

Media and the politics of climate change in Kiribati: A case study on journalism in a “disappearing nation”



Taberannang Korauaba
February 28, 2012

Pacific Media Centre, School of Communications, AUT University
A thesis submitted to Auckland University of Technology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master in Communication Studies.

Abstract

Although the Pacific nation of Kiribati has been identified as one of the most vulnerable countries to the impact of climate change, little is known about the attitudes of the local media and the public toward this issue. This is in contrast to empirical studies' findings which have shown that the public and the media were aware of the threats posed by climate change. *Aware of* and *concern about* are very different from 'we care and let's do something because it is our country'. President Anote Tong and his growing focus on this issue – centred on his close relationship with the foreign news media – have increasingly cast his I-Kiribati people as the victims and thus further marginalised their ability to learn about climate change. Further to this, there is no connection with what Tong has declared overseas with his government's 2008-2011 Development Plan. This thesis argues that Kiribati is not united on climate change. Traditional, cultural and religious beliefs about land, environment and sea, and division among educated elites and political parties are some of the key barriers to communicating and receiving climate change stories. The government's closed door policy, top down approach and its one-way communication have restricted the media's access to information relating to climate change, and more importantly how 'climate funds' are distributed in the country. Despite attempts by the Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP) to bridge this gap with training workshops to increase media reporting, this study argues that the regional organisation has become part of the problem. Its workshops have been flawed and lack a solid theoretical basis. These complex issues shed new light on the problems facing the Kiribati media on communicating climate change to a society that is not united on this issue. Therefore, a culturally planned deliberative journalism model based on the *Karoronga* cultural concept is proposed as a framework to engage the media in addressing these issues and encouraging participation of I-Kiribati on climate change discourse through a bottom up, vertical and horizontal communication approach. This is an emerging challenge for the Kiribati media.

Contents

ABSTRACT	2
ATTESTATION OF AUTHORSHIP	7
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	8
MAP OF KIRIBATI.....	9
FIG: 0.1 KIRIBATI'S LOCATION	9
FIG: 0.2 AERIAL VIEW OF SOUTH TARAWA.....	9
ABOUT KIRIBATI	10
1. INTRODUCTION: WHO CARES IF KIRIBATI DISAPPEARS TOMORROW?	12
1.2 ISOLATION AND POPULATION GROWTH	15
1.3 KIRIBATI ENVIRONMENT	16
1.4 CLIMATE CHANGE	17
1.5 SECRETARIAT OF THE PACIFIC REGIONAL ENVIRONMENT PROGRAMME	18
1.6 HOW DO KIRIBATI JOURNALISTS FIT INTO ALL THESE DEVELOPMENTS?.....	19
1.7 THE MEDIA IN KIRIBATI	20
1.8 UNDERSTANDING DELIBERATIVE JOURNALISM.....	21
1.9 REDEFINING DELIBERATIVE JOURNALISM IN A CULTURAL CONTEXT.....	22
1.10 OUTLINE OF THESIS.....	23
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	26
2.1 RESEARCH ON MEDIA COVERAGE OF CLIMATE CHANGE	26
2.2 ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERN AND CLIMATE CHANGE SCIENCE	29
2.3 CLIMATE CHANGE WORKSHOPS AND SEMINARS	30
2.4 DELIBERATIVE JOURNALISM.....	32
2.5 KUNDA DIXIT AND ANGELA ROMANO, PART OF THE PROBLEM OR SOLUTION?... 33	
2.6 PART OF THE SOLUTION.....	34
2.7 WATCHDOG OF DEMOCRACY IN THE PACIFIC	34
2.8 WATCHDOG OF ENVIRONMENT.....	36
2.9 KIRIBATI JOURNALISM CONTEXT	36
2.10 WHAT'S NEXT? JOURNALISM EDUCATION.....	38
CHAPTER 3: TAONA TABON INAIM AS A METHODOLOGY.....	40
3.2 LOCATION OF STUDY	42
3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN AND SAMPLING PROCEDURE	42
INTERVIEWS	42
RATIONALE FOR SELECTION OF THE PARTICIPANTS	43
WEAKNESS AND STRENGTH OF INTERVIEW AND SELECTION	44
SUBJECTS' BACKGROUND	44

