakdown of the theme reveals them as 'small actions' being covered by the media and the 'need for action' being advocated. These 'small actions' refer to the articles highlighting small efforts that are taken or should be taken to reduce the impacts of, and contribution towards climate change.

It refers to articles such as those covering 'Plant a tree' campaigns or urging readers to reduce their carbon footprint by reducing energy costs through the use of energy-saving light bulbs. As Ereaut and Segnit (2006) explain, the danger in these reports is that they lapse into 'wallpaper—the domestic, the routine, the boring and the too-easily ignorable. It can lack energy and may not feel compelling.' So while the media feels that it is fulfilling its role in reporting on climate change through such articles on 'Action', their actual impact on readers may not extend so far.

'"Small actions" is the pre-eminent "pragmatic" optimistic repertoire, and, along with alarmism, is the most dominant of all the climate repertoires, prevalent in campaign communications and mainstream popular press. It involves asking a large number of people to do small things to counter climate change' (Ereaut & Segnit, 2006)

Science

The science of climate change received only 9 percent coverage overall. Sixteen out of the 19 articles in the science section stated 'climate change did exist' (S3) and either used 'environmental change as evidence for climate change' (R1), suggested that 'present-day climate change is anthropogenically forced' (S7) or used 'scientific research as evidence for climate change' (R2) (or used a combination of the three).

Only one of the articles coded S3 also suggested that 'present-day climate change may be naturally and/or anthropogenically forced' (S3/S6). The only 'denial' was found in the form of two articles from early 2005 denying the link of an impact to being climate change.

These figures indicate how the majority of the articles took the fact that climate change was a scientific reality as a given. There was no debate or scepticism over the existence and reality of climate change; these facts were taken for granted in the articles. The few that did look at the science aspect did so to reinforce the fact that it was a scientific reality.

Responsibility

News reports on who is considered responsible for climate change received the least coverage, with only 15 out of 207 articles focusing on 'responsibility' issues. The articles equally argue that the responsibility for climate change 'rests with developed countries', 'is common but differentiated', and 'highlighted local contribution to climate change' (G3, G4, G5). With the coverage focusing on the impacts of climate change and the need for action, responsibility got very little attention. The newspaper veered away from the blame game and concentrated more on what was actually happening, and what should be done.

Impacts and threats

Out of the 86 articles that discussed 'Impacts and Threats', 41.8 percent specifically covered the 'impact of climate change in Fiji.' (A2) while 'impact of climate change as a threat in PICs' (A5) received the second highest coverage in that section (25.2 percent). The rest of the coverage was spread out over the impacts of climate change in PICs and globally, as well as the impact as a threat in Fiji and globally. Although collectively 'Action' got the highest amount of coverage in *The Fiji Times* over the seven years, on a stand-alone basis, coverage of 'impact of climate change in Fiji' (A2) was only two articles fewer than the coverage received by 'identifies action that has been taken locally to reduce contribution to/impact of CC' (M1).

This highlights the realities of climate change and its impact on Fiji (and other PICs) and reflects well on the newspaper in that although coverage may have been fluctuating or low overall, the articles that *were* written highlighted the local plight.

Other findings

Local vs. foreign reports

Only six out of the 207 articles were directly picked up and used from foreign media agencies. This bodes well for the newspaper and climate change coverage in Fiji, as a major criticism/shortcoming of climate change reporting in developing countries is their dependency on foreign media reports that are used in local news (Shanahan, 2009).

This low figure of foreign reports in Fiji's case is a good indication of the majority of the articles being written locally and not directly copied and pasted from foreign news sources. Even if the article focused on a foreign event, it

was still written locally which increases the possibility of a local angle to the news story.

Conclusion

Based on questions arising from the premise of the media's crucial role in the global campaign against climate change, research was carried out to analyse how the issue is treated in the Fiji media, an island country vulnerable to the threats of this major environmental problem.

The Fiji Times' historical role in lobbying for social change and positive outcomes (Usher, 1962) gives it a position of great power and responsibility when it comes to advocacy and awareness on climate change issues. To investigate its correspondence on climate change with the public, an area of research that has received close to no attention, articles spanning over seven years were analysed according to how they represented climate change.

While coverage of climate change has definitely increased over time, it lacks consistency and questions the newspaper's dedication to environmental reporting. Although relatively high levels of reporting were found over the years, the influxes were sporadic and transient. A closer analysis revealed the large majority of reports on climate change were generated by local and international events, an indication of the low priority given to climate change reporting. The thematic analysis then further revealed what areas the reports focused on, with the lack of arguments over the uncertainty of climate change, and a large volume of mentions towards the impacts and future threat, the reality of climate change in Fiji was evident. While there was also less time spent on the blame game for who is responsible for climate change, coverage of 'Action' against climate change was of concern with a lot of articles focusing on small actions that may divert reader's attention from the gravity of the issue.

The results were in agreement with the hypothesis, coverage is evidently lacking with some months having passed without even a single article being published on climate change. With the numerous studies showing the media's crucial role in climate change advocacy and awareness, countries, newsrooms and organisations in power need to embrace this effectiveness in using the media as a tool and re-look at climate change communication strategies for it to be more efficient.

Recommendations

Although more local reports on climate change have increased in number over time, the print media still needs to fulfil its role better.

- The newspaper and journalists, instead of only turning to the climate change issue when there is a conference or book launch, should initiate more of their own reports. The newspaper was too heavily reliant

on events for climate change coverage, a dependency that then affects coverage when there is no special motivation from outside in the form of an event. The issue is serious enough on a global scale to require undivided attention on a regular basis, not only during one-off events.

- Linked to the previous recommendation, more focus on climate change stories, and giving the issue greater priority in the newsroom would also assist in increasing the irregular coverage numbers that were seen in this research.
- The irregularities in reporting could perhaps be met through training journalists and editors in environmental journalism and with greater collaboration with organisations involved in the fight against climate change.
- The training is further going to assist in journalists understanding the many complexities of climate change better, and being able to use their reporting skills to bring about change through scrutinising government's role in climate change issues, holding policy-makers accountable as well as providing continuous flow of information on climate change issues given the serious importance of the topic.
- More research in this field of media and climate change in Fiji and the Pacific also needs to be conducted to see the gaps that exist in this realm and to provide organisations and the media with concrete evidence of what needs to be changed and why.

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FRONTLINE

Bearing Witness 2016

A Fiji climate change journalism case study

Abstract: In February 2016, the Fiji Islands were devastated by Severe Tropical Cyclone Winston, the strongest recorded tropical storm in the Southern Hemisphere. The category 5 storm with wind gusts reaching 300 kilometres an hour, left 44 people dead, 45,000 people displaced, 350,000 indirectly affected, and $650 million worth of damage (Climate Council, 2016). In March 2017, the Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP) launched a new 10-year Strategic Plan 2017-2026, which regards climate change as a 'deeply troubling issue for the environmental, economic, and social viability of Pacific island countries and territories'. In November, Fiji will co-host the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (COP23) conference in Bonn, Germany. Against this background, the Pacific Media Centre despatched two graduate journalists to Fiji for a two-week field trip in April 2016 on a 'bearing witness' journalism experiential assignment to work in collaboration with the Pacific Centre for the Environment and Sustainable Development (PaCE-SD) and the Regional Journalism Programme at the University of the South Pacific. This article is a case study assessing this climate change journalism project and arguing for the initiative to be funded for a multiple-year period in future and to cover additional Pacific countries, especially those so-called 'frontline' climate change states.

Keywords: bearing witness, climate change, COP23, environmental journalism, Fiji, Pacific Islands, Pacific Regional Environment Programme, SPREP

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Introduction

CLIMATE change is the most serious challenge confronting the microstates of the South Pacific. Indeed, some of the Small Island Developing States (SIDS) in the Pacific, especially Kiribati, Marshall Islands and Tuvalu, are often referred to as the 'frontline' of global climate change in a struggle against

Figure 1: Daku village, Tailevu, Viti Levu, at low tide surrounded by mangroves: Tackling climate change resilience.

'carbon colonialism' (Dreher & Voyer, 2015; Lata & Nunn, 2012; Nunn, 2009; Robie, 2011, 2014). The complexities and nuanced range of issues facing the Pacific are rarely addressed or explored by Western media, notably in Australia and New Zealand (Nash, 2015). What is published or broadcast tends to be 'framed in ways that centre the interests and concerns of more powerful countries' (Dreher & Voyer, 2015, p. 58). Dominant frames portray SIDS as 'proof' of climate change, as 'victims' of climate change, as 'climate refugees, and as 'travel destinations' (p. 59). Whereas preferred frames by Pacific Islanders themselves are in more positive terms such as human rights, climate justice and adaptive responses (Figure 1).

In March 2017, the Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), launched its new Strategic Plan 2017-2026 setting priorities and direction for the next decade. The focus is on 'climate change resilience, ecosystem and biodiversity protection, waste management and pollution control as well as environmental governance with oceans as a key cross-cutting theme across all priorities' (SPREP launches new 10-year Strategic Plan, 2017). Climate change resilience has been elevated as the 'primary concern' for the Pacific region. The Director-General of SPREP, Kosi Latu, declared:

> We have built on the success of, and learnt lessons from, the previous strategic plan, and worked together with members to identify priorities to address the Pacific's environmental challenges. We now have a strategic plan that takes into account emerging issues … and clearly charts our path forward from here on. (Latu quoted in SPREP launches, 2017)

The Strategic Plan (2017, p. 2) considers climate change to be a 'deeply troubling issue for the environmental, economic, and social viability of Pacific island countries and territories'. It argues that climate change has the potential to 'undermine the very basis of the Pacific way of life', which needs healthy ecosystems and ongoing access to natural resources for livelihoods and cultural enrichment. According to the plan's foreword, unsustainable harvesting of natural resources, destruction and modification of habitats and ecosystems, and severe reductions in species populations continue to threaten the integrity

and health of the vulnerable natural systems on which all island life depends. As the report noted:

> Pacific Island countries are striving to balance the needs and economic aspirations of their growing populations on the one hand, with the maintenance of healthy environments and natural systems on the other. Our ability to address these threats together, to craft cooperative and sustainable solutions, build on the opportunities provided by ecosystem services and secure political commitment, will determine the future for Pacific Islands people. (p. 2)

Building on the earlier Strategic Plan 2011-2015, SPREP has also addressed undertakings to the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals, the Paris Agreement and other key regional and global commitments. It has prioritised four regional goals with supporting objectives as the core programme for the next decade:

1. Climate change resilience
2. Ecosystem and biodiversity protection
3. Waste management and pollution control
4. Environmental governance

The strategic plan concept envisages the integration of gender and human rights, traditional knowledge with technical capacity, technical knowledge and communication, environmental advocacy, institutional capacity building, and leadership. The cross-linked components of the plan are perhaps best represented in a conceptualised diagram of the structure of a traditional Samoan house, or *fale* (Figure 2). The structure of the roof represents the overall vision and objectives while the apex represents the target of a resilient Pacific environment 'in harmony with our cultures' (p. 10). Both climate change resilience and oceans are 'mainstreamed' into other regional goals. The fale's supporting posts are the 'enablers' to achieve the planned outcomes. The fale foundation represents SPREP's support for the values and cultures of Pacific people.

Ever since COP15 in Copenhagen during 2009 when disillusionment set in after a high profile global media exposure for South and Central Pacific communities threatened by climate change (Ryan, 2010), the Pacific again took centre stage at COP21 in France. Here successful Pacific lobbying and teams of young islanders from Oceania involved in the document drafting meant that the Paris Agreement ended with 195 countries agreeing to an action plan limiting global warming to well below 2 degrees C. below pre-industrial levels (Paris Agreement, 2015). Beyond the Paris Agreement, and the desire to make the aspirational goals more binding with specific country targets, Fiji took advantage of this initiative and was elected in Marrakesh, Morocco, as co-host of COP23 to be held in Bonn, Germany, in November 2017 (Fiji to be co-chair, 2016; Fiji to

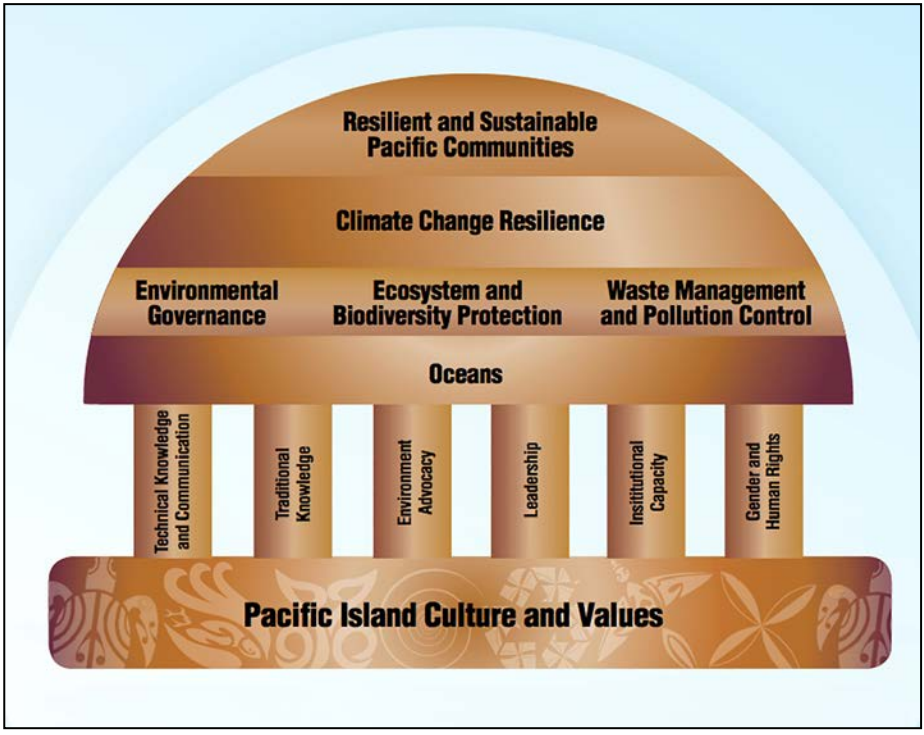


Figure 2: The SPREP Strategic Plan 2017-2026 *fale* concept.

chair, 2016; Fiji seeks support, 2017). Former coup leader Voreqe Bainimarama relished the opportunity of becoming president of the conference, with much of the planning being conducted in Fiji.

However, commentators such as economist and opposition National Federation Party leader Professor Biman Prasad have criticised the lack of a robust consultation with the nation, saying 'even our fellow members of the Pacific and SIDS were caught unaware' (Prasad, 2017). Prasad argues that coming straight after Severe Tropical Cyclone Winston that devastated Fiji in February 2016, 'as many of our citizens are still struggling to get their lives together', a legitimate question is whether this conference should really be the nation's priority.

Against this background, the Pacific Media Centre despatched two neophyte journalists to Fiji for a two-week field trip in April 2016 on a 'bearing witness' journalism experiential assignment to work in collaboration with the Pacific Centre for the Environment and Sustainable Development (PaCE-SD) and the Regional Journalism Programme at the University of the South Pacific. This paper is a case study assessing this project and arguing for the initiative to be funded for a multiple-year period in future and to cover additional Pacific countries, especially the so-called 'frontline' climate change states.

Rationale and methodology

Framing is arguably the most common conceptual tool applied to climate change communication, including news media coverage (Hackett, 2017; Olausson, 2011). Climate change is not just a scientific, technical or economic issue, argues Canadian journalism professor Robert A. Hackett. It poses profoundly ethical and political challenges to human institutions, including journalism (Hackett et al., 2017). Another Canadian, Naomi Klein argues that the status quo is no longer an option. She argues that climate change is not simply another issue to be tucked between various media rounds. It requires a major overhaul of a flawed and failing economic system. Massively reducing greenhouse emissions is the globe's best chance to simultaneously reduce gaping inequalities and provide social justice for the SIDS of the Pacific (Klein, 2014). Hackett has pressed for fundamental shifts in journalism priorities towards 'greening democracy' and has suggested sharing some of the tools characteristic of Peace Journalism (PJ) such as 'an analytical method for evaluating reportage of conflicts, a set of practices and ethical norms that journalism could employ in order to improve itself, and a rallying call for change' (Hutt, 2016; Hackett, 2017; Shaw et al., 2011). This approach has also been explored to some degree by Shaw, specifically writing about parallels between Peace Journalism and Human Rights Journalism (HRJ) (Shaw, 2011). There are key challenges for journalism educators too, who need to think outside conformist teaching frameworks and have a radical approach (Ings, 2017). From subtle to obvious shifts in wording with climate change stories, argues cultural politics of climate analyst Maxwell T. Boykoff, media portrayals possess great potential to influence reader perceptions and concern. Critiquing the notion of 'who speaks for the climate', he says that in turn, these media changes can feed into public awareness and engagement, as well as politics and policy (Boykoff, 2011, p. 11). The project also related well to a journalism-as-research strategy (Bacon, 2012; Das et al., 2009; Nash, 2017) and a 'bottom up' approach with marginalised groups (Harris, 2014). In a Pacific context, the unveiling of the SPREP Pacific Plan is very timely, and implicit in the document is a challenge to journalists to play a greater role in communication about climate change resilience and human rights.

In 2013, the Pacific Media Assistance Scheme (PACMAS) baseline Pacific-wide 'state of media and communication' report indicated that reporting on climate change in remote areas – often impacting on women and people with disabilities—was 'difficult and costly' (p. 36). It also found that respondents, in some countries such as Kiribati and Palau, reported 'information fatigue' over climate change. In Fiji, journalists commented on the importance of reporting 'from the field', whether that involved 'showcasing the work of scientists or community efforts' in response to a range of issues around climate change.

However, resources are usually scarce and reporting in an urban centre is 'often cheaper and faster' (p. 36).

> The language of reporting was also noted as a common issue, especially around the documentation of climate change. Almost all respondents across countries pointed out that the translation of scientific terms into local languages or a language that communities understand is challenging. Pacific journalists are making an effort to report more in-depth stories but this hinges upon the resources that are available to them. (PACMAS, 2013, p. 36)

Surprisingly, nowhere in this report did it emphasise the crucial and urgent challenge for the journalists and news media to dramatically improve their capacity to participate more decisively in climate change communication. This is in contrast to global academics with a message for the media such as Professor Bill McKibben, founder of the 350.org movement, which in Fiji spawned the creative 'Pacific climate warriors'—'we are not drowning, we are fighting' (Pacific climate warriors, n.d.).

McKibben visited the University of the South Pacific in April 2016, but in earlier articles and writings (2012, 2016a, 2016b) he has been strongly direct about the urgency for climate action on the part of political decision makers and media. Writing in the *New Republic*, he likened the global challenge to a 'world war', describing carbon and methane as the 'deadliest enemy of all time', and capable of 'impoverishing our entire civilisation'.

> We're used to war as a metaphor: the war on poverty, the war in drugs, the war on cancer, usually this is just a rhetorical device, a way of saying, 'We need to focus our attention and marshal our forces to fix something we don't like.' But this is no metaphor. By most of the ways we measure wars, climate change is the real deal: carbon and methane are seizing physical territory, sowing havoc and panic, racking up casualties, and even destabilising governments. (McKibben, 2016a).

Faced with this challenge, the Pacific Media Centre developed a plan a for a two-week climate change field trip for two postgraduate student/graduate journalists to gain firsthand experience of reporting on climate change issues in Fiji. Drawing on previous field trips organised by the PMC and the experience of journalism programmes at institutions such as a 2015 New Caledonia and Vanuatu reportage by Queensland University of Technology (Duffield, 2016), this was an exercise in professional development. Fiji was selected for the climate project for logistical and media resource reasons, given that the centre already had a long-established relationship with the USP regional Pacific journalism

programme with available accommodation on the Laucala Bay campus close to the centre of environmental research. Also, USP is currently engaged in a major Pacific-wide climate change baseline media research project, headed by Dr Shailendra Singh, and there was a synergy between these two initiatives.

Another partner at USP was the Pacific Centre for Environment and Sustainable Development (PaCE-SD), which was established as a centre of excellence in 1999 for 'environmental education, research and community engagement' in the Pacific region. The director, Professor Elisabeth Holland, has led the centre in carrying out environmental and climate change research to 'empower [Pacific] people with the adequate knowledge to be able to adapt to the impacts of climate change and to also pursue sustainable development' (About us, n.d.). Communications officer Sarika Chand was the principal collaborator for the project.

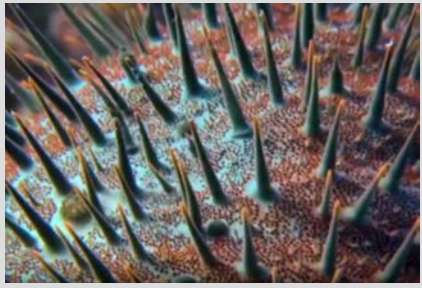
The PMC project adopted the name 'Bearing Witness', drawing on the Quaker tradition of taking action over 'truth' based on conscience and being present at the sites of injustice. This seemed highly appropriate given that the field trip was seeking to provide an alternative framing of climate change journalism in terms of resilience and human rights. An inspiring example of this 'bearing witness' frame for climate change is the Collectif Argos (2010) photojournalism portfolio on climate refugees, many of the images were portrayed in their book of the same name. The concept is also widely adopted by environmental groups, such as Greenpeace. According to a definition by Gray Cox in his *Pendle Hill Pamphlet*,

> Quakers view truth as something that happens, it occurs … truth is not a dead fact which is known: It is a living occurrence in which we participate … the guiding concern of people bearing witness is to live rightly, in ways that are exemplary. (Cox, 1985)

The project—Bearing Witness: Experiential climate change journalism

Two student journalists, or rather one student journalist and a journalist who had graduated on an honours programme within four months of the start of the project, were selected for the 14-day pilot mission between April 19-23, 2016. At the time of the project, Taylor Jo ('TJ') Aumua was contributing editor of the Pacific Media Centre's Pacific Media Watch freedom project (www.pacmediawatch.aut.ac.nz). She had gained her Bachelor of Communication Studies degree with a major in journalism and a minor in screen writing in 2014. The following year she was awarded an Honours degree in Communication Studies and also won a Pacific Cooperation Foundation scholarship to Samoa and an Inclusive Journalism Initiative (IJI) exchange to Finland in 2015. Of mixed descent (Samoan, Fijian and English), Aumua had been brought up immersed in the values of the Baha'i faith and Presbyterian Protestantism. Aumua reflects:

Bearing Witness 2016 project video outputs



Crown of Thorns Phenomenon (5min 50sec): The crown-of-thorns phenomenon may sound like something from a Hollywood storyline. But instead it is the name given to the rapid mass reproduction of the crown of thorns (COT) starfish—the biggest threat to the Pacific's coral reefs. Resource: Dr Pascal Dumas, a researcher at the Institute for Regional Development (IRD).
Reporter/Editor: TJ Aumua
www.youtube.com/watch?v=fJBfgkNRGGY

Pacific youth fear losing homes to climate change (3min24sec): The effects of climate change on Pacific Island nations such as Samoa are leaving young people faced with the uncertainty of having to leave their homelands and migrating to other countries. Resource: Chair for Ōtara-Papatoetoe local board, Fa'anānā Efeso Collins who is also a former broadcaster.
Reporter/Editor: TJ Aumua
www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pux-jdCOOjE

Meet the Mariana Trench 'ghost fish' (3min): Research expeditions can involve newly discovered species. This video shows a pale-winged fish dubbed 'the ghost fish'. It was discovered by the Schmidt Ocean Institute (SOI) in 2014 while on an expedition to the Mariana Trench, the deepest part of the world's oceans.
Reporter/Editor: TJ Aumua
www.youtube.comwatch?v=ddekPtv76es

Daku – climate change adaptation in a Fiji village (2min43sec): Sea-level rise is a major threat to coastal villages in the Pacific. In spite of the village receiving a floodgate funded by USAid to help drain water out of the village, the sea level and strength of waves are increasing. Sea water flooding in the village can reach up to the people's ankles, forcing some children in the village to relocate to another school. Resource: Biu Naitasi, headman of Daku
Reporter/Editor:TJ Aumua
www.youtube.com/watch?v=jQChUea5n8I

'Having intertwining cultures and religions has always made me interested in, and eager to learn about, other people's cultures, ethnicities and the differences these bring to the world' (Aumua, 2015).

Ami Dhabuwala is an engineer-turned-journalist from India. After having had two years' experience in media in her home country, her passion for journalism brought her to Auckland University of Technology's Postgraduate Diploma in Communication Studies (Journalism). She was enrolled in AUT's Asia-Pacific Journalism Studies paper in 2016 (Dhabuwala, 2016a) and was interested in 'exploring untold stories from the Asia-Pacific region'. During the year, she wrote a number of articles on cultural diversity, including one about a Gujarati theatre and literature group entitled 'Gujarati migrant theatre group keeps mother tongue alive in NZ' in *Te Waha Nui* and *Asia Pacific Report* (Dhabuwala, 2016b).

Aumua and Dhabuwala arrived in Suva, Fiji, on 19 April 2016. Within minutes of touchdown, they were blogging and filing images by Instagram on the progress of their two-week assignment (see Appendix 1). Within a day of arrival, on 20 April 2016, Ami Dhabuwala had filed her first story, about a monitor-and-clean-up project over the threat posed by the predator crown of thorns starfish (COTS), or *Acanthaster*. This poisonous-spined creature is responsible for disturbing coral reef eco-systems in the Indo-Pacific coastal area. Dhabuwala reported how in 2013, rural communities of southeast Espiritu Santo island in Vanuatu had reported severe outbreaks of COTS. The Vanuatu Fisheries Department launched an initiative called the Oceania Regional Acanthaster Network (OREANET) to control the outbreak of COTS in New Caledonia and Vanuatu. Dhabuwala cited research scientist Dr Pascal Dumas of the Vanuatu Fisheries Department:

> With the help of more than 10 years of reports, we have found that many Pacific Islands [nations] are affected by the crown of thorns starfish. But as we don't have exact quantitative data, it is high time to start a small-scale monitoring initiative. (Cited in Dhabuwala, 2016c)

The project focused on a range of methods to eradicate COTS, 'including lethal injection, electric/physical barrier and asphyxiation' (Dhabuwala, 2016c). Dumas referred to evidence linking the COTS outbreak to climate change, such as the 'increasing temperature of sea water and enrichment of coastal water'. The presentation by Dumas was part of the PaCE-SD Weekly Seminar series based on climate change and the environment featuring graduate students along with local and visiting scientists and professionals. TJ Aumua followed up the next day, April 21, with a video story just under 6min long about how 'Scientists were taking on the crown of thorns starfish threat' in the Pacific (Figure 3). (www.youtube.com/watch?v=fJBfgkNRGGY). On the same day, a 3min05sec

video story by Aumua about the effects of climate change on young people in Pacific nations such as Samoa was posted on the PMC's YouTube channel (www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pux-jdCOOjE). Her main talent for the programme was the chair for Ōtara-Papatoetoe local board in Auckland, Fa'anānā Efeso Collins, a former broadcaster who had recently returned from Samoa.

On April 25, Ami Dhabuwala profiled the US-based global grassroots climate campaigner Professor Bill McKibben, founder of the crowd-funded 350.org (https://350.org) movement, which has spawned the popular and colourful 'climate change warriors' of the Pacific. McKibben, speaking at a PaCE-SD hosted climate seminar, argued that it was ideal for Pacific people to use solar power, fuel efficient cars, ride bicycles. However, in the end it would not make any difference to the final outcome for the fight for climate change as there were small populations in the Pacific. He continued:

> The Pacific is probably going to play a crucial role in helping to build the movement that changes the politics around climate change. You [the Pacific] can make big countries like China, United States and Australia to act fast on it. You have a particular job to build this movement. (Dhabuwala, 2016d)

Writing for *Rolling Stone* just four years earlier than his Pacific sojourn, in 2012, McKibben explained that since he wrote one of the first books for a general audience about global warming in 1989, he had since 'spent the intervening decades working ineffectively to slow that warming' (McKibben, 1989). He added: 'I can say with some confidence that we're losing the fight, badly and quickly—losing it because, most of all, we remain in denial about the peril that human civilisation is in' (McKibben, 2012). His article gave a pessimistic overview of the 'climate change maths'.

Fast forward again to 2016 and McKibben, this time writing in the *New Republic*, had revised his maths based on a new report by Oil Change International Ltd and 13 other environmental non-government organisations:

> The future of humanity depends on math. And the numbers in a new study released [Muttitt, 2016] Thursday are the most ominous yet…. If we're serious about preventing catastrophic warming [McKibben, 2016], the new study shows we can't dig any new coal mines, drill any new fields, build any more pipelines. Not a single one (McKibben, 2016b).

On April 26, Aumua and Dhabuwala visited propagation projects at the Pacific Community (SPC) and its Centre for Pacific Crops and Trees in Suva (CePaCT). With 'increasingly hyperactive' severe weather patterns and cyclones in the South Pacific, communities are faced with the destruction of food crops

and 'left suffering from food scarcity and malnutrition' (Aumua, 2016c). At CePaCT, scientists are addressing the issue of climate impacts on strategies for rapid plant growth and climate resistant crops for the Pacific:

> When we arrived at the centre, busy white-coated lab assistants were counting and double-checking more than 1000 banana, sweet potato and swamp taro seedlings which lay in rows across the counters, packed delicately in plastic pockets. With the assistance of the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) these seedlings are one of three batches to be sent to Tuvalu, where the island agriculture is still recovering from the devastation caused by cyclone Pam in 2014. A total of 6000 seeds will be sent as part of this project. (Aumua, 2016c)

The same day, TJ Aumua reported on a pale-winged 'ghost fish' through a remarkable video (www.youtube.com/watch?v=ddekPtv76es) about discoveries by the Schmidt Ocean Institute (SOI) in 2014 while on an expedition to the Mariana Trench, the deepest part of the world's oceans. The story itself examined research around hydrothermal vents, which have been compared as an ocean equivalent of the earth's volcanoes. Scientists are keen to gain more knowledge about these rich vent ecosystems as they face threats of disruption from deep-sea mining interests (Aumua, 2016d).

On April 27, the Bearing Witness team travelled to the village of Daku, a 50-minute drive from Suva city where a community of 332 people live nestled in a Rewa River delta enclave close to the sea and surrounded by mangroves. This is a community where the people's daily lives are governed by climate change. It is an area where environmental changes caused by rising sea levels is to expected increase over the next few decades and cause disruption (Lata & Nunn, 2012, p. 169). Village headman Biu Naitasi talked to Dhabuwala and Aumua about how he first noticed the rising sea level around the village four years ago. However, it was only in 2011 that an assistance programme partnering PaCE-SD, firstly supported through an AusAID project and then by the US Agency for International Development's Coastal Community Adaptation Project (USAID/C-CAP), and the villagers began to modify their existence to meet the challenges. '[The term] climate change [was] something new for us. We [hadn't] heard about it before,' explained Naitasi.

> Arriving at the village, [we] bore witness to flood waters lapping on the doorsteps of village homes. Remnants of super Tropical Cyclone Winston that savaged Fiji two months ago, and other tropical depressions which have left parts of the nation drenched in heavy rainfall, have left their mark. Waterlogged land leaves the village vulnerable to water-borne infections like dengue, filariasis and diarrhoea, and in the worst case scenario, cholera and typhoid. (Dhabuwala & Aumua, 2016)

In 2015, USAID's C-CAP adaptation project had implemented a floodgate system, built into a river wall, which 'allows water to flow out of the village while blocking out sea water in high tides of floods'. However, as Dhabuwala and Aumua reported, another floodgate was needed to stem king tides and protect the villagers' plantation crops from salt-water damage. 'Sometimes [the water is] up to our ankles,' said Naitasi. In a series of multimedia reports, Dhabuwala and Aumua documented the experience of the villagers through text, image galleries and a video (www.youtube.com/watch?v=jQChUea5n8I). They reported how coastal villagers were living with the burden of climate change effects daily. This was their final message:

> 'Tell them to believe it, climate change is happening,' says Naitasi, sending a message to the world. 'We can't stop climate change, but we can reduce its effect.' (Dhabuwala & Aumua, 2016).

Both TJ Aumua and Ami Dhabuwala filed individual reflective reports on their experience in Fiji and wrote about their 'passion' for reporting climate change because of the mission. The Daku village visit in the Rewa River delta was the definite highlight. Both journalists found having PaCE-SD environmental and climate specialists and their feedback vital for the reporting challenge, and they would have liked to travel to outer islands in Fiji. However, the available budget and logistics for the two-week period prevented this happening. With more extensive planning, noted Aumua, 'I think Ami and I could have truly "borne witness" to the effects of climate change'. She added:

> I think this is why climate change in the Pacific is still largely untold and undocumented. I know getting to the outer regions of the Pacific is difficult and I believe climate change affects these areas more than we know or could imagine.
>
> However, I have returned from Fiji with a new sense of how serious and urgent action towards the impacts of climate change is needed. A majority of people [in neighbouring developed countries such as Australia and New Zealand] may think climate change is gradual but coastlines are being eroded at a rapid rate and therefore relocation of communities and families are frequent. (TJ Aumua, quoted in Robie, 2016, p. 4).

Aumua also found one of the most valuable lessons she learned in Fiji was 'the role of adaptation'. She was told that climate change could not be stopped, only have the impact reduced, and so Pacific people needed to adapt to it— 'a scary thought on how climate change is ongoing and will always have an effect on how we live our lives' (Ibid).

Ami Dhabuwala reflected with enthusiasm on the special help of Radio Pasifik 89.4FM acting manager Eliki Drugunalevu, cooperative journalism staff

and PaCE-SD communications officer Sarika Chand on the 'beautiful' Laucala Campus at USP.

> The best part of the internship was the community visit, which Sarika helped us arrange. We went to the Daku village (Tailevu province) with Tuverea and Sairusi with the EU Global Climate Change Alliance project … We observed the damage Super Cyclone Winston caused to the village. Houses were blown away and floodwaters were [swirling] around houses. We also met some students who went to the Paris conference COP21 [in 2015]. (Ami Dhabuwala quoted in Robie, 2016, p. 2)

Later, almost two months after leaving Fiji, the pair were interviewed for AUT *University News* with Aumua describing the impact on everyday lives in Daku as 'heart-breaking'. She added: 'I was aware that climate change was happening before, but I didn't realise its devastating impacts. Dhabuwala stressed the human rights aspects: 'It's not just about rising sea levels or other environmental effects, it's also a physical and mental health issue' (Yeo, 2016).

Discussion

What were the tangible benefits of the Bearing Witness project as a two-week multimedia climate change research and publication journalism project?

The package of multimedia news reports (see Appendix 1) produced by the two student journalists based in Suva was, of course, the most tangible benefit of the project. PaCE-SD runs a weekly seminar series and communications officer Sarika Chand notes that many speakers with different backgrounds are involved. The two student journalists were able to make use of this opportunity efficiently and to produce well researched news reports that were shared extensively through social media networks, and with students and staff who missed out on the seminars. Chand recalls:

> Not just the seminars though, every point of contact or news tip provided was well pursued and executed. Working with the students on news tips for them to pursue, and also scoping out contacts and angles based on climate change-related issues they wanted to pursue was good experience for the PaCE communications team for strengthening our ability to work with the media. It was also an opportunity to look more closely at the Pacific Media Centre and the work it does from a different perspective to highlight newsworthy activities. (Chand, communication with the author, 16 March 2017)

The students' feedback in terms of what they witnessed in Fiji—from the impacts of climate change to the innovative solutions that were being used in

some instances—and how valuable (newsworthy) this information was to them also provided an interesting perspective for the researchers and communications team at PaCE-SD. Being surrounded by these issues sometimes makes the team a little too familiar with what is happening and they run the risk of downplaying some important impacts that need to be highlighted in the news media. Overall, highlighting a range of climate change issues that are affecting Fiji and the Pacific as well as showing what communities, young people, scientists, regional organisations and so on are doing about it with several 'take-home' messages, was a major achievement of the Bearing Witness project. (Chand, communication with the author, 16 March 2017).

Does a project like this add to the public awareness of climate change and environmental issues?

> Most definitely. It not only provides a completely new audience population who access the news reports through the Bearing Witness project in New Zealand and globally, but it also provides other local and regional audiences with a fresh perspective and style of reporting about these climate change and environmental issues. (Chand, communication with the author, 16 March 2017)

A project such as Bearing Witness is also especially important because the mainstream media needs to prioritise many different issues for daily news and sometimes does not have the time or resources for more in-depth coverage of some issues. Alternatively, if there *is* coverage, it gets buried somewhere in between many other reports during the evening news. The Bearing Witness Project allows the student journalists to research their topics well and do more justice to a story than if they were pursuing 'up to10 news pieces daily' (Chand, communication with the author, 16 March 2017).

Conclusion

Democracy and journalism face a crisis of planetary emergency, and a 'greening' of media initiatives is needed to prepare for and to engage with this challenge. Hackett argues for the deployment of a Peace Journalism model for the framing of this challenge with an approach he labels Climate Crisis Journalism along with 'systematic reform of media structures' in conventional mainstream media (Hackett, 2017, p. 7). Human Rights Journalism and Climate Justice are also useful metaframes. The Bearing Witness project in Fiji was arguably well anchored in the latter two frames.

The strengths of the Bearing Witness project:

- allowing climate change and environmental issues to be covered more thoroughly and in-depth;

- enabling student journalists from different cultural, educational and professional backgrounds to provide new perspectives and renewed enthusiasm in the way some issues are reported;
- providing a more enriching experience for the journalists to be able to report on climate change and environmental issues first hand;
- strengthening relations between collaborating agencies—such as PaCE, Auckland University of Technology and the USP Journalism School—and laying a foundation for timely collaborations on the climate given the crisis being faced globally;
- fulfilling the need for the media to exercise its role as gatekeepers, educators, and disseminators of correct information for awareness and advocacy;
- enabling the environment to raise its profile after being sidelined for so long by neoliberal politics and economics in the newsroom; and
- promoting the establishment of an 'environment beat (or round)', giving priority to a sector, which newsrooms and individuals need to realise, affects all the other beats – economy, health etc.

Instilling this framing into journalists as students is a great start.

On the downside, especially with the limited funding for the project and the short time frame available, there were some difficulties. Better long-term planning before the student journalists arrive in Fiji, or the 'frontline' country they are going to should help. On the other hand, limited time gives the young journalists a more realistic experience of being a foreign correspondent working under real deadline pressure and an opportunity to 'get their bearings right in a foreign location' (Chand, communication with the author, 16 March 2017). Many places seriously affected by climate change are not easily accessible. If traditional protocol is to be observed—providing kava for a *sevusevu* ceremony to request access to a community/village in Fiji, for example—student journalists need a sufficient budget to enable them to comfortably pursue the stories they are seeking.

At the time of writing this article, Fiji was preparing for the COP23 conference in Bonn during 6-17 November 2017. Already the conference has been called the 'Pacific COP' and Fiji's co-presidency is of major significance. The Bearing Witness project is gearing up for a second year with two new student journalists going to Fiji in April and they are likely to produce a pilot short documentary as part of the visit. While longer term, plans are afoot to seek funding to extend the project over several years and involving a wider range of countries. Preparatory work has already begun for the 2017 mission, and there are related stories to pursue in terms of what the presidency means for Fiji, for the Pacific region—and for COP23 as a whole. What is on the agenda, as well as looking at the Paris Agreement to see how national priorities will be met?

Resources

Bearing Witness Project reports 2016 asiapacificreport.nz/category/climate/bearing-witness/

Full matrix of published and broadcast stories
Appendix 1

Image gallery at Daku village, Tailevu
http://asiapacificreport.nz/2016/04/27/fijis-daku-village-tackles-the-floodwaters-problem/

Videos produced

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Appendix: Bearing Witness climate change research and publication matrix 2016

Date	Topic	Format	Journalist	Publication
20 April 2016	Fiji set to start clean-up project for predator starfish	text, images (369t views)	Ami Dhabuwala	Asia Pacific Report
21 April 2016	Poisonous starfish threatens survival of the Pacific coral reefs	text, video (317t, 328v)	TJ Aumua	PMC YouTube channel ("Crown of thorns phenomenon", 5m50s), Asia Pacific Report www.youtube.com/watch?v=fJBfgkNRGGY
21 April 2016	Pacific youth face uncertain future over climate change	Text, video (308t, 183v)	TJ Aumua	PMC YouTube channel ("Pacific fear losing homes to climate change, 3m24s), Asia Pacific Report www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pux-jdCOOjE
25 April 2016	Pacific example can help 'save the world' on climate change, says McKibben	Text, images (590ti)	Ami Dhabuwala	Asia Pacific Report
26 April 2016	Pacific crop centre develops food strategies for climate change	Text, images (317ti)	TJ Aumua	Asia Pacific Report
26 April 2016	Researchers explore Pacific Ocean's hidden deep secrets	Text, video (767t, 629v)	TJ Aumua	PMC YouTube channel ("Meet the Mariana Trench 'ghost fish', 3m), Asia Pacific Report www.youtube.com/watch?v=ddekPtv76es
27 April 2016	Daku has a climate message for the world: 'Tell them to believe it'	Text, images gallery, video (265t, 545i, 478v)	Ami Dhabuwala, TJ Aumua	PMC YouTube channel ("Climate change adaptation in a Fiji village", 2m43s), Asia Pacific Report www.youtube.com/watch?v=jQChUea5n8I
10 May 2016	Fiji's Daku village people adapt to challenge of rising sea	Text, video (503t, 478v)	TJ Aumua	PMC YouTube channel ("Climate change adaptation in a Fiji village", 2m43s), Asia Pacific Report www.youtube.com/watch?v=jQChUea5n8I
18 May 2016	Pacific Profile: Jenny Jiva – 'Climate change is very real now'	Text, video (583t, 287v)	TJ Aumua	PMC YouTube channel ("Pacific Profile: Jenny Jiva – youth climate change activist", 3m16s), Asia Pacific Report https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HIHXypJVjvc
24 May 2016	'If young people act over climate change, our leaders will listen'	Text, video (259t, 910v)	Ami Dhabuwala, Niklas Pedersen	PMC YouTube channel ("Pacific leaders speak out with 'one voice' on climate change", 2m32s), Asia Pacific Report www.youtube.com/watch?v=2D1bSg6gXBc
26 June 2016	Fiji assignment enlightens aspiring climate change journalists	Text, images (365t)	Denise Yeo	AUT News, Asia Pacific Report
		Total views 8,481 (15 March 2017)		All items sourced at the Bearing Witness project in association with the Pacific Centre for the Environment-Sustainable Development – PACE-SD, University of the South Pacific): asiapacificreport.nz/category/climate/bearing-witness/ Fiji Report 'Bearing Witness', 2016, on Storify (1,954 views): storify.com/pacmedcentre/fiji-report-bearing-witness-2016

The New Zealand Institute for Pacific Research (NZIPR) is a new national institute to promote and support excellence in Pacific research. Established in March 2016 and led by Associate Professor Toeolesulusulu Damon Salesa, NZIPR is a collaboration between the University of Auckland, Otago University and Auckland University of Technology. Key support partners are the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, and the Pacific Cooperation Foundation.

The goals of the NZIPR are:

- To deliver a world-class research programme focussed on Pacific development, governance, security and other public issues;
- To provide practical solutions to Pacific issues; and
- To contribute to New Zealand's reputation as an influential and effective leader in the region.

NZIPR will engage with Pacific peoples and draw on expertise from around the globe. It will inform policy-makers and stakeholders in the Pacific who are seeking to improve living standards and cultural, environmental, economic and social well-being in the region, as well as regional security, prosperity and trade and sustainable economic development,

The intended outcomes of NZIPR activities are:

- To enhance New Zealand's role as a thought leader on Pacific issues;
- To build Pacific research capability and linkages;
- To generate new research ideas on the Pacific; and
- To enhance the collation and dissemination of research on the Pacific.

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ARTICLES

Defamatory meanings and the hazards of relying on the 'ordinary, reasonable person' fiction

Abstract: Defamation law offers a remedy when the plaintiff's reputation is harmed by something the defendant publishes. At the heart of the action lies the question—*what do the words complained about actually mean?* The process of determining defamatory meaning depends heavily on what the court finds to be the imputations conveyed by the matter concerned to 'ordinary, reasonable people'. The process relies on assumption and conjecture, rather than on evidence. This article examines how this process applied in the *Hockey v Fairfax Media* case brought by Australia's former Federal Treasurer Joe Hockey against Fairfax Media, which presented a paradox—the court described the journalists' articles concerned in glowing terms but still found for the plaintiff.

Keywords: Asia-Pacific, Australia, convergence, defamation, defamatory imputation, defamatory meaning, defamation reform, digital media, freedom of speech, libel, media freedom, media law, media standards, self-regulation

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Introduction

THE REACH of defamation (or libel) law is 'more extensive than many realise' (Rolph, 2015). It is among the 'growing threats to the media across the Asia-Pacific' (Robie, 2014). The threat of a defamation suit hangs constantly like a Damocles sword over news publishers even though the law is aimed at ensuring no unreasonable limits are placed on freedom of expression and on the discussion of matters of public interest and importance (for example, see *Defamation Act 2005* (New South Wales), section 3(b)). The then editor-in-chief of *The Age*, Andrew Holden, whose newspaper was caught up in one of the most well-known Australian defamation cases this decade—*Hockey v Fairfax*

Media—described it thus:

> The most direct threat we face every day is the operation of our defamation laws. They are being used far too often in an attempt to hinder or shut down journalism. (Bennett, 2015)

The High Court's rulings in a series of free speech cases from September 1992, held that an implied principle of freedom of political communication exists within the Commonwealth Constitution and this is said to have changed the situation 'substantially [and] clearly exemplifies the notion of an "independent" principle of freedom of speech within a legal system' (Chesterman, 2000, p. 3). Through the cases, starting with *Nationwide News Pty Ltd v Wills 1992* and *Australian Capital Television Pty Ltd v Commonwealth 1992*, the court found an implied right in the Constitution to discuss matters of government and politics (Gillooly, 1998, pp. 186-196). The threat of defamation, however, continues to present a direct and constant threat to publishers. Two judgments were handed down in the *Hockey v Fairfax Media* case, the first on the court's finding on the defamation claim (*Hockey v Fairfax Media Publications Pty Limited* [2015] FCA 652) and the second on injunctions, interest, costs and the court's orders (*Hockey v Fairfax Media Publications Pty Limited (No 2)* [2015] FCA 750). Where specific reference is made to one of the two judgments the former is referred to in this work as *Hockey v Fairfax Media 2015* and latter is referred to as *Hockey v Fairfax (No 2)*. Unless otherwise stated, when referring to these two cases, the paragraph numbers below refer to the former. The two cases are otherwise collectively referred to as the *Hockey Fairfax Media* case.