QUESTIONNAIRES	46
WHO IS FILLING OUT THESE QUESTIONNAIRES AND WHY?	47
3.4 CONTENT ANALYSIS	47
SELECTED PUBLICATIONS	48
SAMPLING	49
3.5 APPLYING <i>TAONA TABON INAIM</i> IN THE COLLECTION OF DATA	50
HOW <i>TAONA TABON INAIM</i> WORKS	51
3.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS	53
3.7 CONFIDENTIALITY.....	54
3.8 EXEGESIS	54
3.9 GIVE IT BACK TO THE COMMUNITY.....	55
CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS	56
4.1 INTERVIEWS.....	56
ISSUE 1	56
ISSUE 2	57
ISSUE 3	58
ISSUE 4	58
ISSUE 5	59
ISSUE 6	59
ISSUE 7	59
ISSUE 8	60
ISSUE 9	60
ISSUE 10	61
4.2 DIFFERENT LAYERS OF KNOWLEDGE IN KIRIBATI.....	61
ISSUE 11	61
PEOPLE’S UNDERSTANDING OF NATURE.....	61
CHRISTIANITY	62
PEOPLE’S EDUCATION.....	63
POLITICAL PARTIES DIVIDED ON CLIMATE CHANGE	63
FINDINGS.....	64
JOURNALISTS.....	64
GOVERNMENT	65
NGOs.....	65
POLITICAL DIVIDE.....	65
PEOPLE’S KNOWLEDGE	65
4.3 QUESTIONNAIRES	65
FINDINGS	67
BPA JOURNALISTS.....	67
FORMER JOURNALISTS	67
4.4 NEWS CONTENT ANALYSIS, 8–18 DECEMBER 2009	67
HEADLINE.....	68
STORY (2 CATEGORIES) INSIDE COP15 – NEGATIVE OR POSITIVE.....	68

OUTSIDE COP15 – NEGATIVE OR POSITIVE	68
SOURCES	69
PLACEMENT.....	69
4.5 KIRIBATI: ABOUT <i>TE UEKERA</i>.....	69
HEADLINES.....	71
PLACEMENT.....	72
4.6 FIJI: ABOUT <i>THE FIJI TIMES</i>.....	73
4.7 NEW ZEALAND: ABOUT <i>NEW ZEALAND HERALD</i>	82
CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS	90
5.1 ATTITUDES TOWARD THE KIRIBATI MEDIA.....	90
5.2 DEVELOPMENT IN MEDIA COVERAGE OF CLIMATE CHANGE	92
5.3 KIRIBATI DEVELOPMENT PLAN 2009-2011.....	94
5.4 MEDIA ATTITUDES TO CLIMATE CHANGE: VICTIM-ORIENTED AND HERO APPROACH.....	96
5.5 IS IT DEVELOPMENT OR DISASTER?	98
5.6 INTERVIEWS.....	99
5.7 HOW CLIMATE CHANGE STORIES COME TO BE REPORTED.....	100
5.8 FRAMING AS THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL REALITY	102
5.9 JOURNALISTS AND THEIR SOURCES.....	106
5.10 JOURNALISTS AND NGOS.....	107
5.11 JOURNALISTS AND THE PUBLIC.....	108
5.12 DO KIRIBATI JOURNALISTS REPORT CLIMATE CHANGE OBJECTIVELY OR SUBJECTIVELY?	108
5.13 WORKSHOPS.....	110
5.14 QUESTIONNAIRE.....	111
5.15 CONTENT ANALYSIS	113
TE UEKERA COVERAGE OF COP15	113
THE FIJI TIMES COVERAGE	114
THE NEW ZEALAND HERALD COVERAGE	115
5.16 ASPECTS OF JOURNALISM AND ITS INFLUENCE ON POLICY MAKING	115
OBJECTIVE AND BALANCE	115
CROSS-CULTURAL COMPARATIVE STUDY	118
5.17 CLIMATE CHANGE DELIBERATIONS AND DELIBERATIVE JOURNALISM	119
5.18 GOVERNMENT’S ROLE IN THIS DELIBERATION	121
5.19 CULTURALLY PLANNED DELIBERATIVE JOURNALISM THROUGH TE KARORONGA CONCEPT.....	124
5.20 <i>How the media fit in this Karoronga, Te Airiiri and Te Kataanga concepts?</i>	125
CHAPTER 6: PART OF THE SOLUTION OR THE PROBLEM?	127