Newsrooms routinely examine contentious material for the threat of defamation. It begins before publication when conducting risk assessments and can arise after publication when a complaint is received. These examinations take into account whether a potential plaintiff can cross the critical threshold for legal action—satisfying the court that the matter concerned (words, images and anything by which meaning is conveyed) does in fact convey the meanings that justify an actionable complaint. Second, the examination weighs up the potential responses to a complaint—an outright denial of the validity of the claims; resolution without litigation; and the availability of a viable defence to the claims. A defamation defendant has no legally imposed duty to respond until and unless the plaintiff is able to meet three elements. These elements are: that the matter complained about is defamatory; it identified the plaintiff as the party to whom the matter relates; and the defendant published the matter (Gillooly, 1998, p. 22). Of the three elements, the first-mentioned element is the most contentious because it requires the identification of the defamatory meanings (or *imputations*, as lawyers would put it) conveyed by the matter complained about. This has been described as the 'first

ingredient necessary to found' the plaintiff's action (Gillooly, 1998, p. 33). The fortunes of both sides turn heavily on the meaning the court ascribes to the matter concerned. The determination of defamatory meaning heavily influences where the fulcrum is set on the see-saw that balances freedom of expression and the protection of reputation. The *Hockey v Fairfax Media* case highlights that conundrum. How was liability found in this case, which resulted in major financial cost to both sides, when the journalistic output at the heart of the defamation claim earned the court's praise? For example, the court held that journalist Sean Nicholls' 'research was detailed and not superficial' (para 355). The court also accepted that the manner in which Hockey engaged in political fundraising was 'a matter of public interest' and that the matters in the poster and on Twitter related to his performance of public functions as Treasurer and that it was reasonable for the respondents 'to seek to promote the reading of the articles' (para 242). Despite finding that the tweets were a problem, the court acknowledged the ease with which followers of tweets, by using the hyperlink, may obtain access to the articles themselves (para 208). Furthermore, the plaintiff failed on significant elements of his claim (*Hockey v Fairfax Media No 2 2015*, paras 46 and 118). What then produced a protracted, high profile trial that came at great cost to both sides? The court stressed that it is 'necessary to keep in mind that the only publication of the *SMH* found to be defamatory was the poster promoting the articles' (*Hockey v Fairfax Media No 2 2015*, para 19), while for *The Age*, Hockey succeeded only in respect of two tweets (*Hockey v Fairfax Media No 2 2015*, para 2). Fairfax Media in a statement said:

> The Court upheld Fairfax's defence of the articles and found them not to be defamatory. Mr Hockey's claims were only upheld in respect to the publication of the *SMH* poster and two tweets by *The Age* because they lacked the context of the full articles. No claims were upheld with regard to *The Canberra Times*. All of Mr Hockey's other claims were dismissed. The judgment included [the statement that] 'much of Mr Hockey's hurt and distress was said by him to result from publications which I have found were not defamatory'. The articles were found to be well researched and accurate. (Hatch, 2015)

The question whether, in the public eye, Hockey's legal action was successful is unlikely to be fully resolved given the variety of indicators for success. The court's view provides a starting point—Hockey had 'partial success' (*Hockey v Fairfax Media No 2 2015*, para 46). In reality, the action came at considerable cost to both sides—and as the court noted it was the ambit of Hockey's claims that stretched out the trial:

> It is improbable that a trial concerning only the *SMH* poster and the two tweets of *The Age* would have occupied seven days. Put slightly differently,

> it was the ambit of the claims made by Mr Hockey which defined, and extended, the battleground of the parties' contest. (*Hockey v Fairfax No 2 2015*, para 103; see also para 105)

Firm figures on the real financial cost to the parties are usually difficult to access but if media reports are any indication each side in this case is estimated to have spent about A$1 million on it. The Treasurer could have been left about $650,000 out of pocket by the action while the case would have cost Fairfax Media about $1.35 million (Jabour, 2015). Hockey only obtained $200,000 in damages (para 520) and possibly about $150,000 in costs going on the overall cost estimate and the court's award of 15 percent of costs (*Hockey v Fairfax Media No 2 2015*, para 125).

Growing challenge of cross-platform publication

Intensified cross-platform publishing of news and current affairs content has resulted in major challenges for the regulation of content generally. One of these challenges is the widespread mistaken perception that the law treats non-mainstream media or social media more leniently. In reality, a person is a publisher even when they post on social media and they 'are subject to the same laws as the big media businesses' (Pearson, 2012, *xviii*). It has been said not even the courts 'know how to handle the huge changes triggered by the internet and social media' (ibid.). The UK's director of public prosecutions conceded the need to filter the tide of potential legal actions social media could unleash upon on the justice system. In its guidelines on prosecuting cases involving communications sent via social media, the DPP observed that if only a small percentage of those millions of social media messages were deemed to be offensive 'there's the potential for very many cases coming before our courts' (Brown, 2012). In guidelines governing prosecutions, the UK prosecutor's office declared that cases that are not considered '*grossly offensive, indecent, obscene or false*… will be subject to a *high threshold* and in many cases a prosecution is *unlikely* to be in the public interest' (Crown Prosecution Service UK, clauses 12 and 13, emphasis in original). Non-media publishers would be mistaken in taking this as a carte blanche to publish harmful content. In the United States, numerous lower courts have been willing to treat media and non-media defendants 'differently in defamation cases' with the latter enjoying less protection (Stewart, 2013, p. 41).

Despite the growing challenges presented by defamation for cross-platform publishing this area has not received close attention in various reviews involving the media—even though the defamation challenge is mentioned. For example, the Convergence Review Committee was established in early 2011 'to examine the operation of media and communications regulation in Australia and assess its

effectiveness in achieving appropriate policy objectives for the convergent era' (Convergence Review Final Report, 2012, p. *vii*). The Committee 'consulted with key industry leaders and organisations, received over 340 written submissions and 28,000 comments' (Convergence Review Final Report, chairman's letter to the minister, Report's introduction). In the Committee's 176-page Final Report, however, the term *defamation* itself is mentioned twice but only in passing. The review's scant treatment of defamation appears to have been influenced by the Committee's focus on media 'standards' governed through 'self-regulation' generally rather than on media laws impacting on content. Another media inquiry resulting in the Finkelstein Report discusses defamation in more detail (Finkelstein, 2012, pp. 147-152). It refers to defamation as the 'obvious example' of restrictions on speech through private action and notes that many media outlets consider the law of defamation a check on journalistic practice (Finkelstein, 2012, p. 147). The report, however, cites instances that suggest 'defamation is *not* an effective check on journalistic excesses' (p. 151, emphasis added). More recently, a report by an NGO, Human Rights Law Centre, failed to make a single mention of defamation even though the report observes that the 'exercise of our democratic rights to free speech is a "critical part" of checks and balances on government' (Human Rights Law Centre, 2016, p. 5). Likewise, defamation is also not discussed in any detail in the Australian Law Reform Commission's review of laws that encroach on traditional rights and freedoms, even though it is identified as part of 'laws that interfere with freedom of speech' (Australian Law Reform Commission Report, 2015, Chapter 4, footnote 76). This scant treatment is because defamation is not considered a Commonwealth law, which was the ALRC's concern (ibid.). It did not stop the Attorney-General predicting that this report would come to be seen as 'one of the most important reports the Australian Law Reform Commission has ever authored' (Brandis, 2016). The *Hockey v Fairfax Media* case decision drew fresh calls for defamation reform. For example, the chair of the Australian Press Council, Professor David Weisbrot, said:

> If we are serious about free speech and freedom of the press in Australia, then we must tackle defamation law reform as a high priority. The current law seriously inhibits investigative reporting and robust political debate and, make no mistake, politicians of all stripes are heavy users of defamation writs (Weisbrot, 2015).

Defamation law is fertile for reform. In Australia the last major reform in the middle of the last decade resulted in the introduction of uniform defamation law. No serious effort aimed at defamation law reform has been made since then even though the calls for reform have persisted. It is outside the scope of this article to discuss defamation law reform in general. It is hoped, however, that the discussion below will serve to inform any reform debate pertaining

to the most critical of the three elements necessary to found a defamation action – the establishment of the existence of defamatory meaning. It does this by drawing attention to the artificiality and arbitrariness that infests this critical aspect of a defamation action by reference to the *Hockey v Fairfax Media* case.

Background to the *Hockey v Fairfax Media* case

Former Federal Treasurer Joe Hockey sued Fairfax Media publications over defamatory imputations conveyed by articles published in *The Sydney Morning Herald* (the *SMH*), *The Age* and *The Canberra Times* (referred to as 'respondents' in this article). The articles said he was providing 'privileged access' to a 'select group' in return for donations to the Liberal Party via a 'secretive' fundraising body, the North Sydney Forum, whose activities were not disclosed fully to election funding authorities (para 2). These media outlets also published articles on their online platforms, or provided links to articles with content similar to the printed articles and some were tweets and one was a poster or a placard (paras 3-4; 12-61). The tweets and the poster are the critical platforms as they contained the words *Treasurer for Sale* or *Treasurer Hockey for Sale* (tweets); and *Treasurer for Sale* (poster). The three actions were heard together. Hockey claimed the articles and the *SMH* poster conveyed some or all of the imputations that he: (a) accepted bribes to influence his decisions as Treasurer (primary imputation); (b) was prepared to accept bribes (in the alternative to (a)); (c) corruptly solicited payments (in the alternative to (a)); (d) he is corrupt (alternatives to (b) and (c)); (e) he corruptly sells privileged access to himself to a select group (only re some articles; alternatives to (b) and (c); ultimately this imputation was at forefront of his submissions); (f) he knowingly permitted a Liberal Party fundraising forum he was associated, to accept money from the corrupt Obeid family (alternatives to (b) and (c); paras 5 and 6).

The court found that at the forefront of Hockey's submissions was the imputation that he corruptly sold 'privileged access' to himself to a select group 'in return for donations to the Liberal Party' (paras 5 and 6). The court upheld Mr Hockey's claims only with respect to the *SMH* poster and two tweets published by *The Age* while each of the remaining claims failed (paras 10 and 214). It held that the respondents did not make out the defence of *qualified privilege* and even if this defence were otherwise available, it would have been defeated in the case of the *SMH* articles and the *SMH* poster on the grounds of *malice* (para 10). The court awarded damages of $120,000 and $80,000, respectively, in relation to those claims (para 520). The court dismissed Hockey's claims with respect to the other publications that he complained about (para 521).

A critical threshold—what is defamatory?

An established defamation text cites the difficulty of producing a comprehensive

definition of the meaning of *defamatory* and notes that this difficulty has 'often been remarked' (Milmo & Rogers, 2008, p. 37). Lord Lyndhurst LC, appointed in 1843 to consider the law of defamation, was not able to 'hit upon anything like a definition of libel which possessed the requisites of a logical definition' (ibid.). The meaning of the matter complained about is determined by reference to a hypothetical referee commonly referred to as the *ordinary person* or *ordinary, reasonable person*. These two expressions are themselves problematic because the terms *ordinary* and *reasonable* have different properties and 'variations frequently appear in the case law' (Baker, 2011, p. 35). Furthermore, the determination depends heavily on speculation. In *Hockey v Fairfax Media 2015,* White J states:

> In determining what is reasonable in any case, a distinction must be drawn between what ordinary reasonable readers (drawing on their own knowledge and experience of human affairs) *could understand* from what the publisher has said in the matter and the conclusion which the readers *could reach* by taking into account their own beliefs which have been excited by what was published. It is the former, and not the latter, which is pertinent (para 69, emphasis added).

A noted defamation list judge once observed that the amount of the Court's time and litigants' resources expended in determining what words mean is 'positively scandalous (*John Fairfax Publications v Gacic 2007*, para 193 n 175). The potpourri of case law formulations of ordinary, reasonable persons is bogged in verbiage. The formulations include those who can and do 'read between the lines in the light of [their] own general knowledge and experience of worldly affairs' (*Lewis v Daily Telegraph 1964*, p. 258); and those who do not 'live in an ivory tower [and are] not inhibited by a knowledge of the rules of construction' (*Lewis v Daily Telegraph 1964*, p. 258). Notwithstanding that the objective of the exercise is to identify the ordinary, reasonable person, the construct of this hypothetical individual has been said to even allow for 'a certain amount of loose thinking' (*Morgan v Odhams Press 1971*, p. 1245); and may admit 'far-fetched inferences' (*Morgan v Odhams Press 1971*, p. 1244). As White J said above, the court must decide what this community 'could understand' from what the publisher said; it must decide what conclusion the readers 'could reach'; it must take into account the reader's 'own beliefs' that were excited by what was published; and ultimately what is 'pertinent' is *not* what the publisher has said, but rather, what the hypothetical reader understood (para 69). As noted above also, a range of terms connoting assumption and conjecture bear heavily on identifying the audience in whose eyes the complainant's esteem is perceived. Of relevance for present purposes is the extent of assumption and conjecture in respect of determining the imputations conveyed. The term *imputation* is, on the one hand, said to refer to any act or condition attributed to a person, regardless of whether it is to that

person's credit or discredit (*Hall-Gibbs Mercantile Agency v Dun 1910*, p. 91). On the other hand, the term is said to carry a disparaging sense (*Petritsis v Hellenic Herald Pty Ltd 1978*, p. 189). Whether the various characterisations of the hypothetical referee remain relevant is open to question in light of recent High Court authorities (Rolph, 2016, p. 99).

A substantial part of the Justice White's judgment discussed the imputations conveyed across the different publications and platforms. They covered 152 paragraphs (paras 62-214) of the 522-paragraph judgment. Determining the imputations conveyed is critical in deciding whether defamation has occurred. Lord Devlin said one 'always gets back to the fundamental question: what is the meaning of the words conveyed to the ordinary man' (*Lewis v Daily Telegraph 1964*, p. 285). A single judge, with no jury, heard the *Hockey v Fairfax Media* case and the judge assumed the jury's role in evaluating the claims of defamatory imputations conveyed. The core principles governing the question—whether the publications conveyed the pleaded imputations—are taken by the courts as settled in numerous authorities. The primary question or test is 'whether ordinary reasonable readers would have understood the matters complained of in the defamatory senses pleaded' (para 63). The test, however, is widely acknowledged to be fraught with difficulty. The various descriptions of what constitutes the ordinary, reasonable person 'when viewed collectively, hardly present a coherent picture of the hypothetical audience that determines what is defamatory' (Baker, 2011, p. 47). The list of characteristics ascribed to such a person is long, and it includes taking into account the possibility that readers may engage in some 'loose thinking'; and that readers are of 'ordinary intelligence, experience and education, who are neither perverse nor morbid nor suspicious of mind, nor avid for scandal (paras 63-64). This approach to determining the question of imputations conveyed has long troubled defamation defendants. It is a major concern when a publication is found to have conveyed an imputation that was not in the publisher's contemplation. Former High Court judge Justice Michael Kirby has advocated dropping the almost ludicrous elaborations of the characteristics of the hypothetical referee with judges and juries being frankly responsible for the decisions they make (Rolph, 2016, p. 100). In *Favell v Queensland Newspapers Pty Ltd 2005*, Kirby J said:

> It would be preferable to drop this fiction altogether. Judges should not hide behind their pretended reliance on the fictitious reasonable recipient of the alleged defamatory material, attributing to such a person the outcome that the judges actually determine for themselves. (para 24)

In the *Hockey v Fairfax Media 2015* case, White J found that the *SMH* poster and two matters published on Twitter by *The Age* with the words 'Treasurer for Sale' and 'Treasurer Hockey for Sale' defamed Hockey but that Hockey's

remaining claims were not established (paras 10-11 and 214). The respondents denied all the imputations (para 7). They acknowledged, however, that if the publications conveyed the claimed meanings they were defamatory. The contest between the parties in respect of the imputations was whether the publications did convey the pleaded imputations (para 62).

The difficulty of determining what imputations are conveyed is well acknowledged. Lord Devlin wrote—'what is the meaning of the words conveyed to the ordinary man—you cannot make a rule about that' (*Lewis v Daily Telegraph 1964*, p. 285). Defamation law's unique approach to language invests the court with the power to proclaim a single meaning to words or phrases complained about. Given that words can reasonably mean different things to different people 'this reductive approach to language contributes to the artificiality of the tort' (Rolph, 2015). Baker, in his discussion of the *realist/moralist* debate afflicting defamation notes:

> Herein lies what for me is the great ambiguity of defamation law: the comparative role of moral and social standards. Put at its simplest the question is this: does defamation depend on what people *do* think, or what they *should* think? Or does it rely on some combination of the two. (2011, p. 10, emphasis in original)

This presents a serious predicament for publishers as it exposes them to the mercy and the idiosyncrasies of the tribunal. Justice Levine once observed that in the law's quest to give claimants a remedy heed must be paid to the 'real world':

> There is a risk that 'real world' will be forgotten when in pursuit of a remedy for the grievance all attention is focused on the artificial construct of the imputation to the exclusion of the published material which conveyed it (*Sutherland v ACP Publishing 2000*, para 20).

What then constitutes the 'real world' and by what measure is the 'real world' determined? How did the court in the *Hockey v Fairfax Media* case address the 'real world' imperative when determining the imputations conveyed? As seen below these answers to these questions were heavily reliant on the judge's own assumptions rather than on evidence pointing to the 'real world'.

Ordinary, reasonable person and assumptions

The ordinary, reasonable person test, which lies at the heart of a defamation inquiry, represents a test by which the court purports to affix imputations to the matter complained about. It does so by resorting to various assumptions, for example, that it is possible to identify with some certainty the hypothetical referee through whose eyes defamation has occurred. The determination

of the harmful imputations thereafter goes on to impact on how the defendant responds. A defendant might be left with having to defend the truth of words not used in the article complained about but from which imputations are said to arise. The process of determining what imputations are conveyed generally requires the suspension of a hallowed feature of a court process—the need for *evidence* in relation to the claims made. The term *evidence* in its ordinary legal sense means '[a]ny object or information, other than legal submissions, which tends to prove or disprove the existence of a fact in issue' (Finkelstein and Hamer, 2015, p. 235). This may be described as the 'strict sense' of the term as it turns on proof. There are three primary forms of evidence: testimony, documents and real evidence; and evidence is also subject to other classifications, that take a looser approach—for example, direct and circumstantial; oral, documentary and real; original and derivative; primary and secondary; expert and lay; sworn and unsworn; and admissible and inadmissible (Finkelstein & Hamer, 2015, p. 235).

The term *evidence* appears 125 times in the judgment, for example, in referring to what the 'evidence indicates' (paras 185, 246, 426, 438, 456 and 469). For example, White J refers to what the evidence indicated when discussing a newspaper staff member's consideration of whether the poster might convey a meaning different from that conveyed by the news articles (para 246). In relation to meaning, however, the rules concerning evidence on meanings are:

> No evidence of recipients' understandings is admissible on natural and ordinary meaning, which is a 'curiosity of defamation law'. Neither dictionary definitions nor readership surveys are admissible…Evidence would usurp the jury function to use the objective test of the ordinary, reasonable recipient. (Kenyon, 2006, p. 26, references omitted).

Thus, when it comes to the determination of the imputations conveyed, the court resorts heavily to assumption, conjecture, the use of imprecise and speculative terms and general arbitrariness. As a result, subjectivity is deliberately injected and methodological rigour is replaced by 'conjecture and iniquity' (Baker & Leslie, 2008, p. 422). For convenience we may collectively describe these as *assumptive terms* as they turn heavily on assumption, conjecture, imprecision, speculation and general arbitrariness. These terms are not grounded in evidence in the sense of being '[a]ny object or information, other than legal submissions, which tends to prove or disprove the existence of a fact in issue' (Finkelstein & Hamer, 2015, p. 235). The use of the assumptive device highlights another paradox in a defamation action—the role of *evidence*, a cornerstone of any trial process. In the present case, evidence was not an alien feature as illustrated by White J's reference to it:

> If the Court may take these matters into account, the parties should be permitted to adduce evidence bearing on them. A defendant, in particular, should be able to put material before a court bearing upon its consideration of the matters enumerated … (para 330).

The next section considers the various assumptive terms used in the *Hockey v Fairfax Media* case with a focus on two such terms—'likely/unlikely' and 'may'.

Court's heavy reliance on conjecture and assumption

A count of the various assumptive terms in the *Hockey v Fairfax Media 2015* case shows the term 'would' was used 194 times, including in the context 'would have' and 'would not have'. Other such assumptive terms are: 'could' (46 times); 'some' (94); 'relatively few' (154); 'many' (29); 'it is possible' (4); 'I think' (7); 'suggests' (8); 'likely/unlikely' (29); and 'may', including twice as 'may possibly' (96). This article examines these latter two terms—'likely/unlikely' and 'may'—in more detail.

Use of the term 'likely/unlikely'

The common dictionary meaning for 'likely' is 'such as well might happen or be true; probable' (Oxford Dictionaries Online). 'Unlikely' is the opposite of 'likely'. It clearly does not mean 'certainly' while the term 'might' in that dictionary definition begs the question whether it also 'might not' although common usage suggests that the meaning leans to the former. The point for present purposes is the looseness of the term and the bearing it can have on the parties' fortunes in a case. The term 'likely' or 'unlikely' is used on 29 occasions in the judgment. Of these 29 occasions the term can be said to have been used in reference to 'meaning' on 15 occasions (paras 67, 89, 115, 120, 123, 131, 141, 151, 154, 168, 208, 478) while the remaining uses do not directly pertain to 'meaning'. An example of when the term is not used directly in relation to 'meaning' is when White J, uses the term to refer to a date when a certain event was 'likely to have' occurred (para 185). An example of the use of the term 'likely'(and 'may', which is discussed in more detail below), to form a view as to the meaning understood by ordinary, reasonable people can be seen in the following:

> Against this background, I consider that some readers *may reasonably have understood* some of the initial passages in the *SMH* printed articles to be stating that Mr Hockey was making improper use of his important office as Treasurer by agreeing to see persons if they made a contribution to his own campaign funds or to the Liberal Party. They are *likely to have understood* from these particular paragraphs that the *SMH* was indicating that Mr Hockey was engaged in a form of corrupt conduct. (para 120, emphasis added)

Thus, the terms are used to draw a conclusion as to what the reader understood. It is not suggested that every such resort to such terms is disadvantageous to the respondent, as can be seen here:

> As with the *SMH*, ordinary reasonable readers are *likely to have understood The Age* to be reporting that Mr Hockey was engaging in a form of commonly accepted political fundraising, although in circumstances involving a number of features which *The Age* considered undesirable. For the reasons given earlier, they are *not likely to have regarded* this form of political fundraising as corrupt. (para 151, emphasis added)

The availability of two contrasting positions illustrated above invests significant discretion in the hands of the court to pick a position that impacts unfavourably on one party or the other. It can turn the process of determining defamatory imputations into a lottery.

Use of the term 'may'

The second term in the judgment for a similar examination as above is 'may'. The term permits a variety of meanings—'expressing possibility, permission, wish, uncertainty' (Godfrey-Smith et al, 1991, p. 487). It is often contrasted with 'shall' (Finkelstein & Hamer, 2015, p. 401). The term is used 96 times in its assumptive sense in the judgment. Of these, on 41 occasions it was used in the course of citing authority, principles, news articles, testimony or submissions. Fourteen of the 96 uses are deemed not relevant for the purposes of the present analysis and are thus excluded. Two examples of such exclusion on the grounds of irrelevance are when the court observed that a certain article '*may* also have been published on the websites' (para 187); and when the court observed that a certain aspect of the hearing '*may* have had the effect of disrupting Mr Hockey's cross-examination' (para 323). These uses clearly do not go directly to the present argument concerning assumptions about imputations. Of primary concern for present purposes are the remaining 41 occasions that can be broadly described as uses when White J expressed his own opinion on a particular point. Of these 41 occasions, the use of 'may' on 34 occasions was closely connected to the question of imputations—in some instances more directly than in others (paras 89, 90, 92, 115, 116, 120, 120, 121, 121, 122, 125, 139, 143, 163, 166, 201, 202, 202, 202, 202 ('may' used twice in the same sentence), 207, 207, 207, 208, 241, 243, 246, 317, 358, 359, 359, 445, 481, 481). It is not suggested here that there is no room at all for using the term in an assumptive sense in a defamation judgment. It is argued, rather, that the use of such an assumptive term would be more acceptable if it entailed a consideration of some form of evidence, whether in the strict sense referred to above, or otherwise.

For illustration purposes, let us consider examples each of the two types of

uses of the assumptive term 'may'. First, the use of the word in the context of determining whether a defamatory imputation was conveyed, where no evidence is provided and where the opinion expressed is akin to a straight out assumption. Three examples of this are provided here, of which one is discussed in detail. First, the judge acknowledged the respondent's submission that the ordinary, reasonable reader would recognise that the poster was not 'telling or purporting to tell them the whole story' (paras 165-166). The judge found that the poster *may* have this effect but that it would be inappropriate to limit the effect in this way (para 166). The judge goes on to hold that the poster '*would have been understood* by ordinary reasonable readers as conveying assertions of fact, in particular, that the *SMH* had carried out an investigation which had revealed matters indicating that Mr Hockey was "for sale"' (para 167). Second, the judge said, '[s]ome *may* read the tweet without going further' than the hyperlink provided (para 207). A third instance of this type of use of the term 'may' is examined next in more detail. White J said:

> *I consider* that *the heightened consciousness*, to which I have just referred is *part of the context* in which *the understanding of the ordinary reasonable reader of the SMH articles is to be assessed because*, *by reason of these events*, the ordinary reasonable reader *may* have been *more ready to understand* the SMH articles as *conveying an imputation of corruption.* (para 92, emphasis added)

This statement bears further examination. Where is the evidence of this 'heightened consciousness'? The judge says he 'referred' to it. That reference apparently occurs two paragraphs earlier where he stated:

> Another relevant circumstance is that the *SMH* articles were published at a time when *it can be taken* that there was a *heightened consciousness* in New South Wales in particular about corruption arising from the receipt of benefits by public officials from persons who may benefit from their decisions. (para 90, emphasis added).

This statement, however, does not provide the requisite evidence of the *heightened consciousness* of a kind that sustains Hockey's claim in defamation. As argued below, the status of the New South Wales corruption watchdog, the Independent Commission Against Corruption, as an arbiter of corrupt behaviour has been in question for some time. The judge, however, assumes that there was a *heightened consciousness* about corruption and proceeds on the basis that 'it can be taken' as such (para 90). He declares this to be another relevant circumstance in the 'ascertainment of the meaning which the *SMH* printed articles conveyed to ordinary reasonable readers' (para 89). An important question arises—why is that 'a

relevant circumstance' in the present context? Could it be because anyone caught up in an ICAC process becomes tainted in the public eye even though they might be blameless? Evidence given at ICAC hearings have been said to impute guilt even though it is not a court of law but 'merely an agency of the executive branch of government' (Merritt, 2015). The ICAC has been likened to 'an unaccountable star chamber in need of reform' and it has been seen as conducting 'show trials for the media' (Albrechtsen, 2014). The Media Alliance has referred to the ICAC as a 'star chamber' (Media Alliance, 2015, p. 46). A former commissioner of the ICAC and former judge of the New South Wales Court of Appeal Jerrold Cripps has said that although the ICAC is not a criminal law enforcement agency, it 'behaves if it were a branch of the police force' (Cripps, 2013). More recently his successor observed in a written report that if the ICAC is to be taken seriously it 'must not be perceived as an institution culturally projecting an almost breathtaking arrogance' (Office of the Inspector of the ICAC, p. 1).

Conclusion

More than a decade ago Justice Kirby advocated 'a different approach' in determining imputations—one that would move 'away from fictions and in the direction of substance and reality' (*Favell v Queensland Newspapers Pty Ltd 2005*, para 26). His Honour said that, however, was 'not the occasion' to explore a new approach (ibid.). The invitation to explore a new approach remains open. As Baker and Leslie stated:

> [W]e should not readily resign ourselves to administering justice on the basis of mere conjecture as to the way people read and respond to the publications they encounter. (2008, p. 445).

The *Hockey v Fairfax Media* case presented an opportunity to reflect the move away from fictions and more squarely acknowledge real world imperatives. Among such imperatives, are the media's growing resort to cross-platform publication; the ability of ordinary, reasonable audiences to recognise social media as a platform for trenchant and often exaggerated exchanges; and the capacity of such audiences to sift fact from the puffery of advertising posters. In accepting that the sparse words in two tweets and a poster—all clearly pointing to detailed articles which themselves were of sound journalistic quality—were sufficient to find in favour of the plaintiff, the court sent chill winds through journalism. Defamation law has long been recognised as a key source of the 'chilling effect' on speech and this effect is more pronounced against a backdrop in which freedom of speech is a residual or secondary liberty – it is what is left over after legislation and the creeping amendments of the common law have taken effect (Magnusson, 2001, p. 297). This is exacerbated by contemporary challenges facing the media:

> At a time when the rivers of gold have disappeared for traditional media, the number of aggressive defamation actions has increased. The judiciary has added to the confusion. (Bartlett, 2015, p. 14)

The *Hockey v Fairfax Media* case construed the imputations conveyed by the poster and tweets in a manner that was unduly unfavourable to the media respondents although in practical terms the outcome was only a pyrrhic victory for the plaintiff. Legislative and judicial lethargy in introducing reform continues to leave the media vulnerable. For publishers, many important lessons arise from the *Hockey v Fairfax Media* case but for present purposes the following six suffice. They are set out here in no particular order and are not necessarily discrete in the concerns that they address. First, the determination of defamatory imputations turns heavily on fortunes akin to a lottery. Much depends on what the hypothetical referee is deemed to make of the matter complained about and the circumstances of individual cases. Publishers must remain alert to the vagaries afflicting the determination of defamatory imputations. Second, publishers must avoid speaking loosely about smoke so as to avoid any suggestion that there is a fire if there is no fire. As noted in *Lewis v Daily Telegraph 1964* it 'can be done' (p. 285). The *Hockey v Fairfax Media* case showed the perils of taking journalistic liberties with tweets, poster texts and banner headlines. As noted above, however, the plaintiff's victory came in spite of the court's recognition of much in Fairfax Media's favour and that the claim 'possibly, may not have involved a trial at all' (*Hockey v Fairfax Media (No 2) 2015*, para 118; Fernandez, 2016, pp. 46–47). Third, while there may be grounds to assume that the law is unable to keep up with regulating non-traditional media platforms or that such platforms enjoy a looser standard, the *Hockey v Fairfax Media* case reminds us that such platforms cannot escape the vortex of liability. Fourth, proof of malice has a debilitating effect on a defamation defence. Defendants should avoid fuelling any basis for such claims when preparing matter for publication. Fifth, while defamation law provides a range of defences the fact that the threshold for suing is set rather low means defendants are susceptible to being dragged to court. That puts an undue burden on prospective defendants. Unless the threshold for suing is raised, for example by placing additional burdens especially on 'public figure' plaintiffs, publishers must proceed with caution. Sixth, defamation law has long suffered a tarnished reputation in publishers' eyes. Reform thus far has gone not much further than tinkering around the edges. At the time of this writing Oxford Dictionaries named the word 'post-truth'—word of the year. It means 'relating to or denoting circumstances in which objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than appeals to emotion and personal belief' (Oxford Dictionaries Online). It has been suggested that 'doublespeak' is a feature of the post-truth world (Fine, 2016). The

post-truth world has the potential to alter the way defamatory imputations are settled but that discussion is for another occasion. For now, the calls for defamation law reform prompted by the *Hockey v Fairfax Media* case must translate into action. Media groups should lead reform initiatives as they are better placed than most to press for reform. And they have more at stake than most.

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Constructing the Other

News media representations of a predominantly 'brown' community in New Zealand

Abstract: Research worldwide finds that indigenous, non-white, immigrant and other marginalised communities are subjected to media coverage that negatively and narrowly stereotypes them in comparison to dominant racial groups. In this article, we explore media representations of a predominantly Pacific and lower socio-economic community in New Zealand. The results contribute to the literature regarding media coverage of minority communities through an analysis of 388 news articles, drawing on Freire's (1996/1970) theory of antidialogical action to consider how power is used to marginalise the predominantly Pacific community of South Auckland. The results demonstrate that South Aucklanders are subjected to stereotypes and negative labelling that reinforce their marginalisation and exclusion from mainstream New Zealand culture.

Keywords: ethnicity, marginalisation, news media, New Zealand, Pacific peoples, Pākehā, representation

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Introduction

IN THIS article, we explore media representations of a predominantly Pacific[1] and lower socio-economic community in New Zealand, through the lens of Paulo Freire's theory of antidialogical action. For Freire (1970/1996), the power imbalance between what he describes as the haves and have-nots is a form of oppressive action that permits domination over, or prejudicial treatment of, one group or individual by another. In Freire's (1970/1996) conceptualisation of power as primarily oppressive, power imbalances are maintained through antidialogical action, which limits dialogue between the empowered and the marginalised and hinders the ability of marginalised groups to recognise or gain consciousness of their oppression. In this case, antidialogical action is revealed in the way the people and community of South Auckland are *represented by* the mainstream media, rather than *dialogued with*. We argue that mainstream media representations of South Auckland reflect antidialogical action in practice—where journalists who

are rarely of Pacific heritage (Archie, 2014; Wilson, 1990), often unconsciously, exercise their positions of power through processes such as *conquest, cultural invasion, marginalisation, manipulation* and *divide and rule* to negatively frame people and events in South Auckland, particularly focusing on crime and violence (see also Borell, 2006; Fepulea'i & Jean, 2009; 'Ofa Kolo, 1990). We found Freire's framework particularly useful because the perspectives and voices of the people of South Auckland are limited in media coverage, thus providing little space to contest dominant discourses about their community and the ethnic minority groups that make up its greatest proportion.

Representing the Other in Aotearoa/New Zealand

In many nations, it is not an exaggeration to argue that 'those who control the media control a society's discourses about itself' (Denzin, 1996, p. 319). We take the position that media discourses are neither transparent nor innocent. Instead, they actively create rather than merely reflect realities, and slowly transform the taken-for-granted ways that we make sense of the world and those who live within it (Hall, 1984; McRobbie, 1997). In the New Zealand context, Spoonley and Butcher (2009) argue that media representations have real effects on how individuals and groups of people are perceived.

Concerns about media stereotyping and marginalisation of non-dominant racial or ethnic communities have a long history, and international researchers find that indigenous, non-white, immigrant and other marginalised communities are subjected to media coverage that negatively and narrowly stereotypes them in comparison to dominant racial groups. Indeed, media theorist Stuart Hall argued that 'people who are in any way significantly different from the majority— "them" rather than "us"—are frequently exposed to [and] seem to be represented through sharply opposed, polarised, binary extremes' (1997, p. 229). New Zealand studies reflect the international results, finding that the media regularly construct Pacific, Māori and Muslim peoples as Other (e.g., Kabir & Bourk, 2012; Kupu Taea, 2008, 2014; Loto, Hodgetts, Chamberlain, Waimarie Nikora, Karapu, & Barnett, 2006; 'Ofa Kolo, 1990; Moewaka Barnes, Borell, Taiapa, Rankine, Nairn, & McCreanor, 2012; Noorzai, 2014). Indeed, researchers claim that despite implicitly 'claiming to speak for all New Zealanders', much mainstream media coverage is produced 'by Pakeha, for Pakeha and about Pakeha' (Cosgrove & Bruce, 2005, p. 340; Moewaka Barnes et al., 2012). Such claims are supported by recent surveys finding that Pākehā dominance of journalism exceeds the proportion of Pākehā in the population as a whole. For example, although 74 percent of New Zealanders identified as Pākehā in the 2013 Census, Pākehā comprised 81-86 percent of all journalists (Journalism, 2014; Hollings, 2007; Hollings, Lealand, Samson & Tilley, 2007; Statistics New Zealand, 2015). Conversely, Pacific people were almost invisible as journalists

(< 2 percent), although they make up 7 percent of the New Zealand population; Māori too were under-represented in journalism at 4-6 percent, despite comprising 15 percent of New Zealand's population (Journalism, 2014; Hollings, 2007; Hollings et al., 2007; Statistics New Zealand, 2015). Thus, it should not be surprising that mainstream New Zealand media coverage represents non-Pākehā ethnicities through a lens that implicitly normalises Pākehā perspectives (Loto et al., 2006; Moewaka Barnes et al., 2012; Spoonley & Trlin, 2004). The result is that white power 'reproduces itself regardless of intention, power differences and goodwill' (Dyer, 1997, p. 9). Such representations constitute a form of antidialogical action, in which non-dominant ethnicities are most often represented in a negative light: Pacific people as 'unmotivated, unhealthy and criminal others' (Loto et al., 2006, p. 100), Māori as under-achievers, involved in conflict, violence or crime, or succeeding due to special treatment (McGregor & Te Awa, 1996; Moewaka Barnes et al., 2012; Nairn, Moewaka Barnes, Borell, Rankine, Gregory, & McCreanor, 2012; Rankine et al., 2014) and Muslims as 'terrorists, backward and challenging "Western ways" of being' (Noorzai, 2014, p. 53). Through the focus on negative attributes of minority groups, the news media reinforce power relations between the empowered and the marginalised (see also Fanon, 1967).

Loto, Hodgetts, Chamberlain, Waimarie Nikora, Karapu and Barnett's (2006) argument that 'ethnic minorities are significantly disadvantaged in mainstream media coverage, which often functions to silence minority voices, while drawing on majority voices to frame issues of relevance for minority groups' (p. 102; also see Noorzai, 2014) is reinforced by the much larger body of research on Māori representation which concludes that mainstream media 'demonstrate an effective marginalisation of Māori stories, and of Māori voices on issues concerning Māori' (Rankine et al., 2014, p. 228) and 'establish a common sense against which Māori views of the world struggle to gain legitimacy' (Hodgetts, Masters & Robertson, 2004, p. 459). Thus, by under-using Pacific, Māori or Muslim voices and perspectives, such coverage provides little evidence of dialogue in which power imbalances in representation can be contested, (Freire, 1996). The lack of genuine representative voices within the news media is a reflection of Freire's position that naming of the world on behalf of others is oppressive.

Media power to influence

Despite increasing public suspicion about knowledge produced by official institutions, including the mainstream media (van Zoonen, 2012), the news media's purportedly objective presentation of information creates a context in which audiences are more likely to view it as a reliable and legitimate source of knowledge about different ethnic and social groups (Maharey, 1990; Spoonley, 1990). For Couldry (2000), it is the individual's belief in media authority, to tell the truth,

which gives the media influence over our lives. This belief is further naturalised via the media's tendency to repeatedly present a particular view, a process by which certain discourses become increasingly naturalised as truth (Connell, 2008; Cruz & Lewis, 1994; Hall, 1997; Helsby, Ashbury, Cassey, Ramey, & Turner, 2005). The process of naturalisation is an expression of power:

> Power, it seems, has to be understood here not only in terms of economic exploitation and physical coercion, but also in broader cultural or symbolic terms, including the power to represent someone or something in a certain way—within a certain 'regime of representation'. (Hall, 2013b, p. 249)

Such regimes of representation, constructed from the perspectives of dominant cultural groups, not only influence people's beliefs but can reinforce and widen power imbalances with damaging consequences for those who are misrepresented or narrowly stereotyped (Couldry, 2000). As Richardson (1990) argues,

> At the individual level, people make sense of their lives through the stories that are available to them, and they attempt to fit their lives into the available stories. …If the available narrative is limiting, destructive, or at odds with the actual life, people's lives end up being limited and textually disenfranchised. (p. 26)

Contextualising South Auckland

It must be understood that South Auckland is a complex term with multiple meanings. However, despite there being a wide range of definitions, there seems little doubt that South Auckland exists as an imagined community (Anderson, 1991) in official, popular and media contexts.

Geographically, defining the boundaries of South Auckland is challenging because it represents a cluster of suburbs rather than a definable land area and its boundaries are dependent on which institution or organisation is defining it. Broadly speaking, South Auckland is a sub-region of New Zealand's largest city, Auckland; other sub-regions include West Auckland, Central Auckland, East Auckland and the North Shore. Although South Auckland has no official status, we adopt the Auckland Council's (2014) definition as the suburbs that are geographically positioned to the south of Auckland's central business district, comprising four Auckland Council Local Board areas that encompass seven main suburbs (Mangere, Otahuhu, Manukau, Manurewa, Papakura, Otara and Papatoetoe) that are home to 274,500 (19 percent) of the 1,415,550 people living in Auckland (see darker area in Figure 1).

In contrast, the 62 percent of media coverage that named a specific place in South Auckland included a much wider range of suburbs (29), many of which are not geographically clustered but spread across the wider Auckland area (see

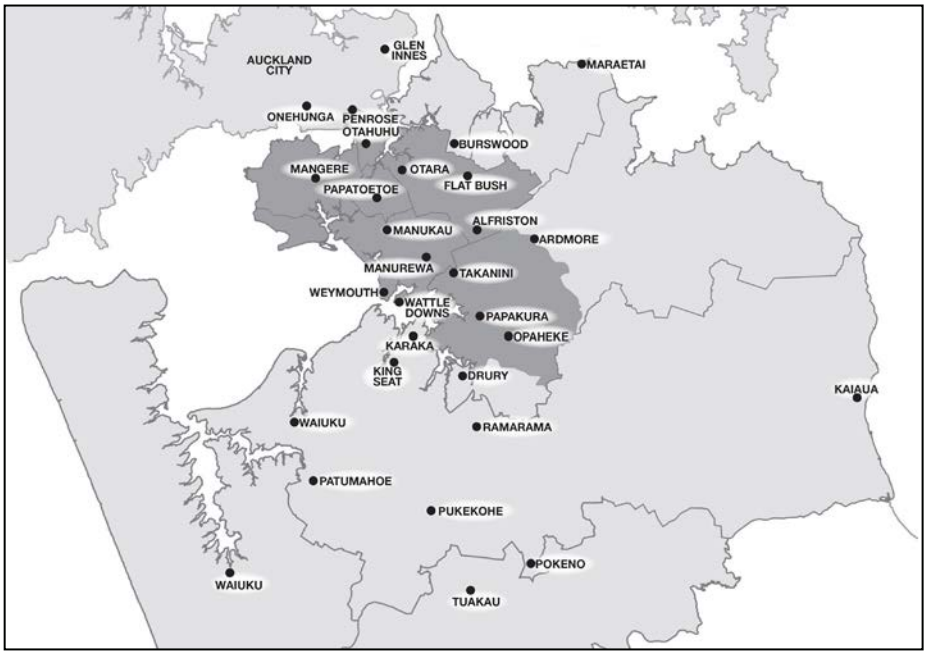
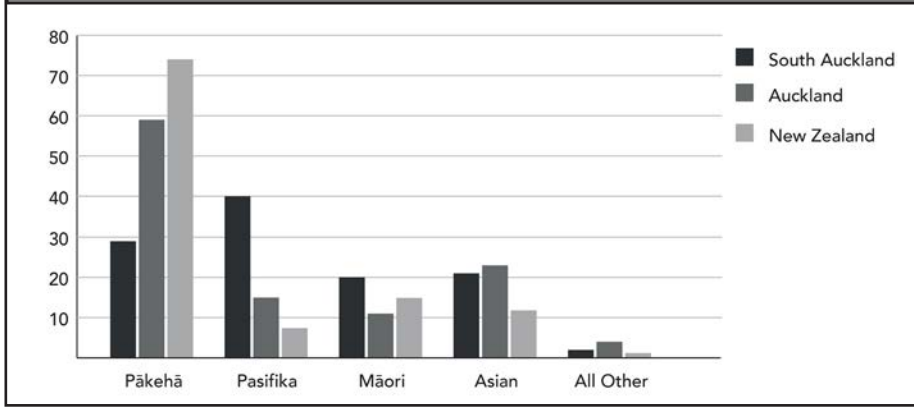


Figure 1: Commonly accepted (darker shade) and news media boundaries of South Auckland.

light grey areas in Figure 1). This more dispersed South Auckland provides evidence of the media's power to flexibly define the boundaries of this imagined community (Anderson, 1991).

South Auckland has an ethnic makeup substantially different from New Zealand as a whole (see Figure 2). Culturally, Auckland is widely regarded as the world's largest Pacific city and has the largest concentration of Pacific peoples. Indeed almost 66 percent of the Pacific population is based in Auckland (Statistics New Zealand, 2014), more than half of whom (52 percent) live in South Auckland. Pacific people are the largest South Auckland ethnic group, and census data shows that their proportion of the South Auckland population (40 percent) is well above their proportion in Auckland (15 percent) or New Zealand overall (7 percent). Following waves of purposeful immigration in the 1950s and 1960s in search of higher-paying jobs and a better life (Fairbairn-Dunlop & Makisi, 2003; Macpherson, Spoonley & Anae, 2001), almost two-thirds of Pacific people are now New Zealand-born (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). A similar trend is clear for Māori who are over-represented in South Auckland (at 20 percent) compared to Auckland (11 percent) or New Zealand as a whole (15 percent) (see Figure 2). Those who identify with Asian or Other ethnicities are most over-represented in Auckland (23 percent and 4 percent), then in South Auckland (21 percent and 2 percent), compared with their proportion of the New Zealand population (11.8 percent and 1.2 percent respectively) (Statistics New Zealand, 2015). In stark

Figure 2: Percentage of population by ethnicity, 2013 census



Source: Statistics New Zealand, 2014

contrast, the proportion of Pākehā living in South Auckland (29 percent) is well below their proportion in Auckland (59 percent) or New Zealand as a whole (74 percent), where people who identify as Pākehā remain by far the largest ethnic group (Statistics New Zealand 2014).

The cultural positioning of Pacific people has changed over time, from their initial acceptance as valuable migrant workers in the 1950s and 1960s who were allowed to remain or *overstay* in New Zealand, working under visitors' permits, even when these permits had expired (Fepulea'i & Jean, 2009). When the economy slowed down, the government turned its back on the migrant workers and set up police teams whose purpose was to find and deport overstayers (Fepulea'i & Jean, 2009). However, although the majority of overstayers were from Europe and North America, police focused on the one-third of overstayers from the Pacific, entering homes early in the mornings to demand proof of residency—an action that became known as the Dawn Raids (Fepulea'i & Jean, 2009; Spoonley, 2012). However, despite comprising only one-third of overstayers, 86 percent of prosecutions for overstaying were from the Pacific (Spoonley, 2012; Misa, 2010). In addition, white privilege was evident in the way that European and North American overstayers were seldom included in the national media conversation regarding overstayers. The selective focus on Pacific overstayers fragmented parts of the Pacific community, as many who were New Zealand residents turned on their overstaying friends, reported overstaying family members to police or resorted to secrecy to ensure overstaying individuals could stay (Fepulea'i & Jean, 2009). The Dawn Raids are an example of Freire's (1996) *marginalisation* and *divide and rule* strategies, in that Pacific people were disproportionately targeted through government policy. More than 30 years later, South Auckland is still haunted by the ensuing discourse of Pacific people as criminal, dangerous and unemployed (Borell, 2006). As a

result, South Auckland has become identified in the popular imagination as a 'brown' place—a high risk, tough area of crime, poverty and violence, where dysfunction, disorder and gangs are commonplace (Borell, 2006; Fitzpatrick, 2013; Nakhid, Tanielu & Collins, 2009). This marking of difference within the news media alienates and stigmatises the people in South Auckland, resulting in the community being marginalised and separated from wider society. In contrast, people living in South Auckland have identified many positives to living in the community, including a strong sense of belonging and safety (Nakhid, 2012; Nakhid, Tanielu & Collins, 2009). These conflicting perspectives reinforce Jhally and Hall's (1997) argument that noting what is missing from media coverage is just as important as noting what is present, due to the news media's power to naturalise particular realities (Couldry, 2000).

Analysing mainstream media representations

To investigate how the news media were representing South Auckland, the first author conducted a content and textual analysis of media coverage, beginning with a preliminary search in July 2014, using the search term 'South Auckland', on four major news websites. These included the two most-visited newspaper sites—Fairfax aggregator, Stuff.co.nz (1.7 million unique monthly visitors) and *The New Zealand Herald*, nzherald.co.nz (1.3 million) (Riddiford, 2015)—and two television news stations—One News and 3 News, that attract higher average viewer ratings than alternative televised news options (Fyers, 2015). The search generated over 600,000 results, ranging from 490,000 on Stuff to 'approximately 1000' for the *Herald*. As different sites organised stories differently (some chronological and some not), a manageable sample was constructed by limiting analysis to the first 10 pages or 100 articles from each source. This approach resulted in 388 articles (including 205 images) after duplicates were eliminated: *Herald* (100), Stuff (93), One News (99) and 3News (96).