6.1 INTERNAL FACTORS.....	127
6.2 EXTERNAL FACTORS.....	128
6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS	131
6.4 EXEGESIS	132
REFERENCES.....	133
APPENDIX 1.....	145
APPENDIX 2.....	147
APPENDIX 3.....	150
APPENDIX 4.....	154
LIST OF FIGURES	154
APPENDIX 5.....	155
LIST OF TABLES	155
APPENDIX 6.....	156
ABBREVIATION	156
DEFINITIONS.....	156

Attestation of authorship

I, Taberannang Korauaba, hereby declare that, to the best of my knowledge, the information given in this thesis is true and correct and I certify that all the materials that are not my own work have been identified and acknowledged.

Signed _____

Date _____

Acknowledgement

I would like to thank the following people for their assistance in this research;

My supervisor, Professor David Robie and Pacific Media Centre;

Dr Greg Burnett of the Otago University for reviewing my first drafts and his constructive feedback; Mr Teweiariki Teaero of the University of the South Pacific for his cultural input into my research framework and facilitators of the Pacific Postgraduate Writers Retreat at the Auckland University of Technology.

My special thanks to the participants in Kiribati:

His Excellency President Anote Tong and former President and Opposition MP Teburoro Tito. Aneta, Ueretan, Buraieta, Tearinibeia, Monika, Timeon, Rikamati, Claire, Ribeta, Teweiariki, Tokantetaake and Taakena.

Librarians at the University of the South Pacific; Ann McKillop, the Liaison Librarian for Communication Studies at the Auckland University of Technology and staff members at the Manukau Library and Research Centre, Auckland.

I also wish to thank Borerei and Tenea for assisting me with my research in Kiribati and Dr Kabwea Tiban in Fiji. I also wish to thank Charles Rhodes and Bronna Brown for proofreading my thesis.

My heartfelt and warm big thank you to my wife Uriana, our kids Harry, Aarii, Tekoriri, Tebwaara and Korauaba. And to my mum Takenateraai for her encouragement and prayers.

Kam rab'a, ao are ieta ngkami.

Map of Kiribati

Fig: 0.1 Kiribati's location



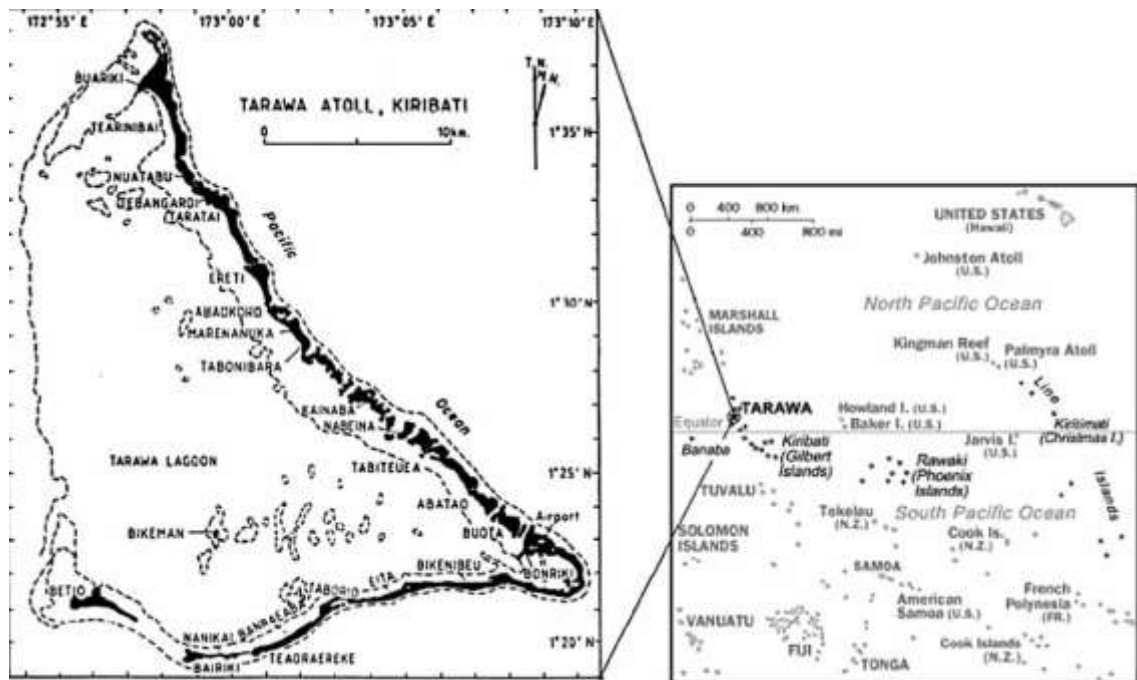
Source: http://www.uknetguide.co.uk/Travel/nt/maps/map_oceania.gif

Fig: 0.2 Aerial view of South Tarawa



Source: <http://1.bp.blogspot.com>

Fig. 0.3 Map of Tarawa atoll facing serious environmental problems caused by wastes and pollution



Source: adapted from Moglia et al. (2008).

About Kiribati

The Republic of Kiribati consists of three major groups; the Gilbert, Phoenix and Line Islands with a total land area of 811 square kilometres, of which ten percent is uninhabited (Storey & Hunter, 2010). The Phoenix and Line groups in the central and east are more sparsely populated, with only Kiritimati, Teraina and Fanning (Line) having a permanent population other than Kanton and Orona. The isolated volcanic Banaba Island in the west of Kiribati has a small population of just 200. The capital Tarawa and the islet of Betio are the most populous and overcrowded islands placing pressure on the environment and sustainable development. In general, Kiribati is disadvantaged by its location and being an atoll nation limiting its resource to cater for its own people in the long term (Moy, 2009). Nevertheless Kiribati governments, which include the current administration, have shown ambitious plans or intent to re-mine the phosphate on Banaba and to re-develop Kiritimati (ADB, 2007).

Kiribati people are the Micronesians who inhabited the islands around 3000 years ago. The major church denominations are the Roman Catholic and Kiribati Protestants. Kiribati has enjoyed a stable and sound government and parliament since it achieved independence from Britain in 1979 which is very different to other Pacific neighbouring countries. The President is the head of government and country elected every four years. The President's term in office is limited to only 12 years by the country's Constitution. Kiribati has a parliament of 45 members who have a four-year term in office. Since 1979, there have been four occasions when the government was defeated on a no confidence motion, the latest being in 2003.

1. Introduction: Who cares if Kiribati disappears tomorrow?

*I teitei i nukani marawa
Akea raou ae e na buokai
A katukai boong ririki*

- Toakai, 1978¹, cited in Teaero & Tebano, 2008²

I stand in the middle of the ocean
With no friends to help me
They left me days and years ago

Translation by the author

On 13 July 2009, just one day after Kiribati commemorated its national day, a double-hulled canoe, *Uean Te Raoi II*, capsized between the island of Maiana and the capital Tarawa with 55 passengers on board. Only 20 survivors were found, and a few days later decomposed bodies were recovered by local fishermen. To show the government's support and care for its people, the country's flag was flown at half mast, and months later President Anote Tong set up a Commission of Inquiry to investigate the cause of the tragedy. After months of examination, the commission presented its report to President Tong. But due to the increasing politicization of the issue, Tong refused to release the report, invoking his powers to do so under the laws of the country. Until now, no one has been held accountable for this tragedy.

The tragedy highlighted three themes: vast ocean and poor communication, lack of care about safety at sea; and the government's lack of political will to bring

¹ Toakai, a Protestant missionary, was a local composer. He wrote this song in 1978 to compete in the nationwide song competition for the country's national anthem.

² Teaero & Tebano published *Te Mwamira Teuana* in 2008 to record Kiribati songs written by artists, many of whom have passed away.

irresponsible people to justice.³ On Wednesday 7 August 2009, in the Tongan Kingdom, the inter-island ferry *Princess Ashika* sank killing 74 people. The Kingdom set up a Commission of Inquiry to investigate the tragedy. After more than a year following the accident, the commissioners handed in their report to the government which wasted no time following through on their findings and recommendations.