The primary methods were content and textual analysis. Content analysis provides a way of counting and identifying common themes, concepts, language and structures (Bruce, Hovden & Markula, 2010). Major categories for analysis were derived from other New Zealand studies of representations of ethnicity, immigrant and other forms of marginalised identities (e.g., Bruce & Scott-Chapman, 2010; Hodgetts et al., 2004; Loto et al., 2006; Meijer, 2013; Noorzai, 2014; Spoonley & Butcher, 2009). Key patterns from the content analysis were then explored in more depth through textual analysis of 35 newspaper articles of two significant events, treating the media texts as 'material traces' of how journalists make sense of the world (McKee, 2003, p. 15). The first was an armed robbery in which two pawn shop workers were shot and killed (Dougan, 2014). The second involved two separate school stabbings on the same day (Ryan, 2014; Smith, 2014). The analysis focused on the language used to describe South Auckland,

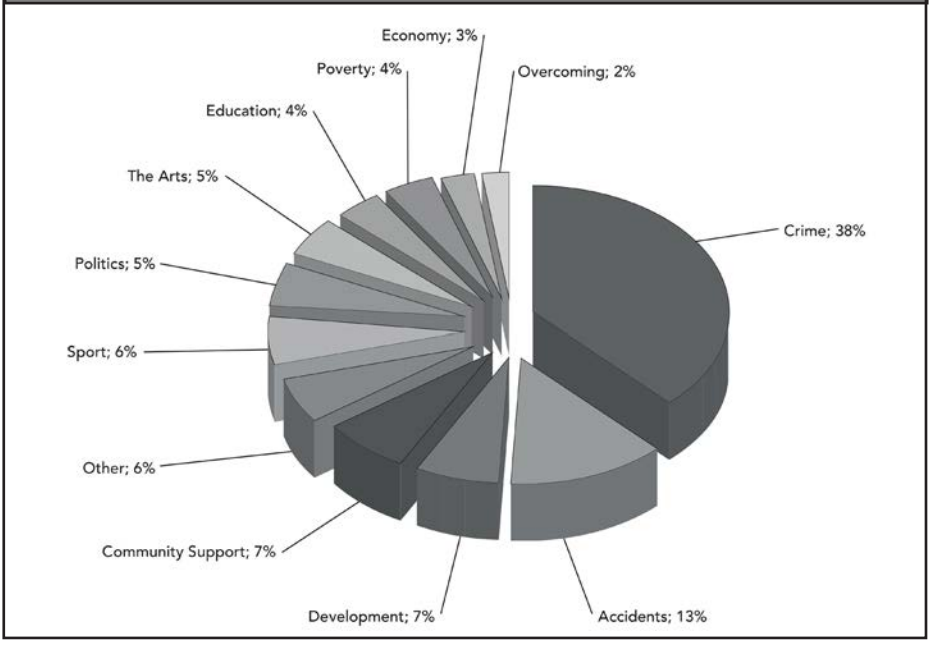
the perpetrators and victims, and the incident and reactions to it, as a way of uncovering media discourses and connecting them to the wider sociocultural context (Hall, 1997; McKee, 2003).

Freire views the oppressor/oppressed relationship as the physical, spiritual and mental domination of one group or individual over the other, which results in the group and/or individual feeling, and sometimes believing, they are less human. While Freire's theory was concerned with the pedagogy of education, his larger theoretical concepts regarding the process and applications of power can and have been recontextualised to encompass a range of research fields. As Higgins (1982) states, 'His theory of education is not confined to classroom interactions but embraces the hearts and minds of the people so that they can "change their world"' (p. 88). Therefore, we adopt Freire's theory of antidialogical action in this project to gain a deeper understanding of how media power contributes to patterns of representation of South Auckland. We present the results through the lens of four key elements of Freire's antidialogical action. Briefly, *conquest* removes the rights of the marginalised to name their world, leaving the marginalised voiceless, while *cultural invasion* involves the imposition of the dominant group's 'own view of the world' (Freire, 1996, p. 133). *Divide and rule* is defined by Freire as alienation being used as a dimension to prevent unity among the oppressed or marginalised, and *manipulation* is concerned with the way those in power use persuasive measures to gain conformity to their ideological views, such as the emphasis on economic accumulation as a measure of success (O'Connor, 2014); manipulation works to blame individuals and ignores structural aspects that can effect personal achievement such as social class, privilege and race (Fitzpatrick, 2013). In the remainder of the article, we weave together the results of the media analysis, theory and existing literature to demonstrate how media representations act as a form of what Freire called a 'crafty instrument for the domination of one person by another' (1996, p. 70). We argue that media representation of South Auckland and its peoples through 'unexamined Pākehā assumptions concerning what is "real" and what counts as legitimate knowledge' (Hodgetts et al., 2004, p. 459) is a form of antidialogical action that results in the framing of South Auckland as a place of Otherness.

Naming the Other: South Auckland as a place of crime and violence

Overall, the media analysis reinforced existing popular, research and government understandings of South Auckland, marking it as a place of difference that does not reflect the cultural norms of mainstream (Pākehā) New Zealand society. Media coverage of South Auckland incorporated diverse topics (see Figure 3) including development of buildings, housing and infrastructure, community support, sport, politics, the arts, education and the economy. However, it marked South Auckland primarily as a place of crime and danger, with more

Figure 3: Topics covered in news coverage of South Auckland



than half the articles focusing on either crime (38 percent) or accidents (13 percent). Although the focus on crime may reflect a trend of crime news increasing as a proportion of hard news in New Zealand newspapers (McGregor, 2002), it is disproportionately higher than the 19.3 percent McGregor (2002) identified, and exceeds even the highest level reported in an international meta-analysis of crime reporting (1.6 percent to 33.5 percent) (Wardle, 2008). Instead, it appears more representative of a recent large-scale content analysis that found high levels of crime reporting in relation to Māori (McCreanor et al., 2014; Rankine et al., 2014), a finding reinforced by other research that finds when media cover Māori, the focus is bad news (McGregor & Comrie, 2002; Walker, 2002). 'Ofa Kolo (1990) also identified a process by which mainstream media sensationalised and misrepresented crime by Pacific peoples, blowing it 'out of all proportion' (p. 121) and strengthening the popular image of Pacific Island-dominated suburbs as unsafe.

Thus, by reporting crime in South Auckland (and incorporating crime in other Pākehā-dominated areas in this representation), the media marked difference and sent the message that South Auckland, with its large non-Pākehā population, was a dangerous place. This construction was particularly apparent in headlines, such as *Armourguard cash transit van held up at gunpoint* (APNZ, 2014b), *Pawn shop killings* (Dougan, 2014), *Two stabbing incidents in South Auckland* (Ryan, 2014), *Man fighting for life after South Auckland assault* (APNZ, 2014a),

and *South Auckland hit by most burglaries* (Kidd, 2014b). An example of the media's power to flexibly define South Auckland while articulating it to crime and violence appeared in an article headlined *Bottle of spirits smashed over store employee's head* (APNZ, 2014c). This article used a South Auckland identifier despite the incident taking place in East Auckland (Howick Local Board), an area whose population is predominantly Pākehā (55 percent) and Asian (39 percent), with less than 5 percent Pacific peoples (Statistics New Zealand, 2015). This marking of difference by the media demonstrates the media's power to *speak for,* name and associate South Auckland with violence and crime, even when the violence takes place in a primarily Pākehā suburb. It thus dissociates violence from the dominant ethnic group and articulates it to 'brown' communities of Pacific and Māori peoples, which is likely to influence how people understand South Auckland. As Hall (2013b) states, 'we can't help reading images of this kind of "saying something", not just about the people or the occasion, but about their "otherness", their "difference"' (p. 219).

South Auckland was also constructed as a place of *extreme* violence in coverage of two stabbing incidents at or near schools (Ryan, 2014), which included 24 articles, 16 images and five videos. In this example, the violence was represented as extreme in comparison to other areas of Auckland and New Zealand. For example, Boyer (2014) reported, 'for millennia kids have had fights…but stabbing people isn't normative' (para. 22). Reinforcing the headlines and text, three-quarters of the images involved emergency services, including ambulances and police setting up a sharp contrast between normalised perceptions of schools as safe spaces and South Auckland schools as places of danger. Such contrasts play an important role in how we read or understand images represented in the media (Hall, 2013b). Comments reported in the articles also emphasised the otherness of South Auckland violence: such as 'I'm in shock by what's happened, that a child has been stabbed while at school' (Ryan, 2014, para. 37), and 'most of us do not accept that the allegations of weapons would be a part of a schoolboy fight' (Boyer, 2014, para. 19). Further, the textual analysis revealed that low socioeconomic status and high numbers of young people were seen by health professionals as contributing factors to such incidents. For example, Boyer (2014) quoted an unnamed child psychologist as stating:

> I think it frightens anybody when you hear of young children in a situation where allegedly there is a weapon being used, but that's symptomatic of a community that has a high proportion of young people in it…*Obviously* [emphasis added] you are talking about deprivation, family difficulties all the things that you associate with poor outcomes for kids. (para. 23)

In this example, the use of such images and quotes, and an emphasis on violence in language (167 mentions of variations of stab, fight, violent, attack, serious,

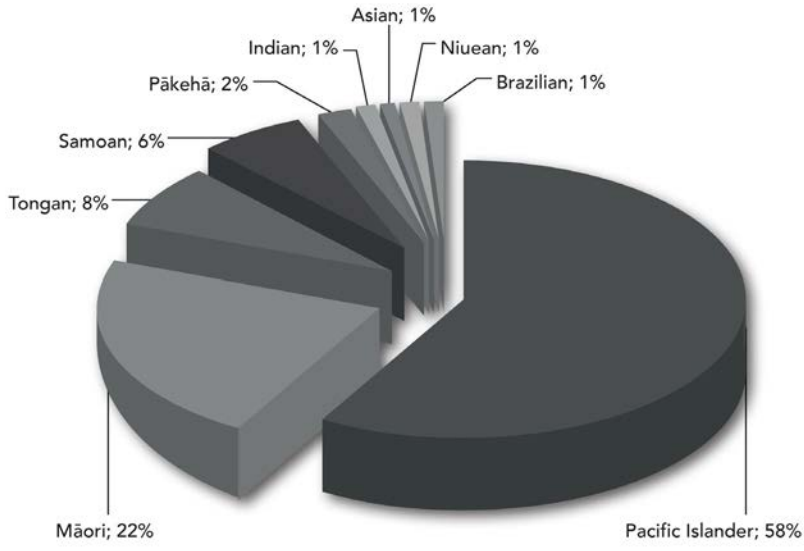
weapon, assault and wound) implicitly normalises South Auckland in violent and non-normative terms.

In contrast to the emphasis on crime and difference, only 20 percent of articles took an encouraging or uplifting approach. For example, South Auckland was represented as a place with many musically talented individuals: 'Forget X Factor, on the streets of South Auckland you can bump into the next big Kiwi star on the bus or in The Warehouse' (Day 2013, para. 1). Day further reiterated this point writing that, 'the exploration of South Auckland revealed hidden talents on every corner' (2013, para. 4). Other representative headlines included: *Apiata steps up for Big Buddy plan* (Mason & Tapaleao, 2014), *South Auckland a 'safe place'* (Manukau Courier, 2008) and *South Auckland boy's honesty rewarded* (Davis, 2010). However, closer examination identified 'sharply opposed…binary extremes' (Hall, 2013b, p. 219), that juxtaposed encouraging and uplifting aspects of the community with negative aspects. For example, '"We are strong. We are a safe city." That's the message from city leaders and police to Manukau residents reeling after three killings in nine days' (*Manukau Courier*, 2008, para. 1). Thus, the initial representation of South Auckland as a safe place was reconstructed, by reminding readers of three killings that occurred in the area within nine days. In this way, the news media demonstrated the power to frame articles according to the dominant view of South Auckland as being a place of danger rather than safety. Another example appeared in a story about a young man honored with an award, headlined *Martial arts saves street kid* (Tapaleao, 2014), that began with the sentence 'When you are surrounded by people fixated on drugs, alcohol and violence, there are only two things you can do—join them, or turn away' (para. 1) and included other statements such as 'hanging out on the streets…and getting up to no good was the norm' (para. 6). Freire (1996) would view the use of such binaries as a form of manipulation that reinforces dominant Western ideologies. In media representations of South Auckland, such manipulation reinforces it as a dangerous and non-normative space. This in turn results in further marginalisation and exclusion for those who live there.

Difference was also constructed through the marking of ethnic difference. Existing research shows that ethnic minorities are often represented within the New Zealand news media in ways that prioritise negative aspects (Hodgetts et al., 2004; Spoonley & Trlin, 2004; Walker, 2002), such as representing Pacific peoples and Māori as violent, criminal, others ('Ofa Kolo, 1990; Nairn et al., 2012; Walker, 2002). Such associations are often connected through the use of *ethnic tagging* which explicitly identifies the ethnicity or ethnicities of the individuals involved in news reports (Loto et al., 2006). Although ethnic tagging was explicit in the text of only 18 percent of articles (95 mentions), Pacific people were by far the most tagged, being identified in 73 percent of the explicitly tagged coverage (58 percent Pacific Islander, 8 percent Tongan, 6 perecent Samoan, 1 percent Niuean),

followed by Māori (22 percent), which reinforces South Auckland as a brown place (see Figure 4). The dominant New Zealand ethnicity, Pākehā, was mentioned in only one article (2 percent), with similarly limited identification of South Auckland residents of Indian, Asian, Niuean or Brazilian heritage (1 percent each).
Reinforcing the association between brownness and crime, ethnic tagging was

Figure 4: Ethnic tagging in the text of articles



most common in crime stories (38 tags), and Pacific people were overwhelmingly tagged in these stories (84 percent of tags), followed by Māori (13 percent) and Indian (3 percent). Further, the way in which brownness is generalised was visible in media reporting on crime, such as 'police are appealing for sightings of a Māori or Pacific Island man aged in his 20s' (Weekes, 2014, para. 12), 'The man who robbed the store is described as male, of Māori or Polynesian descent' (Beswick, 2013, para. 8), and 'The person is described as a Māori or Polynesian of medium build and height with bushy afro-type hair tied back' (Kidd, 2014a, para. 7). This kind of coverage can influence racist attitudes towards Māori and Pacific people for, as Hook (2009) states, 'there is a perception held by the general public that Māori and Pacific Islanders are responsible for most of the crimes perpetrated on the streets of New Zealand' (p. 3). Use of racial profiling and ethnic tagging works by describing and defining a group of people, to the point that particular images of these groups will result in fixed definitions of who they are (Loto et al., 2006 Jhally & Hall, 1997). The linking of certain ethnicities with crime and violence is a manifestation of the power the news media has to name and frame minority groups (Couldry, 2000;

Gabriel, 1998; Loto et al., 2006; Spoonley & Trlin, 2004). Thus, the salience of Pacific Island ethnicities within news media reporting of crime helps create powerful negative associations that contribute to the creation of simplistic stereotypes of Pacific people. For, as Jhally and Hall (1997) argue, 'what we know about the world is how we see it represented' (p. 20). Hence, what we see in news media regarding Pacific people and South Auckland becomes what we know about them, to a point where 'whenever you see *those people* [emphasis added], you will assume that they have *those characteristics* [emphasis added]' (Jhally & Hall, 1997, p. 19). Although ethnic tagging of minorities was used in 5 percent of articles that presented positive aspects such as overcoming hardships, these stories were overshadowed by more negative discourses.

Although ethnicity was not explicitly named in many articles, it was evident in 56 percent of images. Accepting the problematic nature of defining ethnicity on the basis of images alone, it initially appeared that ethnicity in images showed a different pattern, with a relatively even spread of brown (48 percent) and white (50 percent) ethnicities across the 90 images. However, further analysis revealed that white ethnic tagging was connected to culturally powerful positions that uphold law and order (such as police or government representatives) or as victims, while brown ethnic tagging tended to reinforce the stereotypical image of South Auckland as a poor, criminal area (through images of perpetrators or people living in the area where crime took place). For example, in several crime-related articles, Pākehā police were presented as protecting and or resolving issues in South Auckland, which carries the implication that Pākehā Police are needed to bring order to the abnormal neighbourhoods of 'brown' South Auckland. Thus, whether in written or visual form, ethnic tagging appears part of a process of *othering*, as part of 'racialised discourse … structured by a set of binary oppositions. …the powerful opposition between "civilisation" (white) and "savagery" (black)' (Hall, 1997, p. 243). Clearly, when ethnic tagging was used, it highlighted non-dominant ethnicities and/or association of those ethnicities with crime. This finding supports 'Ofa Kolo's (1990) argument that 'ethnic tagging is a major feature in media reports only when the subjects of those reports are not members of the majority culture' (p. 121). It also reinforces Fiske's (1993) argument that the power of the majority lies in its ability not to be named. Despite 29 percent of people in South Auckland identifying as Pākehā, the failure to identify their ethnicity (or visually presenting their ethnicity primarily in images as police or government officials who may or may not live in the area) is another form of marking South Auckland as a place where only *brown, criminal, others* live.

A final form of oppression is the denial of voice. The news media select who gets to speak, especially regarding minority issues, and the content analysis showed how rarely members of the South Auckland community were quoted regarding issues in their community. The most privileged voices were those

who held power, such as the Police, lawyers, judges, and government or council representatives, who comprised 37 percent of all sources. In contrast, only 15 percent of community leaders(2) were quoted. Members of the public comprised 20 percent of the quoted sources, often as bystanders and witnesses to events. Featured individuals (21 percent of sources) also included people in power such as business leaders, as well as sport stars. However, through the overall lack of representation of South Auckland voice within the news media, South Aucklanders are denied the ability to speak back or challenge what is said. The lack of ability to speak back or challenge the representation of South Auckland is seen by Freire (1996) as an example of conquest, where minorities' rights to define, name or speak are taken away. The lack of South Auckland voice in news coverage results in the news media's representation of South Auckland being left unchallenged. This is why Freire views dialogue as such as an important aspect of liberation; in order to change the way society works we need to be able to participate in true and honest conversations, involving reflection and action, not mere 'verbalism' (p. 68).

Conclusions

We conclude that Freire's (1996) antidialogical action is evident in the way that that the media localises, segregates and sets South Auckland apart from the rest of Auckland and New Zealand, through highlighting issues of crime and violence, associating brownness with non-normative behaviour and limiting the ability of the people of South Auckland to publicly define their lives and experiences. Freire advocated for the need for dialogue to occur between those in positions of power and the marginalised. He argued that dialogue "must not be a situation where some name on behalf of others. It is an act of creation; it must not serve as a crafty instrument for the domination of one person by another" (Freire, 1996, p. 70). However, we suggest that, intentionally or not, news media coverage of South Auckland becomes a 'crafty instrument for domination' through perpetuating and reinforcing understandings of South Auckland as brown and abnormal, thus creating boundaries between it and other parts of Auckland and New Zealand society more broadly. For Wetherell and Potter (1992) 'power develops through "normalisation", through defining what is usual and habitual and to be expected, as opposed to the deviant and exceptional' (p. 84). The media analysis revealed that Pacific people and the wider area of South Auckland are normalised as different and inferior in comparison to Pākehā cultural norms.

Through holding a privileged position as definers of reality, journalists represent aspects of society that they deem to be important and in line with their ideological beliefs. Perhaps because the majority of journalists are Pākehā, we should not be surprised that representations of other ethnicities reflect dominant

understandings of ethnic difference, thus framing South Auckland as Other. Media representations of South Auckland marked it primarily as a place of violence and crime (although it is not only this). These negative aspects were often linked to ethnicity through the use of ethnic tagging which in New Zealand is frequently used as a way of privileging Pākehā norms and silencing minority voices (Loto et al., 2006).

We include ourselves among the many researchers that McKee (2003) describes as wanting 'to change the kinds of texts that are published, particularly by journalists in newspapers and in television news, wishing for texts which are less racist, less sexist, less homophobic, less capitalist, for example' (p. 53). However, we conclude on the basis of this analysis that South Auckland is viewed as other, a place that has been compared, categorised, judged to be culturally different and thus segregated and excluded. This process of othering has been used in order to compare minority groups to that of the majority, in line with dominant ideologies that focus on Pākehā cultural superiority while viewing minority issues or cultural norms as abnormal and inferior. Thus, if we truly seek change, we must encourage real dialogue between the producers of news and the people of South Auckland, in order to challenge, disrupt and reconceptualise Pacific people and other minority groups as part of the mainstream.

Notes

1. A term commonly used in New Zealand to identify ethnicities that are indigenous to the Pacific Islands. The largest groups comprise those whose heritage is Samoan (48.7 percent of Pacific people in New Zealand), Cook Islands Māori (20.9 percent), Tongan (20.4 percent) or Niuean (8.1 percent) (Statistics New Zealand, 2014).
2. Community leaders refer to people who are held in high regard in the community but are not part of the government or council.

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Citizen news podcasts and engaging journalism

The formation of a counter-public sphere in South Korea

Abstract: This study examines what roles citizen news podcasts of South Korea play, based on two unique concepts—*carnivalism* and *engaging journalism*. To this end, the current study content analysed the content of 11 citizen news podcasts that are most popular in this country and conducted interviews with 10 professional journalists. The findings reveal that through the use of comedic techniques such as humour, parody, and satire, the discourse of citizen podcasts transgresses existing social and cultural hierarchies and subverts a range of authoritative discourses by mainstream media. The analysis also finds that the discourse in citizen news podcasts takes on the nature of *engaging journalism*, which motivates ordinary individuals who are left largely disillusioned from mainstream journalism to engage in elite-challenging political action. Professional journalists admitted that citizen news podcasts provide an opportunity to re-evaluate the journalism norms and practices of South Korea.

Keywords: carnivalism, citizen podcasts, counter-public sphere, engaging journalism, public sphere, South Korea

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PODCASTING has largely leveled off today in South Korea (hereafter Korea). Since the introduction of podcasting in early 2011 in Korea, more than 4,000 podcasts are created and consumed each week (So, 2014). One notable trend is that podcasting is widely used for journalism by ordinary citizens who want to deliver and discuss topics of their own choice (Park, 2015). In other words, citizen-created podcasts focusing on current affairs, politics, or news attract a significant portion of news users of this country (Park, 2016). Almost every week, citizen news podcasts rank among the 'top 10 popular podcasts' (Podbbang, 2016).

Citizen news podcasts are increasingly becoming an alternative medium in Korea. Many citizen podcasts play a role in directing public attention to socio-

political issues that were neglected by mainstream media (Lee et al., 2012; Yoo, 2011). Lampooning former President Lee Myung-bak (2008–2012) and raising criticisms again ruling elites, *Naneun Ggomsuda* (*Naggomsu*, meaning 'I am a Petty-Minded Creep') was a cult among young people while the show was running in 2011 and 2012. This podcast received the 2011 Democratic Media Award from the Korean Federation of Press Unions. For those reasons, many media scholars and political pundits argue that citizen news podcasts are gaining importance as an alternative journalism channel (Cho& Hong 2013; Kim, 2011; Koo, Chung, & Kim, 2015), functioning as a counterforce against the juggernaut of mainstream media (Cheon & Chang, 2011; Na, 2011).

Against this backdrop, the current study examines the nature of an emerging form of journalism shaped by citizen news podcasts in Korea. The present research particularly pays attention to how citizen news podcasts serve both those who are enthusiastic about information seeking and those who have felt being excluded from the public sphere mainly driven by mainstream media. To this end, the present research draws on the concept of *carnvalism*, which is defined as a new participatory culture in which ordinary individuals use humor, satire, and parody to express their thoughts and resist the dominant power (Bakhtin, 1984a). This paper then suggests *engaging journalism* as a crucial nature of the citizen news podcasts of Korea.

Literature review

Media landscape and the public sphere of South Korea

More than four decades after the Korean War in the 1950s, Korean mass media have been under heavy control by authoritarian regimes, sometimes functioning as a government mouthpiece. In 1987, the general public of Korea protested massively against the ruling bloc, asking for democracy (Kim, 2000). Responding to the protests, the government loosened the control of mass media, but not completely. The government still maintained direct and indirect influence over two major broadcasters, KBS and MBC. This situation remains the same today. Unlike broadcasters, major newspapers gradually increased their autonomy. Particularly, three major newspapers (*Chosun*, *Joongang*, and *Donga Daily*) transformed themselves into self-declared political institutions. For instance, they directly and indirectly intervened in major election campaigns (Kang, 2005).

The mainstream media of Korea expanded their market share through close connection with the political power (Kang, 2005; Kim, 2010). The top three newspapers occupy about 60 percent of the newspaper market of Korea. The two major TV networks are extremely influential in the broadcast market. With a lack of fair competition and explicit support from the political power, those big

media in Korea have prospered even with manipulative and biased news reporting (Kim, 2010; Park, 2015). For this reason, the mainstream media of Korea have long been criticized for being slanted toward conservatism, unfair reporting, and manipulation of public opinion (Chang, 2008; Kim, 2005; Lee, 2011).

Since the late 1990s, the internet has created a breathing room for different and anti-government voices. Many internet and smartphone users started making alternative media as a tool of free expression of opinions with the goal of creating a new public sphere outside mainstream media (Lee, 2012; Park, 2013). The internet has allowed anonymously scattered citizens to mobilise each other against the big media. Through online cafés and social networking sites, Korean citizens have disseminated information, initiated public discussions, and organized collective action (Hsu et al., 2013). But the cyberspace had to suffer from the censorship by the government's legal and administrative actions (Park, 2015).

In this situation, critical citizens sought for another new media channel that can represent their voice (Park, 2013). Podcasts appeared at this moment. Citizens noticed two major merits from podcasting. First, podcasting was relatively free from regulations. Podcasts as a new medium were not subject to the same KCC (Korea Communications Commission) regulation as traditional broadcasters. Podcasting is still unregulated by KCC although the government is preparing a regulation bill. Some citizen podcasters used foreign servers to circumvent any possible intervention or censorship by the Korean government (Baek, 2012). Second, the cost of content creation and delivery is very low in podcasting (Menduni, 2007). With a simple recording set and a small room, anyone can make a podcast and upload it to iTunes or YouTube. As a result, ordinary individuals have enthusiastically introduced their podcast shows and used them as a new conduit of information and expression (Park, 2015).

Citizen podcasts have hooked many Koreans, young and old, as they provide critical information and opinions on the dark realities of modern-day Korea. A lot of citizen podcasts specialise in satire and parody of political elites and practice investigative journalism to uncover the government's missteps and politicians' wrongdoings (Jo, 2015). Thereby, citizen podcasts play the role that traditional mass media failed to do, delivering the messages that people should know to become informed citizens. Citizen podcasts also focus on broadcasting the views of ordinary citizens, instead of the established classes. As a result, citizen podcasts have gained explosive support from the general public. According to a survey in 2012, the reliability of *Naggomsu* was 40 percent, more than double the 17.2 percent of the three major newspapers (Lee, 2012). The popularity of citizen news podcasts reflects a widespread belief that the mainstream media in this country serve the ruling elites and their own interests at the expense of 'truth' (Kim, Lee & Park, 2016).

The recent changes in Korean media landscape can be theoretically explained

by the concepts of the *public sphere* and *counter-public sphere*. According to Habermas (1996), the public sphere refers to an area in social life where individuals can come together to freely discuss and identify social problems, and through that discussion influence political action. The notion of the public sphere assumes significance with regard to the role of mass media as an agenda setter and a watchdog of political power. But when mass media do not play the proper roles of journalism and audiences are excluded by largely elitist and inaccessible media systems, people get frustrated and do not trust mass media any longer. In such a situation, individual citizens start to create methods to express their voices and seek new media that reflect their opinions. The increased prevalence of internet-based and wireless technologies has enabled an unprecedented level of creation of media content by ordinary citizens. As Korean citizens have felt marginalised from the public sphere provided by mass media, the need of an alternative form of journalism has become stronger.

Through blogs, video-sharing and other forms of participatory publishing, citizens are able to set social agendas themselves, subverting the traditional model of the press as the primary arbiters of the public agenda. New media allow for the circumvention of traditional mass media control (Bowman & Willis, 2003; Hartley, 2005; Livingstone, 1999). Citizen journalism can, therefore, be viewed as a direct response to lapses in the performance of the traditional mass media role in the public sphere.

Citizen journalism forms a counter public sphere that seeks to challenge the dominant public sphere of a society beyond mere independence from it (Downey & Fenton, 2003; Kluge &Negt, 2016). The notion of the *counter-public sphere* helps us better understand the increasingly important role of citizen journalism today. A counter-public sphere resists dominant communications, offering citizens forms of solidarity that are grounded in a collective experience of marginalisation and expropriation (Downey & Fenton, 2003). Citizen podcasts in Korea permit ordinary individuals to construct an inexpensive virtual counter-public sphere against the mass-media public sphere, as Castells (2007, p. 249) aptly said, 'The emergence of mass self communication offers an extraordinary medium for social movements and rebellious individuals to build their autonomy and confront the institutions of society in their own terms and around their own projects.' Therefore, this study argues that the counter-public sphere created by citizen news podcasts help us figure out the underlying power struggle between ordinary citizens and ruling elites including the mainstream media of Korea.

Carnivalism

Although the concept of counter-public sphere may be useful in modeling the phenomenon in which citizen podcasts are being used as an important journalism conduit in Korea, it is not certain exactly what aspects of citizen podcasts

have contributed to the formation of a counter-public sphere. Citizen news podcasts in Korea are not easy to define with traditional journalism principles because they usually do not abide by the norms of journalism. Many citizen podcasts are full of humor, satire, and parody. They are even not hesitant to spit out foul words or slangs, which are hardly acceptable in mainstream journalism. Many citizen podcasts abound with non-stop chats about public issues and criticisms toward the establishment including politicians (Lee, 2012). In order to identify the accurate features of citizen news podcasts that are believed to contribute to the formation of a counter-public sphere, the current study employs the notion of *carnivalism*.

A carnival is a Western culture. Its original meaning is an entertaining public square, which anyone can join and enjoy regardless of social status or economic class (Crossley et al., 2004). In a carnival, people seek fun and joy by participating in various activities and by communicating with others. A carnival is also a special event where resistance is allowed. Carnivals have historically been a space for participants to use various means to have fun themselves while making fun of the existing authorities and hierarchies.

In other words, a carnival not only provides a space for festivity and laughter, but also creates an arena where people can resist dominant power with free expression of non-legitimate voices against governing elites. At a carnival, people attempt to oppose the official hierarchy that presents the world as unified, ideal, and fixed (Bakhtin, 1984a). Through a carnival, official hierarchies of order are ridiculed and the social and political authority is temporarily inverted. Bakhtin (1963, pp. 122-123) said, 'What was suspended in carnival first of all was hierarchical structure and all the forms of terror, reverence, piety, and etiquette connected with it.' But it should be noted that Western carnivals mainly aim to serve to renew society and the world (Bakhtin, 1984b), as a release for impulses that threaten the social order or norms (Cohen, 1993), as a social transformation (Turner, 1982), or as a tool for different groups to focus attention on conflicts and incongruities by embodying them in 'senseless' acts (Abrahams, 1972).

Although Koreans used to enjoy carnivals at the community level until the last dynasty era (*Chosun Dynasty*), such a tradition has been suppressed by military and authoritarian regimes on the pretext of economic development. Until the mid-1990s, carnivals were very occasionally allowed and usually prepared by ruling authorities. Like in the West, Koreans were given occasional opportunities of venting their frustrations and anger toward the governing people at carnivals offered by authoritarian governments.

Going through 1980s and 1990s, Koreans regained self-confidence as they frequently participated in democratic processes, including massive demonstrations against the ruling bloc. Further, the wide spread of the internet since the late 1990s gave Koreans news tools to make their voices heard to governing

elites as well as other fellow citizens (Hauben, 2007). The highly-wired infrastructure has allowed Koreans to capitalise on digital tools to organise voluntary collective actions during election campaigns and protests (Sams & Park, 2013). Combining the characteristics of the growing autonomy of citizens and the wide availability of the internet resulted in embracing a new collective culture on the part of people (Park, 1998).

Against such a backdrop, ordinary individuals of Korea have gradually learned how to organise and enjoy carnivalistic participation without depending on the arrangement by the government. One good example is the 2002 World Cup held in Korea. During the games, millions of Koreans took to a main public square downtown in Seoul and entertained themselves by joining massive cheering like a festival. Unlike any government-initiated public events or carnivals, the massive cheering was organised mainly by individual citizens, who used their cell phones to mobilise people (Chang, 2005). Throughout the 2000s, carnivalistic collective action organised by ordinary individuals has become a new cultural trend in Korea. Whenever an important public affair occurred, people organised candlelight protests that were inundated with creative picket signs of diverse causes and witty performances on a free speech podium, such as skits, dancing, and singing (Ok, 2011). In 2008, when hundreds of thousands of people lit candles to protest the resumption of US beef imports, the public square in downtown Seoul was again transformed into a place of an enormous political carnival.

In many ways, Korean carnivals today are not the same as Western carnivals. First, carnivalism in recent Korea is not a temporary but a lasting culture, while Western carnivals are one-time events. Many Koreans do not think a carnival is a just momentary event for fun or entertainment (*Kyoto Journal*, 2016). Instead, through carnivalistic engagement, Koreans believe they can consistently exhibit the power of citizens. Second, Korean carnivals are leaning more toward resistance rather than enjoyment. They are often initiated to express complaints and ask for political or social reforms. In other words, Koreans are using carnivalistic events to demonstrate citizen power to the ruling bloc. Lastly, Korean carnivals are attracting many young people into political processes. Young people tend to combine participation in social and political affairs with play, parody, humour, wit, and caricature to express their feelings and opinions rather than direct criticism. 'Fun'-oriented carnivalistic participation resonates with the comparatively unrestrained participatory culture of young people on the internet (Lee & Jung, 2008). Overall, Koreans' experience in collective action and carnivalistic participation has contributed to 'the formation of a new public sphere' (Park, 1998, p. 442).

Drawing on the above reasoning, the current study speculates that the spread of carnivalistic participatory culture in today's Korea has exercised a significant

impact on the rise of citizen news podcasts. Accordingly, in the next section, the paper analyses how citizen podcasts incorporate carnivalism into their programming. Before undertaking an analysis, this study additionally reviews what rhetorical devices constitute carnivalistic discourse. A number of studies suggest that humor, satire, and parody are essential in a carnival (Bakhtin, 1963; Foot & Schneider, 2002; Mascha, 2008).

Humor is 'a mechanism that relieves the subject of the accumulated elements of aggressivity hidden within the unconscious' (Mascha, 2008, p. 74). Humour is a relief mechanism from a deep anxiety or repression and the need to escape from such a condition. From the past, political humour used to be 'a familiar vehicle for expressing popular disdain and opposition against repressive regimes' (Badarneh, 2011, p. 306). Political humor as a reaction to the great concentration of power is a safe release from a superior force (Schutz, 1977). Political humour enables people to vent social and economic frustrations, thereby allowing them to release suppressed desires and freedoms (Badarneh, 2011).

Satire is a discourse that people use to make fun of someone and relieve people from certain oppression (Mascha, 2008). Satire momentarily creates laughter and a sense of relief accompanied by the freedom from the oppressing subject. Satire creates 'a space of freedom through this counter-hegemonic project raising the political consciousness of the disempowered people and taking part to an expression of resistance' (Mascha, 2008, p. 82). A meaningful satirical discourse is one that mocks the existing rule and degrades the dominant hegemony. A satirical discourse succeeds when it draws the hidden identity of oppression and reveals it at the center of public attention. Satire initiates laughter, fosters resistance, and makes people feel free from the ideological oppression of the dominant discourse.

Lastly, carnivalistic resistance is often expressed via parody. Parody is defined as 'an imitation of the style of a particular writer, artist, or genre with deliberate exaggeration for comic effect' (*Oxford Dictionaries*, 2016). That is, parody is an imitation that is set against an original or falls far short of the real thing. According to Bakhtin (1984b), parody is a kind of double-voicing, as when a speaker acts out what another has said in a comic manner. Double-voicing deflates the seriousness of a statement, thus inserting 'a new semantic intention into a discourse which has, and which retains, an intention of its own' (Bakhtin, 1984b, p. 189). Political parody is often used for raising a counter meaning to the ruler's words and to ridicule the political agenda of the ruler (Badarneh, 2011). A parody creator relies on the ruler's discourse but 'introduces into that discourse a semantic intention that is directly opposed to the original one' (Bakhtin, 1984b, p. 193). As a result, the voice of the parody creator clashes with the voice of the ruler who controls the dominant discourse.

Method

In order to examine how citizen news podcasts of Korea can be understood by the concepts of *carnivalism*, this study mainly conducts as a case study focusing on *Naggomsu*, a representative citizen podcast in Korea. This study carried out a qualitative content analysis by scrutinizing the content of *Naggomsu*. Additionally, this research content analyzed ten most popular citizen news podcasts, which were chosen by the number of downloads in a podcast portal, *Podbbang*. The current research also conducted interviews with ten professional journalists of Korea in order to examine the impact of citizen podcasts on mainstream journalism. Interviewees were selected from ten different media outlets, three from newspapers, three from TV networks, three from online newspapers, one from a cable TV channel. The interviews were conducted in December, 2016. The average age of the interviewees is 36 and they have on average 11 years of journalism experience.

Findings

1. Carnivalism in Naneun Ggomsuda

Naggomsu started as an informal chat show by four men ridiculing Lee Myungbak, the then president of Korea, as well as offering sharp criticisms of contemporary political affairs. Its first episode was released on 28 April 2011, and the last one on the eve of the presidential election day (19 December 2012). There were a total of 71 episodes. During its two-year life, *Naggomsu* saw an average of two million downloads for each episode and became one of the world's most downloaded political podcasts in Apple's iTunes store (Baek, 2012). *Naggomsu*

Table 1: Top 10 popular citizen news podcasts of South Korea

Titles	Weekly Downloads	Regular subscribers
Kim Yongmin's Briefing	141,198	121,077
Politics changes by informed citizens	38,502	47,782
Chung Bongju's Junkookoo	169,105	186,114
YiYiJay by Dr. Lee and Writer Lee	223,062	234,779
Seo Youngseok's The Criticism	5,723	5,899
Clean Area	24,144	33,331
I don't want to know it	36,030	66,422
Gobal News	63,434	47,237
Chatting on Current Affairs	22,692	13,657
Public Opinion is the most important	19,635	4,345

Note: According to the statistics during the week of January 1 to 7, 2017, by Podbbang, the biggest podcast portal in South Korea.

played an important role in directing public attention to social and political issues that were overlooked by mainstream media, and its popularity triggered the mushrooming of similar types of citizen podcasts across the country.

In terms of journalistic production, *Naggomsu* was the brainchild of four men who had backgrounds and characteristics that distanced themselves from traditional and elite journalism. This show was a kind of role-playing performance. The leading host was Kim Ou-joon, the founder of *Ddanzi Ilbo*, a political parody website. Chung Bong-ju, a former lawmaker, played the role as a very talkative panelist. He habitually cut off the others midsentence and punctuated almost every comment with laughter. Choo Chin-woo, a reporter of an alternative newsweekly *SisaIN*, played the role as a presenter of newsworthy topics. He often debunked political scandals mainstream media rarely paid attention to. Kim Yong-min, a former radio commentator, was the producer of the show.

Naggomsu was not a news-heavy outlet. This study content analyzed 10 randomly chosen episodes of the show according to the following four categories: real news, satire, parody, and commentary. Real news stories were the most dominant category, making up 40 percent of all the content. Satire (28 percent), commentary (21 percent), parody (11 percent) followed news.

The four panelists employed casual and lively conversation techniques when delivering content. As expected, the show was rife with humor. The four panelists constantly chuckled. The show favored everyday language of ordinary people. Complex jargons, difficult words, and elite words were hardly used. For example, the following expressions were frequently heard: 'Pack your luggage' (quit this job), 'His neck was cut' (he was fired), 'He was bounced off' (He lost political power), 'Shut up' (Be quiet), and 'He ate up all' (He filled all the important governmental positions with his aides).

In addition to everyday language, provocative words were frequently used in this show. Even expletives were heard: 'The situation is doggy mess,' 'fxxxing,' 'son of bitch.' These curses and swears were usually directed toward former President Lee, corrupt politicians, 'political' prosecutors, and mainstream media journalists.

> *Jung:* What are the public officials doing in this doggy nation? They do not listen to anybody. They just care about themselves.
> *Kim Ou-joon:* Uhm, they just strive to survive for themselves, never caring about others, fxxxxxx.
> *Jung*: That's why we cannot even think of collaboration between officials and government agencies.
> *Kim Ou-joon*: Only President himself...
> *Jung:* He damn decides all.
> *Kim Ou-joon*: He used to do things all himself. (from episode 2, 12 May 2011)

While humourous comments never stopped in the show, *Naggomsu* essentially concentrated on creating a tone of resistance, which is not a typical case in the

mainstream journalism of Korea. At the introduction and ending of each episode, the four panelists shouted the catchphrase of the show: 'Let's not be intimidated! Let's say whatever we want, even if we're thrown into jail tomorrow.'

One prime example of resistance from the show is its intense focus on the scandals involving former President Lee and corrupt power elites. During the 2011 Seoul mayoral election, *Naggomsu* exercised its agenda-setting power with a number of scoops. For example, in episode 12, Choo reported that Na Kyung-won, the ruling party's candidate frequently visited a luxury skin-care clinic where the annual membership fee is $90,000. Choo's report played a decisive role in drawing the attention of the electorate because the wealth gap between the rich and the poor was an important campaign issue at that time. Na sued the programme for libel, but the prosecution found no evidence of Choo's guilt. Choo was also the first to report that President Lee had bought a very expensive lot to build his retirement residence, not in his name but in his son's name. Soon, this report developed into a big political scandal. Many political analysts said that *Naggomsu* overwhelmed the mainstream media during the election cycle (Lee, 2012; Lee, 2011).

Another important method of resistance in the show was its constant attempts to re-interpret major issues. The show constantly raised questions to the explanations or analyses proposed by politicians or mainstream media. It challenged dominant frames about an issue, by overturning, twisting, and re-investigating the issue. The re-interpretation of a major issue involved three steps. First, the four panelists collected all available clues, contexts, and backgrounds regarding the issue. Second, they suggested several hypotheses based on their own collected information. They often said, 'We raise several scenarios about...' The last step was to conjecture the truth of the issue: 'There is enough circumstantial evidence to show...' Drawing on such a unique method, *Naggomsu* revealed contradictions and conspiracy of an issue and attested to the intrigue of the establishment.

The content analysis finds that satirical criticism is another important aspect of political carnivalism in *Naggomsu*. In June, 2011, the main opposition party and civic groups requested that the free lunch benefit should be given to all elementary and secondary school students in Seoul. At this, then-Seoul-Mayor Oh Se-hoon announced that he would hold a referendum for that issue, objecting to the opposition party's suggestion (Choe, 2011). *Naggomsu* satirised Oh's attitude, pointing out that he was simply an avatar of former President Lee because the president constantly objected to the expansion of social welfare.

> *Jung*: Mayor Oh is in the same party as His Highness who also served as Seoul mayor in the past. Therefore, we should say that Oh is a person as lofty as His Highness.
> *Kim Ou-joon*: He is a complete successor of His Highness.

Jung: His Highness is pouring $18 billion in restoring the four major rivers of Korea, which have not caused any problem so far. In a very similar way, Oh is also considering spending astronomical money to expand the Han River in Seoul.
Kim Ou-joon: His Highness is a perfect role model of Oh.

Parody was often employed as a crucial rhetorical tool when *Naggomsu* reported news addressing the alleged nefariousness of former President Lee. For instance, in every parody song, President Lee was described as a petty-minded creep just like the title of the show. In many parodies, President Lee was portrayed as a person who always lied, hid something, and attributed blames to others, not to himself. The following is one of the most frequently used parodies in the show: 'As President, I will do my best to ignore and distress citizens.'

As reviewed earlier, carnivalistic participation is an emerging culture in recent Korea. Going through a series of participatory experiences, Koreans have learned how to voluntarily join or organise carnivalistic activities to express their dissent to the established order and to address their own agendas to ruling elites (Kim & Kim, 2009). This article argues that the new culture of carnivalistic participation has carried over into the citizen news podcasts of Korea, gratifying news consumers' desires for resistance toward the establishment. *Naggomsu*'s effective utilization of carnivalism in its program implies that the show knew that the carnivalistic content would appeal to ordinary individuals. As a result, *Naggomsu* has helped position the podcast platform as a new journalism genre (Jo, 2015)

The impact of *Naggomsu*'s carnivalism on mainstream journalism is significant. More than anything, *Naggomsu* stimulated journalists to attend to and re-evaluate the rules and assumptions that dictate journalistic practice. In the interviews with this study, mainstream journalists said they realised that crafting news in an easy, entertaining, and analytic way should be considered important beyond the traditional narrative format of journalism. A television reporter with 10 years of journalism experience said, 'Listening to *Naggomsu*, many journalists have noticed how their stories are condescending and one-way with little consideration of what news audiences want to read, listen, or view.' Another reporter from a cable TV said that journalists now should rethink about their news writing styles and news audiences.

Eight out of the 10 professional journalists interviewed also agreed that *Naggomsu* made them cover more news items that are critical toward the governing people. An online newspaper reporter said: 'In terms of manpower, *Naggomsu* cannot be compared with any traditional media outlet. But *Naggomsu* focused on several important items, such as former President Lee and his aides. The show did not fear anything and just dug into leading politicians' scandals without hesitation, which mainstream media neglected.'

Park and Kim (2012), regarding the journalistic implications of *Naggomsu*, argued that the show has suggested a new journalism model of post-objectivity, post-rationality, and post-elitism to Korean journalism.

2. Engaging Journalism

In addition to *Naggomsu*, this study conducted a content analysis of 10 citizen news podcasts. The results reveal that 9 out of 10 citizen podcasts take a critical tone toward leading politicians, mainstream media, or the government. Five citizen podcasts supported liberal candidates in elections. Therefore, in terms of objectivity and fairness, citizen podcasts might be embroiled in controversy. But their watchdog role stands out. From the perspective of podcast listeners, citizen news podcasts seem to be doing a satisfactory journalism job because a wide range of audiences are consistently consuming citizen podcasts (Park, 2016). In order to explain this phenomenon, this study suggests the concept of *engaging journalism*.

In the face of the transforming media environment, journalism is compelled to provide 'added value' to its audiences in addition to its original mission (Heikkilä & Ahva, 2015). In his recent speech at the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, Picard (2009) poignantly suggested an important task today's journalism should undertake. He said, 'Journalism must innovate and create new means of gathering, processing, and distributing information so it provides content and services that readers, listeners, and viewers cannot receive elsewhere.' Picard added that journalists must provide sufficient value to engage digital audiences. Drawing on Picardo's insight, this study conceptualises *engaging journalism* as a type of journalism that focuses on providing added values to audiences to attract them to public affairs and democratic processes.

This study finds that one of the added values in citizen news podcasts is the offering of a counter-public sphere to citizens. As pointed out previously, for more than six decades, the mass media public sphere of Korea has been a closed realm for the establishment, excluding ordinary citizens' voices and demands. In such a situation, individual citizens have long wished to have a channel that can represent them. Citizen podcasts answered such a wish, presenting better-appealing stories about the world than many of the legitimate news outlets do (Lee, 2012).