In April 2011, the Tongan court sentenced New Zealander John Jonesse to 5 years in jail for manslaughter by negligence in the trial for the sinking of the *Princess Ashika*. His sentence was quashed by the Court of Appeal late last year. The ship's captain Maka Tuputupu was handed a four-year jail term but served only six months in prison. He was convicted of manslaughter by negligence causing the death of Vaefetu'u Mahe, 22, the only Tongan whose body was recovered after the sinking. He was also found guilty of sending an unseaworthy ship to sea. Viliami Tu'ipulotu, a former director of Tonga's Ministry of Transport, was handed a three-year suspended sentence for manslaughter and for sending an unseaworthy ship to sea. The ship's first mate, Semisi Pomale, was jailed for five years but served 18 months in jail on a manslaughter conviction. The court also fined the Shipping Corporation of Polynesia, which owned *Princess Ashika*, \$1 millions.⁴ \$20,000 of this went to the Women's Crisis centre in Tonga (Sentencing today. (2011, April 28). *New Zealand Herald* online).

On 3 February 2012, *Rabaul Queen* sank off the east coast of Papua New Guinea (PNG). The latest ferry tragedy showed that unseaworthy ships continue to operate in the Pacific. It was reported that survivors of the *Rabaul Queen* battled to stay alive after the ferry overturned in rough seas.

As many as 100 people remain unaccounted for after the 22-year-old Japanese-built ferry sank near the end of its 20-hour, 290-nautical mile journey between Kimbe and PNG's second largest city, Lae. There were 350 passengers and 12 crew on board.

³ In 2011, opposition MP Tito urged Tong's administration to follow Tonga's handling of Princess Ashika. Tong government refused to act on the commission's findings. *The Kiribati Independent* news website in Auckland, [www. http://www.thekiribatiindependent.co.nz/p.php?q=%2Farticle%2Fboat-tragedy](http://www.thekiribatiindependent.co.nz/p.php?q=%2Farticle%2Fboat-tragedy)

⁴ \$1,000,000,000 Pa'anga (Tongan) currency is about NZ \$710,000.000. [http://coinmill.com/NZD_TOP .html](http://coinmill.com/NZD_TOP.html)

The government has set up a Commission of Inquiry to investigate the cause of the tragedy. The commission will be assisted by experienced lawyers who have also worked with the Tongan inquiry into the sinking of *Princess Ashika*. Television New Zealand Pacific Correspondent Barbara Dreaver described the latest incident as a ‘wake-up call’ for authorities in the maritime industries in the South Pacific to clean up their act.⁵

Whatever rationale underpins the refusal of the Kiribati government to publicise the report into the deaths of its own people it has rekindled criticism over the government’s political will and care. This is in sharp contrast to Tong’s systematic concern and care for the impact of global warming on his country in the next 50 years or so. Quite sadly, fishermen still went missing on the high seas because the country’s ability to search and rescue is limited. The problem is exacerbated as people do not bother about safety at sea and responsible authorities rarely inspect the boats to ensure that they comply with existing maritime regulations.

In parliament, opposition politicians expressed their indignation at the way the government handled climate change saying its approach was far too extreme and was not pragmatic. Outside parliament, journalists covered a story about gossip regarding a ‘ghost’. As a result, ghost-believers left their homes and gathered outside that house of the imagined ghost before dawn to see what the ghost looked like. President Tong described this ‘ghost story’ as a sign of losing focus on real issues and tantamount to irresponsible reporting.⁶

Every Sunday, devoted churchgoers walked quietly with their bibles to the chapel to worship the Lord. In that bible was the story of God’s promise to Noah. Feeling aggravated by this biblical teaching, several overseas researchers excluded the ‘story of Noah’ in their questionnaires because they thought it would reinforce people’s sense of scepticism if they included it. The reality is that missionaries and priests have not contested that story because if they do so they would inadvertently attack the very book on which their faith is founded.