All of the 10 citizen podcasts analysed were found to have the characteristic of investigative journalism, focusing on revealing what lies behind public issues. Explanation and analysis of important public issues is a big part of many news stories in citizen podcasts. As a result, citizen podcasts hold government officials accountable to the legal and moral standards of public service and keep leaders conscious about society's expectations of integrity and fairness (Cheon & Chang, 2011). This study also finds that three citizen podcasts analysed explicitly aim to fix the power imbalances between governing people and the governed. The above findings suggest that citizen podcasts are concerned more with motivating people

to engage in the democratic process by providing unique explanations about the context and background regarding an issue or event than simply transmitting known facts. It is an important responsibility of journalism to take the initiative to report on major public problems in a way that advances public knowledge of possible solutions and helps people participate in the public life (Lambeth, 1998; Rosen, 1999). Beyond such a role of journalism, Korean citizen podcasts encourage ordinary individuals to build alternative discourse (Lee, 2012), by providing a counter-public sphere.

This study finds that carnivalism is another added value of citizen news podcasts. All the 10 citizen podcasts analysed focus on delivering serious news, but in entertaining ways. They use the formats of talk show, rant sessions or comedy skits. In an interview, Chung of *Naggomsu* said, 'I'm a clown. I speak and act on people's behalf' (*New York Times*, 2011). As a result, the distinction between news and entertainment often becomes blurry and inextricably intertwined in citizen podcasts. It appears that citizen podcasts resist the binary distinction between news and entertainment, making the categorisation largely ineffectual.

The combination of news and entertainment in citizen podcasts functions as an effective strategy to draw readers' attention. According to a survey, people's main motivations for listening to *Naggomsu* are information seeking, entertaining seeking, relaxation, and escape (Cho & Hong, 2013). The survey results indicate that people appreciate that citizen podcasts provide programmes that are politically funny and drip with satire and parody (Lee, 2012).

The carnivalism of citizen podcasts particularly appeals to young people. Across the world, journalism scholars and pundits deplore the trend that young people are turning off from the news (Blumler, 2011; Starr, 2012; Young, 2009). They blame youth's disinterest in conventional news, bemoan their ignorance, and charge them with apathy and laziness (Putnam, 2000). However, such a claim lacks evidence. Katz (1997) aptly pointed out, 'for the young, culture is politics, personal expression and entertainment all fused together' (p. 130). Wilson (2011) argues that young adults appreciate the sarcasm, irony, parody, and satire pervasive in social networking sites. Digital generations do not want to feel marginalised by mainstream news, which usually present information in a serious and conventional way. Additionally, young adults, who cannot find outlets to vent their anger from depressing economic and political situations, are drawn to the unrestrained lampoons in podcasts to relieve their frustration and disappointment (Kim, 2012; Lee et al., 2012). Therefore, it is very likely that news content coated with humour, satire, and parody would draw more young generations to citizen podcasts.

Overall, based on the analysis, the current study posits that citizen news podcasts demonstrate a new type of journalism, named 'engaging journalism'.

Conclusion

Today, Korea is passing through a revolutionary change in media development. Since the early 2011, numerous citizen podcasts focusing on public affairs, politics, and news have expanded their realm, sometimes jeopardising the mainstream media that have dominated the public sphere of Korea over the last five decades. This research sought to investigate how the podcast has become a promising journalism tool, based on three unique concepts – *carnivalism, engaging journalism,* and *counter-public sphere*.

More than anything, this study finds that Korean citizen podcasts are characterised by carnivalism. Through the use of comedic techniques such as humour, parody, and satire, the discourse of citizen podcasts transgresses existing social and cultural hierarchies. Satiric and ludicrous in nature, citizen podcasts playfully subverts a range of authoritative discourses and provide a vehicle for both comic criticism and emotional catharsis. Citizen podcasts not only serve to lampoon the establishment, but also provide an alternative news venue to news consumers.

The carnivalistic podcasts of Korea also should receive attention in terms of *engaging journalism*. Citizen podcasts aim to engage listeners toward important public issues and democratic participation. Podcasts have become an alternative medium, providing carnivalistic content and by enabling individual users to take advantage of such carnivalistic content for the purpose of elite-challenging participation. Through such a process, citizen podcasts contribute to forming a counter-public sphere against the mass media pubic sphere.

Korean mainstream journalists have long neglected the fundamental principles of journalism. Instead mainstream journalists showed more interest in controlling information dissemination in and through the structured journalism space. Korean journalists have taken for granted the status of a structured institution that operates with twisted professional practice, such as collusion with the political power and manipulative attempts of public opinion (Kang, 2005; Park, 2015). The carnivalism of citizen news podcasts inevitably challenges the professional logic of journalism, although professional journalists still exercise greater influence in the journalism space. Citizen podcasts pose uncomfortable challenges to journalists' jurisdictional claims to the news process. Podcasting has fostered the formation of a counter public sphere in Korea. Carnivalistic citizen podcasts are the space for the public to express dissent to the established order, creating an 'anti-structural' sphere, where dominant social relations are inverted or leveled.

The present study argues that the recent uptake of citizen news podcasts offers journalists opportunities to reflect on current journalism assumptions, identities, and practices. Citizen news podcasts stimulate journalists to think about what it means to be a journalist. In other words, citizen podcasts provide journalists a reflective lens by which they can look back on the rules and conventions of their

professional practice. Citizen podcasts are an important case of new journalistic practice emerging in the age of 'post journalism' (Park & Kim, 2012). While a departure from typical journalism routines might be painful, from citizen podcasts mainstream journalists may gain useful ideas that appeal to audiences. This is, of course, just the beginning of the conversation regarding the future of journalism.

This study has some suggestions for future research. First, citizen news podcasts are created by non professional journalists and most of them do not seek profits. Future studies must examine whether citizen news podcasts could become a legitimate form of journalism beyond the current status as experimental journalism. Second, this study shows that the carnivalistic nature of citizen news podcasts in Korea is closely related to the unique media system and political culture of Korea. To see whether this study's findings could be generalised to other nations, future research needs to conduct comparative studies.

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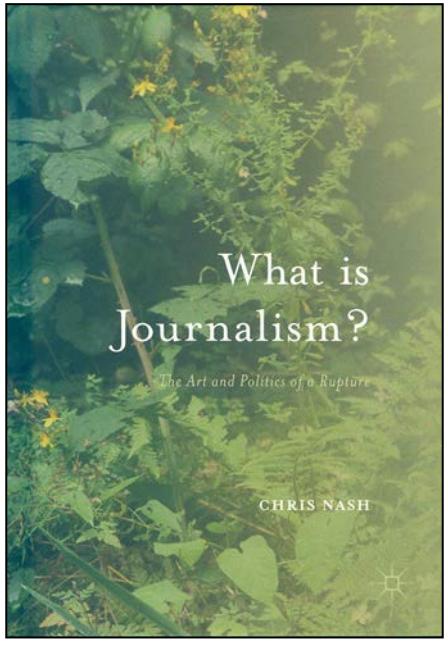
An important book for young journalism academics

What is Journalism: The Art and Politics of a Rupture, by Chris Nash. London: Palgrave Macmillan. 2016. 247 pages. ISBN 978-1-137-39933-5



CHRIS NASH wrestles with ideas with rare intensity.

His new book, *What is Journalism*, takes something so familiar to us, journalism, and peels back layer after layer of assumptions about what makes it singular and distinctive and what gives it parity with the other academic disciplines.

More importantly, though, this book is a how-to guide for best-practice journalists and journalism academics looking for a lexicon to describe journalism work in a methodological way. It is a struggle Nash is familiar with, as a pioneer of academic journalism in Australia. The ideas in the book are ideas he has been wrestling with for years, testing them through his research and supervision work, and presenting fragments of them at conferences. The joy of this book is that it gives him space to fully explain them and to present them as a cogent approach to the current challenge.

Nash is more than a believer in the notion that journalism can be practised as an academic discipline. He is a practitioner and experienced supervisor. His favoured approach is the use of well-chosen tools from the journalistic toolbox of methods and pairing the journalism output with an exegesis that provides a level of rigorous analysis, situational framing and academic context to satisfy the criteria of research as an act of knowledge creation.

While Stephen Lamble (2004) eloquently described the toolbox as a starting point for understanding how journalism can work as an academic methodology, Nash contends that it is not enough on its own, and that the exegesis has work to do.

While many journalism academics are familiar with the skillset required

to create good investigative journalism, exegesis writing is less common and less familiar. It needs to be more than just a log of what was done and how obstacles were overcome. The exegesis needs to locate both the subject of the story and the process of writing (or recording) it in time, space and cultural contexts, with sensitivity to other perspectives.

Chapter one is a summary of recent debates about the role of journalism in the academy in Australia, as informed by events elsewhere. He covers the media wars of the 1990s, the battle for inclusion of journalism outputs in the federal research classification system and the conflicting demands that make life stressful for journalism academics.

Far from being repetitive though, it recapitulates the key points and is a stimulus to continued conversation. He also sets up the rationale for his case studies, positioning them as ruptures to a state of affairs that has historically positioned journalism as a low-status craft-activity. He argues that the work of artist Hans Haacke and journalist I.F. Stone provides evidence that journalism can defy that categorisation, and parse reality with academic rigour, equivalent to that of any of the truth-seeking disciplines.

Haacke is famous for sparking debates about the line between journalism and art. His artworks have included acts of journalism presented in galleries, sometimes exposing awkward realities. Stone practised an unusually rigorous form of journalism, using archival material to cover momentous events such as the US involvement in the Korean War.

In the next two chapters, Nash explores the rigorous and contentious work of these two extraordinary practitioners. He describes what they did, when and where and the arguments that played out about how their work should be categorised. Is it art, and/or journalism and/or scholarship? In doing so, he illustrates the fragility of the demarcation of disciplines and exposes the politicking and territorial disputes behind it.

In chapters four and five he presents a matrix, derived from the work of David Harvey and Henri Lefebvre, that can be used as a systematic guide for the description and analysis of a piece of journalism. The matrix can serve as a kitchen table upon which the piece under investigation can be spread. The nine squares represent questions about space and/or time that can be asked: How does the specimen of work relate to physical space (buildings, countries); how does it relate to 'relational/conceived space' (orthodoxies and politics) and so on?

In chapter six he introduces Bourdieu's theorisation of intuition (habitus) and applies it to understanding what is meant by news sense. He bases this connection on Gaye Tuchman's 1978 seminal work *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality*, a book considered important because it asked why some events are deemed newsworthy and others not and how newsroom staff translate events deemed newsworthy into constructed

realities with public character.

Nash cites Tuchman's description of news production as 'casting a web of facticity in space and time as determined by news sense' (p. 102). He then takes the extra step of connecting this idea of a web with Bourdieu's habitus and Harvey-Lefebvre's space-time matrix, forming a meta-theoretical framework within which the epistemological validity of a piece of journalism can be assessed. He doesn't claim that this is the only or best framework, but it is robust and he has forged its foundations and made it into something that others can use and develop.

As such, this is an important book for young journalism academics struggling to grasp what is meant by scholarly analysis of journalistic methodology. Nash is generous in his patient explanation of how we get from the familiar territory of making news to the state where references to philosophical perspectives, matrices and arguments are just what we need.

However, he is not into theory for its own sake and states as much on page 110, writing: 'Any suggested theory has no role unless it can identify and meet conceptual challenges, clarify thinking and guide research practice to be methodologically robust and revelatory.'

Another reason to recommend this book to anyone considering a higher degree in journalism is that it is not only the content that shines but also the cadence and style. Nash is rigorous and well referenced, but above all, he is an erudite journalist and an experienced teacher and for such a theory-heavy book, it is a compellingly easy read.

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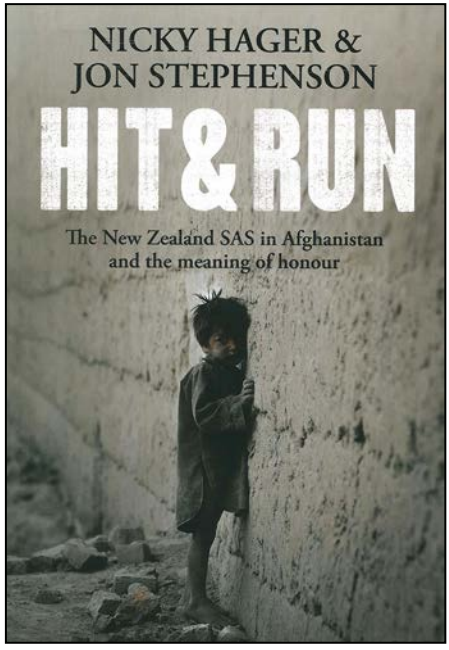
Vital exposé, but it would have been better with more context

Hit & Run, by Nicky Hager and Jon Stephenson. Nelson: Potter and Burton. 2017, 159 pages. ISBN 978-0-947-50339-0



HIT & RUN tells what happened when a small group of New Zealand SAS soldiers in Afghanistan decided to mount a revenge raid on two Afghan villages where they thought Taliban were staying, whom they believed had been responsible for the death of one of their own.

With Ministerial approval, relying on faulty intelligence and backed by American firepower, the SAS raided the villages of Naik and Khak Kuday Dad on the night of 22 August 2010. Their Taliban targets were nowhere to be found: they had slipped away into the mountains and were resting peacefully when the SAS arrived by helicopter in the middle of the night.

In the next few minutes, American Apache gunships blasted the villages from end to end, presumably on the direction of SAS forward control officers. The SAS opened fire and by the time it was all over there were six dead men, women and children and 15 wounded. None of them was a member of the Taliban. Most of them, by all accounts, had not hitherto supported the Taliban, but had offered occasional shelter to family members who were in the Taliban out of a sense of familial duty.

The SAS knew the raid had been a disaster and that they had killed and wounded civilians. It did not, however, stop them later going back to Naik and destroying houses that had been repaired. It was sheer bloody mindedness. The upshot was that the villages now supported the Taliban, who spread their influence throughout the region.

Many of those involved were deeply upset by what had happened. They, presumably, were the ones who later talked to the authors. The SAS high command, on the other hand, immediately began trying to bury the story. They lied when questioned, possibly misled ministers (or if not, those

politicians may have been guilty of lying themselves) and when war correspondent Jon Stephenson (2011, 2017) wrote an article about the incident for *Metro* magazine, the SAS campaigned for four years in a failed legal attempt to discredit him.

Hager and Stephenson are to be congratulated for exposing all of this and it should be a scandal that the New Zealand SAS was allowed to get away with its mistake for so long. There should certainly be, as the authors say, an enquiry that holds those responsible accountable.

Unfortunately, it is an all too familiar story. If you have small groups of soldiers fighting a guerrilla war in a foreign country where it is impossible to tell the enemy from civilians, then civilians will die unless discipline is extremely tight and where the soldiers have been trained to establish the closest possible relations with locals through a hearts and minds approach.

The SAS in Afghanistan was largely cut off from the locals in their fortified position, something that went against a long established SAS doctrine of winning hearts and minds, a doctrine that required, in Crawford's words, 'actually living among the locals, for sharing their problems and helping them out when it came to planting crops, building and repairing shelters and learning their everyday experience' (Crawford, 1996).

It was a lesson learned from the early days of the Malayan Emergency, during which the New Zealand SAS replaced the Rhodesian C Company and where they gained a good reputation for hearts and minds work (Kemp, 2001).

Hit & Run is an important book, but it is a very slim volume. It would have been greatly improved if it had looked at more of the history and culture of the family of SAS units in different Commonwealth countries. The SAS has always regarded itself as special and sheltered behind a wall of silence. This cult of secrecy has led to cover-ups of questionable activities, such as the shooting of IRA suspects by a British SAS unit during Operation Flavius in Gibraltar.

Paradoxically, it also contributed to injustices to its own men, such as the failure to award a Victoria Cross to Fijian Corporal Labalaba for his heroic role in the defence of Fort Mirbat in Oman.

It would also have been useful to compare the cover-up of the Afghanistan incident with the Thatcher government's vicious response to ITV's documentary *Death on the Rock*. Outside the sphere of the SAS, comparisons might also have been drawn with how the My Lai massacre was uncovered.

Given the evidence in the book that the New Zealand SAS handed over a prisoner to an Afghan force known to torture prisoners, it would also have been useful to make comparisons with the controversy in the Australian media over the Vietnam water torture case (Elkins, 1996).

A quibble with the book is the photograph of a child on the front cover. Is he somebody from one of the villages that were attacked? If not, why is he

there? While it is a striking image it should be clearly identified.

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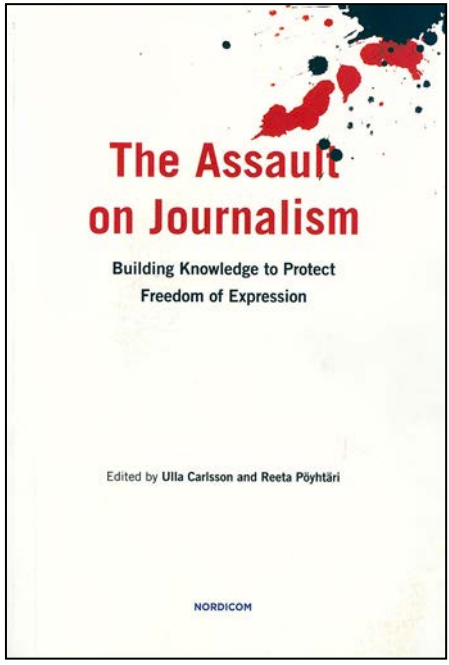
Timely strategic research spotlights killings of journalists



The Assault on Journalism: Building Knowledge to Protect Freedom of Expression, edited by Ulla Carlsson and Reeta Pöyhtäri. Gothenburg, Sweden: Nordic Information Centre for Media and Communication Research (Nordicom). 2017. 363 pages. ISBN 9789187957505

THE GHANAIAN investigative journalist summed up the mood among some 1500 media people with the beaded face veil rather well—a facial security screen symbolising both the safety of the reporter and his sources. But this was no empty gesture. It is characteristic of the man who has captured judges on tape allegedly taking bribes. As the result of his celebrated documentary, *Ghana in the Eyes of God: Epic of Injustice*, more than 30 judges and 170 judicial officers were implicated in Ghana's biggest corruption scandal.

On the same day that investigator Anas Aremeyaw Anas took the stage in his trademark mask at the World Press Freedom Day conference in Jakarta on 3 May 2017, a new book was being launched with the spotlight on wide-ranging research into the safety of journalists after many years of reporters being killed with impunity.

The Assault on Journalism: Building Knowledge to Protect Freedom of Expression is a diverse collection of empirical and theoretical papers presented at a parallel research conference at WPFD2016 in Helsinki, Finland. The book is divided into four main parts: 1. The Status of Safety of Journalists; 2. The Way Forward (this would have been better placed as the last section before the appendices); and 3. Research, concluding with three chapters on foreign correspondents and local journalists, Pakistani freedoms (or rather lack of them) and Nigerian digital safety. It also republishes the UNESCO 2016 report *Time to Break the Cycle of Violence Against Journalists* and the

UN safety action plan as the fourth part. However, there is a need for a 'rounding off' chapter, which could actually have been Jackie Harrison's 'Setting a New Research Agenda'.

Professor Simon Cottle's introduction, 'Journalist Killings and the Responsibility to Report', was the keynote academic address in Helsinki. He cites figures compiled by the International News Safety Institute (INSI) indicating that around the world 111 media workers were killed in 2016 and 115 the following year. He also cites a Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) figure showing 2012 journalists being killed since 1992. 'Many of these deaths go largely unnoticed and unreported in the world's media,' Cottle notes (p. 21).

He also points to the deaths of American journalist Marie Colvin (wrongly named as Mary in the book)—described by many of her peers as 'the greatest war correspondent of her generation'—and French photographer R*é*mi Ochlok in a bombardment of the Baba Amro district in the Syrian city of Homs on 22 February 2012 (Conroy, 2013). Homs was recently recaptured by the Assad regime.

While admitting that high-profile deaths such these 'remind us of the terrible price that can be paid by Western correspondents and photojournalists' when reporting conflict, they are not an accurate representation of journalist killings around the globe. Data collected by world media freedom monitoring agencies show that most journalist killings and incidents of intimidation actually target local and 'indigenous' journalists. The reason is simple, according to Cottle:

> Following the end of the Cold War, the world's political tectonic plates moved and fragmented, creating a situation of multiple power plays and shifting political actors that no longer align in a predictable, bipolar world of allegiances. (p. 22)

Cottle argues for a greater mandate for the safeguarding of journalists in their responsibilities to report from dangerous places. 'In violent times, [the protection] cannot therefore be simply seen as a matter to do with "journalists" or, even more broadly, as simply about "journalism".'

Guy Berger, director of UNESCO's Freedom of Expression division in Paris, explores the genesis of journalism safety issues and why they have become critical to the global free media agenda. Acknowledging that the end of the Cold War enabled a fresh focus on safety issues, he says 'it was the harsh reality that drove safety to the top of the agenda' (p. 36). Outlining the objectives of the UN plan of action, especially against extrajudicial killings, Berger argues the need for strategic partnerships with a gender-sensitive approach.

Berger, former head of journalism at Rhodes University in South Africa, also acknowledges the 'growing positive response from academia' since 2014 with research programmes and initiatives on the topic of safety and impunity. This academic response was reflected again at WPFD2017 in Jakarta, although

the two days of research papers are more likely to be the basis of commentary and analytical pieces in social media and popular online outlets rather another book at this stage.

Two of the more interesting chapters are 'Gendering War and Peace Journalism' by Berit von der Lippe and Rune Ottosen and 'Collaboration is the Future' by Thomas Hanitzsch. While acknowledging that the storytelling domination of war and glory through the 'masculinised memory' of males in powerful positions and male reporters has been challenged by a growing 'women's presence' among political leaders and war-reporting media, the hegemonic discourse largely remains intact.

> War reporting has been overrepresented by elite sources like politicians, high ranking military officers and state officials. These elite sources are collectively dominated by men and it will require more than more women journalists to change this male hegemony. (p. 63)

Von der Lippe and Ottosen offer a useful encapsulation of Galtung's model of 'war journalism' and 'peace journalism': 'War journalism is violence-oriented, propaganda-oriented, elite-oriented and victory-oriented; peace journalism is people oriented … focuses on the victims (often civilian casualties) and thus gives voice to the voiceless'. It is also truth-oriented. However, the authors are critical of notions of liberal feminism being assumed to offer better or more peace journalism. As they note, women in general do not share some 'gender-specific style of … journalistic philosophy'.

Hanitzsch shares his 'coordinated cooperation model' on international collaborative research experience, particularly with the 10-year-old Worlds of Journalism Study involving 27,500 journalists in 67 countries. He makes a plea for wider adoption of this approach to collaborative research in the 'network era'.

Overall, this is a very timely and valuable volume for journalism educators and researchers—and also for journalists and journalism safety advocates themselves. Nordicom, UNESCO and IAMCR deserve commendation for bringing this research collection to fruition.

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A thoughtful approach to teaching media

Re-inventing the Media, by Graeme Turner. London: Routledge. 2015. 158 pages. ISBN 978-1-138-02070-2

AS A member of a School of Communication Studies seeking to refresh its curricula, the publication of Graeme Turner's book *Re-Inventing the Media* is very timely. According to the publishers, Turner 'takes on the task of rethinking how media studies approaches the whole of the contemporary mediascape.' This statement should not lead the reader to expect that Turner is arguing for a root and branch overturning of how we approach and teach the media. Instead, it can be argued that this is rather a sober 're-think' that seeks to address both the elements of change and continuity in teaching communication or media studies today.

In his final chapter Turner addresses what an updated curriculum could look like. He states that its content might not look radically different from what we tend to encounter now. What would be different, in his view, is that it would have significantly different intentions and thus different organising principles from what often occurs today. Turner is particularly concerned by a trend, encouraged by industry hype about 'new media', to divide the media studies curriculum into two. On the one hand there are courses or programmes on, for example, digital media or new media studies. On the other there is the rump of so-called traditional media studies. He believes this division works against the key objective of 'finding an inclusive and comprehensive framework within which to place the study and analysis of the contemporary media' (p. 14).

In Turner's view the bifurcation of media studies in this manner does not reflect a division in the various media industries, which usually embrace more than one platform. Nor does it reflect audience behaviour which is now largely platform-agnostic and it does not reflect media content, which is

rarely platform-specific in its distribution. If the various strands of the media are not pulled together and treated as an inclusive whole, there is 'the danger of effectively relegating the analysis of media power to the status of a second-order issue'. (p. 124).

In an inclusive approach, students may well be trained in particular media, but Turner stresses that our academic purpose as teachers has to be related to the media's fundamental political, cultural and social importance and our core requirement to examine and understand its influence and power. Thus he argues that first-level courses should focus on large-scale and cross-platform issues that influence the structure of all media forms. The argument is for communication or media degrees to start with the big picture, at least in their year one offerings, with the dual objectives of first, understanding what the media does, how it works, and in whose interests; and second, how we make use of the media and to what effect.

Informing this broad, inclusive approach would be an extensively revised and updated content which reflects the transformation of what Turner calls the media manifold. This is covered in the chapters 'Rethinking Media Theory', which covers how we have to adjust our theoretical perspective to account for the decline of the mass media paradigm and 'Rethinking Media Regulation', which outlines the need for revising and adjusting our regulations to account for the impacts of globalisation, new and social media. Other chapters address the restructuring of relations between the state and media, the need to recognise and investigate the diversity of media systems around the world, the need to acknowledge the role of celebrity in contemporary media and account for the connection between the pervasiveness of commercialism and the prioritisation of entertainment over information and news.

Turner concludes that if we seek to understand these changes, critically assess their implications and reintegrate approaches to media studies into a critical, coherent and inclusive whole, then we may be able to claim that our teaching field has renewed itself and is fit for purpose. To Turner's credit, this book outlines a rational and thoughtful approach to tackling the fraught task of revising what and how we teach media and communication studies.

Dr PHILIP CASS is reviews editor of Pacific Journalism Review.

The revolution still isn't here

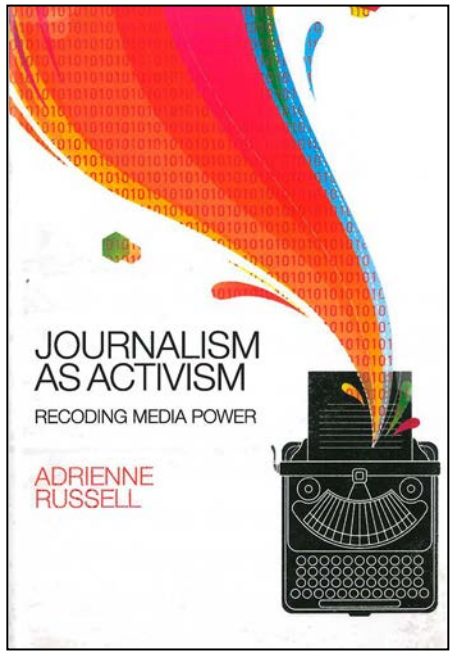
Journalism as Activism, by Adrienne Russell. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016, 200 pages. ISBN 978-0-745-6712-6-0

IN 1845 Marx wrote:

> The class which has the means of material production has control at the same time over the means of mental production so that… generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it… as they rule as a class and determine the extent and compass of an epoch, it is self-evident that they… regulate the production and distribution of the ideas of their age; Thus their ideas are the ruling ideas of the epoch.

The debate over who controls our thoughts and modes of thinking, how this can be challenged, by whom and by what means has occupied generations of writers and activists. In each generation a vision has been raised of a vanguard leading people forward, using the media to spread coherent and energising messages of change.

There are echoes of these ideas in Russell's new book, in which she envisions a cadre of online activists, journalists and technologists acting as the vanguard of some kind of radical change in the way we lead our lives through the exploitation of the internet. She sees them as having



secured the means of both production and distribution and thus, potentially, of challenging the ruling ideas of the dominant class.

Perversely, however, she also notes that many of those who are presumably in the vanguard of online social change are mimicking the practices of the giant corporations and institutions they presumably aim to overthrow, even collaborating with them on certain projects.

She sees journalists as being an essential part of this liberating mix, but her ideas of what constitutes journalism—and who is entitled to call themselves journalists—reflect the view that anybody can be a journalist. This is coupled with the notion that as long as the internet functions as an online agora, a Habermasian space that allows for the free flow of ideas

and the harnessing of technology to the struggle for social change, then anybody should be able to contribute to the discussion.

Early in the book she discusses the Occupy Movement and the way in which some of its participants in New York began to get their stories into the media, as protesters who somehow also wound up being regarded as reporters. The problem is that the blurring of lines between participants, reporters, journalists and hacktivists that Russell so celebrates, and which she sees as essential to social change, is actually inimical to its success.

The Occupy Movements fizzled out precisely because it had no defined centre, no plan, no manifesto and no leader who could really get across any message beyond the fact that they were, quite rightly, but inarticulately, angry.

It is all very well to declare that the technological vanguard has let the people write the story from within, or that everybody is now a journalist, but unless there is enough structure to hold ideas in place, everything falls apart; the centre does not hold and Donald Trump is let loose upon the world.

Reference

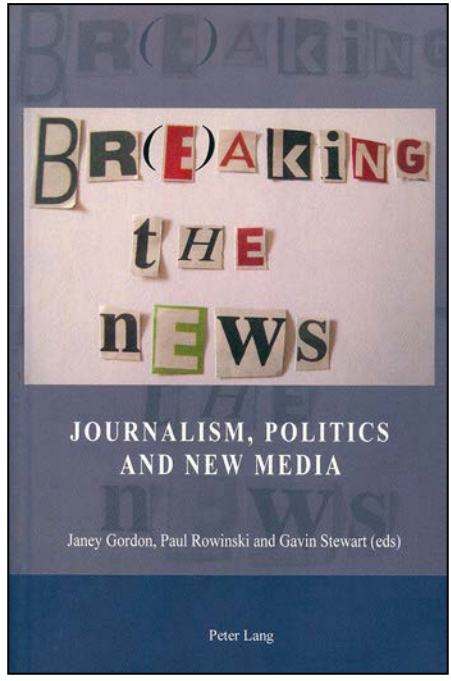
Marx, Karl (1845). The illusion of the epoch. In *The German ideology*. Retrieved from www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/german-ideology/ch01b.htm

NOTED:

Dr David Robie is Pacific Journalism Review editor.

Refreshed digital journalism education mission needed

Br(e)aking the News: Journalism, Politics and New Media, edited by Janey Gordon, Paul Rowinski and Gavin Stewart. Berne, Switzerland: Peter Lang AC. 2013. 308 pages. ISBN 9783034309042



TWO DECADES ago, United States media ecologist Neil Postman posed critical questions about the 'mission of education' in his book *The End of Education*. Detailing the failings of American education faced with encroaching corporate and managerial strategies that did not tackle the real problem—an 'identity crisis'—he ironically heralded the coming challenges over journalism education. It has outgrown the rationales of the past.

Just as in education generally, what is needed is a new master narrative, a fresh sense of mission for what it is to be a journalist in our stressed democracies and a revitalised rationale for journalism education. In her penultimate chapter of *Br(e)aking the News*, a book challenging the journalistic mission across the board, Susan Jacobson sets out a strategy for not winding up with the 'end of American (Western?) journalism education'. She reminds us that virtually every day there is a new article or two published about the latest tactic for successfully teaching journalism.

As she notes, journalism educators are persuaded to 'join social media, investigate crowdsourcing, embrace citizen journalism, report hyperlocal news, incorporate data journalism, employ multimedia storytelling and try out the latest apps and widgets' (p. 253). Jacobson cites many units that offer changed methodologies in teaching journalism, from the Neiman Journalism Lab to Poynter.org. But, she asks, has journalism education lost the plot? New methodologies and tactics are all very well, she argues, but shouldn't we be picking up Postman's essential education challenge—it's not just about technique, but a fundamental,

rethought narrative that makes sense of journalism to young people? Rather than an 'end' or being lost in a 'media bubble', we need a more dialogic, community-empowering news model—a form of trustworthy journalism that is a conversation between journalism, sources and audiences.

This book has 14 chapters with various interpretations of digital media change and strategies, from the impact of the Leveson Inquiry into media phone hacking and journalism ethics in the United Kingdom; how Middle East journalists tweeted the Arab Spring; 'terrorism radio' and illiteracy in the tribal areas of northwest Pakistan; to Berlusconi, Murdoch and the 'power of persuasion' over Europe (with special relevance post-Brexit, although written before then).

One chapter of considerable Antipodean interest is Twitter 'gatewatching', an assessment of media tweeting and sharing patterns at Australian news and comment sites (p. 181). The findings may be surprising to some. Trusted 'quality' broadsheet style (largely 'compact' these days) news sites dominate Twitter dissemination, suggesting critiques on the decline of legacy media on social platforms may be misconceived, or certainly premature. *The Sydney Morning Herald* tops the 21 news sites surveyed, followed by the ABC, with Murdoch's news.com.au a distant third. Of the seven opinion and commentary sites, the non-profit academic public interest outlet *The Conversation* (founded in 2011) has made a strong impact as a trusted 'high brow' and engaged contributor to the twittersphere.

The ATNIX (Australian Twitter News Index) is a valuable tool created for this project. Sadly, there is no equivalent research into the New Zealand media, which recently came close to signing the death warrant of its own media plurality with a failed merger proposal by NZME and Fairfax to the Commerce Commission.

Reference

Postman, N. (1996). *The end of education*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.

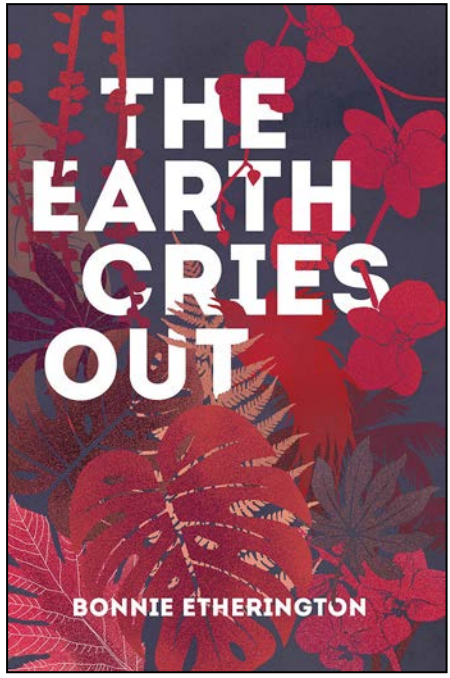
Powerful, unadulterated insight into West Papua

The Earth Cries Out, by Bonnie Etherington. Auckland: Vintage, 2017, 285 pages. ISBN 978-0-14-377065-7

AT FIRST glance, Bonnie Etherington's debut novel may not seem to be more than an exploration of grief amid family tragedy. On closer inspection, woven among and intertwined with a young family's attempt at atonement and healing, is the story of a nation crying out for freedom from Indonesian repression. The political and social issues raised by Etherington—self-determination, colonialism, exploitation, mass murder, racism, mortality—reflect West Papua's dark history of colonialism. This is made all the more real through the eyes of the young protagonist, Ruth. What greater way to chart almost 50 years of repression of a Pacific nation than through the innocent eyes of a child?

The Earth Cries Out represents a useful tool for journalists. Due to the political and social issues raised, journalists who read this book will gain a powerful, unadulterated introduction and insight into West Papua—where the word self-determination is met with Indonesian bullets:

> The people in Yuvut knew how to be afraid and not trust anyone…From a long time ago, when the Indonesian Army first came, the villagers had memories sunk inside them, in between the ulcers in their stomachs and the malaria in their livers. Memories of arrows against guns. Memories of huts burning quick as grass, families nailed inside. They had stories of airstrip massacres. (pp. 83-84)



Etherington's novel allows journalists to learn of West Papua's social and political turmoil. It introduces them to the nation's origins and traces some of its tumultuous history, despite the fact the book largely charts Ruth and her family's time there during the 1990s. This passage occurs a few pages into the novel and its themes recur throughout the book:

> Dutch New Guinea, West Irian, Irian Jaya, West Papua. The name of this province changed (and still changes). Its history is one of invasions and divisions. Everyone hungry for a piece of 'Java's Kitchen'. Take some sandalwood here, some oil there, and don't forget the gold and copper. Dad told me about the big invasions (the Dutch, the explorers, the Americans and Japanese and Australians in the Second World War, the missionaries, the miners, the Indonesian Army). (p. 21)

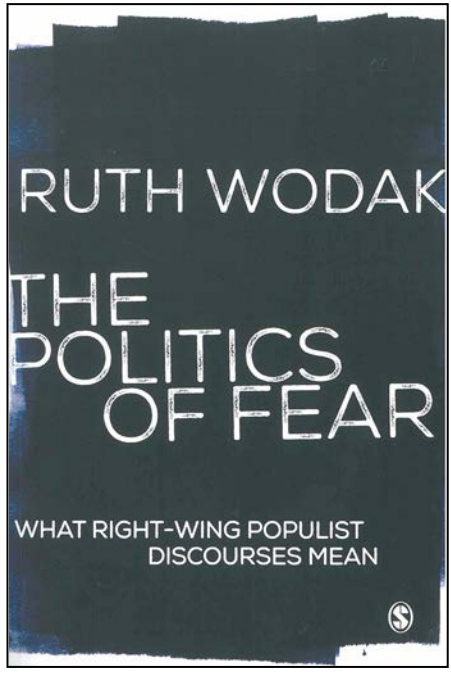
More importantly, *The Earth Cries Out* offers journalists the ability to understand the consequences of colonialism and colonisation—non-native plant and species invasion and sexually transmitted diseases—something which Etherington likens to 'smaller invasions'. Such introductions are made all the more jarring—and eye-opening—by Etherington's unfettered and frank approach to the situation in West Papua:

> It was Suharto who was President in 1969, when Indonesia officially grew by over 162,000 square miles, thanks to Papua. The United Nations had a conversation, men in offices drew lines, and the front half of New Guinea's bird body remained separated from its back half, its sweeping tail,

> because the Indonesian Army had guns and friends, and the men in offices thought that Papua's bird mouth would never open and speak for itself. (p. 22)

Etherington's book highlights the human rights violations occurring in a country where no media spotlight is allowed and contributes to public consciousness-raising about West Papua. Ultimately, *The Earth Cries Out* documents a nation crying out to be heard, crying out for its freedom. *The Earth Cries Out* implores for the silence about West Papua to come to an end and for journalists to play their role in making this happen.—*Kendall Hutt is Pacific Media Watch freedom project editor.*

Right-wing rhetoric makes the unpalatable normal



> *The Politics of Fear. What right-wing populist discourses mean*, by Ruth Wodak. London: Sage, 2015. 256 pages. ISBN 978-1- 4462-470-0-6

AS WE observe political events unfolding in the United States, the Brexit vote in the UK, the discourse around Korea, the French elections and the rhetoric of European nations, Wodak's book provides a timely insight into the discourse of right-wing populism and why it is successful.

In each of the eight chapters, Wodak provides campaign materials, images, online data, television interviews and news stories. A total of 15 vignettes/political snapshots are used to help the reader decode right-wing populist messages. Understanding the range of rhetorical devices being used to normalise nationalistic, racist and anti-Semitic discourses, explains why and how these political actors and discourses have constructed their appeal and as a result are becoming mainstream in the public sphere.

Identity construction and the reshaping of nationalism through immigration policies are covered, along with an historical tracking of political actors and parties and their discourse and strategies in the early chapters. The reader is helped to understand how these political actors set the agenda and frame media debates today. Wodak provides the reader with an in-depth deconstruction of how individual and collective identities are used by right-wing populist groups to justify their views about who should be considered

as suitable in-members in order to participate in the social, cultural and political life of their countries and who should not.

The analysis examines the 'front stage' where the public/voters are present and the 'back stage' where politics is done. Political actors are seen as performers on the front stage conveying empathy, anger and discontent in relational terms using phrases and tunes that capture the ideas that 'we' are against the elites, against those up there—the 'them' and 'us' rhetoric being used to convince voters that they, the political actors, are like them and thus understand the 'fear' of the ordinary person/of us. The press coverage thus gained of their messages helps further their control of the political and media agenda.

The final chapter concludes with a message addressed to the media, public opinion and political actors to dismantle these politically manipulative dynamics. Wodak provides a way forward to change the current discourses of fear through strategies such as the use of discourses that are inclusive, the use of 'we' terms and not the divisive 'us vs them', the use of language that promotes values of well-being, dignity, equality, diversity and solidarity.

Wodak is a prolific researcher and writer in the field of critical discourse analysis with much of her work focused on the study of political extremism. This book is an accessible read, encompassing her extensive knowledge of what has been published in the area with her examination of the politics of fear.

Her writing is targeted not just at academia but to those outside this sphere. As Wodak states in her preface: 'I have made a point of employing a more popular comprehensible style of writing while still doing justice to the requirements of systematic linguistic analysis' (p. xii). Wodak also provides informative and clear tables of linguistic strategies, including a useful explanatory table on fallacy in chapter three.

The book is useful for students interested in linguistics and political discourse and for media and communication professionals because it helps understand the range of rhetorical devices used by political actors to reshape and communicate their content, the logical fallacies used in political discourses and what needs to be done to challenge the language and the discourses.—*LYNNE TRENWITH is an Auckland-based communications academic and consultant.*

Questions of great intricacy opened up to non-Arabic audience

Media and Political Contestation in the Contemporary Arab World, edited by Lena Jayyusi and Anne Sofie Roald. Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave MacMillan 2016. 327 pages. ISBN 978-1-137-5252-2-2.

MEDIA and Political Contestation in the Contemporary Arab World explores the extremely complicated reality of the Arab media and its place in the political and cultural debates that are rarely recognised or understood in the west. In the Middle East, media of

all kinds, from clothes to pop songs, carry heavily loaded political messages that simply cannot be avoided and which can cause political explosions.

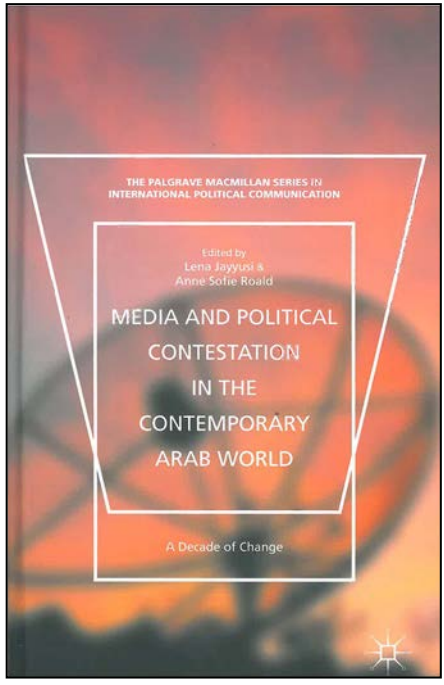
In 2010, for instance, Iraqi singer Shadha Hassoun released a video called 'Aarqoub's Promise,' which shows an Iraqi woman regretting her liaison with an American soldier. The video caused an uproar which spilled over into mosque sermons, political speeches and the Iraqi elections.

Messages freighted with political meaning confront residents of the Middle East all day long. Media products we might dismiss or take for granted become sites of immense cultural and political contestation.

The special circumstances of many Arab states have led to specialisations that have no equal in the west. During the second intifada a young Palestinian, Muhammad al-Durrah, was killed by crossfire between Israeli soldiers and Palestinian fighters. Almost instantaneously, posters using a still image from a video tape shot by a France 2 cameraman appeared, showing him clinging to his father in the midst of the battle.

Al-Durrah had become the subject of what Haddad calls a martyr's poster, a carefully choreographed, but vital, tool for celebrating and memorialising Palestinians killed in the conflict with the occupying Israeli forces.

But they are more than just that, of course, because the iconography, the language, the way images have been photoshopped, all reflect what he calls 'a dialectic within the Palestinian public sphere where intricate social and



political dynamics play themselves out, primarily on two fronts: between the Israeli occupation and Palestinian society and within Palestinian society itself.' (pp. 106-107)

Caught between competing cultural forces, a television programme like *Star Academy* becomes not a tacky piece of reality television, but, as Kraidy demonsrates, a battle ground for different versions of modernity and, inconceivably to a western audience, a poetry competition, *Amir al-shu'ara'* becomes a runway hit.

Other authors in this volume examine the role of women on Arabic television. What, for instance, is the significance of whether a television celebrity covers her hair? To ask the question is to open a debate on feminism, the power relations between

men and women, the manipulation of the question of female modesty by religious authorities and politicians. These are questions of great intricacy and this book opens them up and makes them understandable to a non-Arabic audience. *Dr PHILIP CASS is reviews editor of Pacific Journalism Review.*

Pacific Journalism Review
PACIFIC MEDIA CENTRE

Vol. 23, No 2, November 2017

Call for articles and commentaries: Journalism education in Asia-Pacific

Papers are being sought for a special themed edition of *Pacific Journalism Review* based on a range of journalism education issues and challenges in the Asia-Pacific region. Several papers delivered at the Fourth World Journalism Congress (WJEC) conference held at Auckland University of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand, on July 14-16, 2016, along with a JERAA/Pacific Media Centre/Media Educators Pacific, are included as part of the core of this edition. Other papers can include but are not restricted to:

- Journalism education and informed citizenry
- Journalism education in Asia
- Journalism education in South Pacific
- Asia-Pacific journalism models/case studies
- Political economy of media education in Asia-Pacific
- Journalism education freedom and independence
- Research trends in journalism
- 21st century ethical issues in journalism
- Innovation in journalism education
- Teaching journalism for mobile (multiple) platforms
- Teaching alternative forms of journalism
- De-westernising journalism education.

The above list is a guideline and other related topics will also be considered. Papers not presented at the WJEC conference or pre-conference can also be submitted. The journal has an unthemed section and other papers related to journalism studies, and journalism education, theory and practice will also be considered. Pacific Journalism Review *is the only journalism journal from Australasia indexed by SCOPUS.*

The double blind peer-reviewed journal has five main sections: Research articles, Commentaries, Frontline (journalism-as-research), Forum and Reviews.

The APA-based style guide is at: www.pjreview.info/style-guide

Submissions: https://ojs.aut.ac.nz/pacific-journalism-review

Managing editor: Professor David Robie david.robie@aut.ac.nz

Articles: up to 6000 words

Submissions deadline: August 20, 2017

www.pjreview.info

Notes for contributors

Pacific Journalism Review, founded at the University of Papua New Guinea in 1994, is a peer-reviewed journal covering media issues and communication in the South Pacific, Asia-Pacific, Australia and New Zealand. It is now published by the Pacific Media Centre, AUT University, and has links with the University of the South Pacific. While one objective is research into Pacific journalism theory and practice, the journal is also expanding its interest into new areas of research and inquiry that reflect the broader impact of contemporary media practice and education.

A particular focus will be on the cultural politics of the media, including the following issues—new media and social movements, indigenous cultures in the age of globalisation, the politics of tourism and development, the role of the media and the formation of national identity and the cultural influence of New Zealand as a branch of the global economy within the Pacific region. It also has a special interest in environmental and development studies in the media and communication—and vernacular media in the region.

Main sections:

• *Research:* Academic research and analysis papers (up to 6000 words)
• *Commentary:* Industry insights, developments and practice (1500-3000 words)
• *Frontline*: Reflective journalism research (up to 6000 words)
• *Reviews:* Books, films, online developments, multimedia (800-1500 words).
• *Noted:* 300-350 words.
• *Forum:* Letters, brief commentaries (up to 800 words)

Submission of papers:

Within the editorial scope of the journal, we invite the submission of original papers, commentaries and reviews. Submissions are reviewed by the editor, or editorial committee. Submissions are double blind peer refereed.

Editorial deadline for next issue:

August 20, 2017. Submissions should be filed through the new submissions website on Tuwhera: **ojs.aut.ac.nz/pacific-journalism-review/**

Correspondence should be emailed to the managing editor,

Professor David Robie:
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Style: Use *APA (American Psychological Association) Style* for author-date system of referencing. See style guide at **www.pjreview.info**

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