⁵ Barbara Dreaver, a TVNZ Pacific journalist said the maritime industry in each Pacific Island country needed to review its regulations in relation to seaworthy and maritime regulations. See <http://tvnz.co.nz/world-news/barbara-dreaver-ferry-disaster-wake-up-call-4710722>

⁶ Tong said the journalist who wrote the story should be disciplined (Tong, personal communication, 5 October 2011)

Back in parliament, a motion was passed to set up a committee to look into the status of Chinese on how they got their work permits. On the street, people wondered why their government sold its former Kiribati Supplies Company to a Chinese businessman. In a rural setting, land owners in Buota, North Tarawa stopped the construction of a new water reservoir in their area over land ownership disputes. And in the air, the country's only radio station shut down for a few months, returning the outer islands to the olden days when the country had not got a radio station. From the middle of the island where one can see the lagoon and the ocean, workers built sea walls to protect the government's properties before the next high tide while landowners used sandbags to protect their lands. In New Zealand, I-Kiribati migrants encouraged their families to migrate to Auckland for a better life. People stood in a long queue outside the New Zealand High Commission office in Bairiki to apply for residence in New Zealand under the Pacific Access Category. What do all these trends mean to researchers and journalists alike?

1.2 Isolation and population growth

The country is extremely isolated and approximately one-third of the population lives in the capital, South Tarawa, which has an area of 15.8km² and a population density of 2558 persons/km²; this places a great strain on the limited ground water resources which are found in the form of freshwater lenses overlying saltwater. No surface water exists on the islands and rain water harvesting is practised only to a limited extent. Climate change is likely to affect the water resources in Kiribati through variations in rainfall (current average is 2745 mm), evapo-transpiration, increases in sea level and extreme events (World Bank, 2000). Modelling studies by Alam & Falkland (1997) demonstrated a potential halving of freshwater lenses if both rainfall and sea level rise were to undergo change simultaneously (Kuruppu & Liverman, 2010).

In 1992, Kiribati took part in the earth summit held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The summit paved the way for new developments in the country such as the establishment of a new Environment Ministry.

In 2000, the United Nations General Assembly in its Millennium Declaration resolved to halve, by the year 2015, the proportion of the world's population that is unable to reach or afford safe drinking water and to stop the unsustainable exploitation of water resources. Following on in 2002, the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg also set a new target of halving, by 2015, the proportion of people who do not have access to basic sanitation. While these targets seem ambitious enough, it is important to note the specific challenges in meeting these goals for Small Islands Developing States, which experience additional problems relating to both water supply and sanitation (United Nations 2005). Potential solutions are made more difficult by the remoteness of many island states, a lack of capital, the paucity of trained people and the constraints of terrestrial ecosystems (see Kuruppu & Liverman, 2010).

These challenges are particularly relentless for low lying islands such as Kiribati (ADB 2007; Moglia et al. 2008; White et al. 2007a). The location and physical geography of Kiribati provide a number of serious development difficulties which include limited arable soils, thus constraining agriculture options; isolation, which impedes competitiveness in the global or even regional market; as well as a plethora of environmental vulnerabilities which are exacerbated by population growth (Tofiga, 1985; Thomas 2003).

1.3 Kiribati Environment

In 1997, the government of Teburoro Tito set up the new Environment Ministry. In 1999, the new environment law came into force highlighting the government's commitment to international treaties on environment and pollution. The law was amended in 2007 by the government of President Anote Tong enacting specific sections dealing with actions to be taken against polluters and establishing new positions to administer the law.

Fig. 1.4. Kiribati man watching waves running through his sea wall



Source: Kiribati Climate Change website,

http://www.climate.gov.ki/Climate_change_effects_in_Kiribati.html#apm1_3

1.4 Climate change

Kiribati is located in the dry belt of the equatorial oceanic climate zone, with mean daily temperatures ranging from 26 to 32°C, with the recorded highs and lows being 22°C and 37°C⁷. Annual rainfall is extremely variable, both annually and between islands, with annual averages in the Gilbert group ranging from about 1000 mm for the drier islands such as Arorae and Tamana near the equator, to 3000 mm for the wetter islands such as Butaritari in the far north, and 1,550 mm on Tarawa. The natural vegetation and crops are much more luxuriant on islands like Butaritari and Makin in northern Kiribati than on the islands farther south (Environment Unit, 1995). There are two major systems which largely influence the climate in Kiribati; the Intertropical Convergence Zone (ITCZ) and the South Pacific Convergence Zone (SPCZ). The ITCZ influences rainfall in the northern islands while the SPCZ influences rainfall in the southern islands (Government of Kiribati, 1999). Typically, during El Nino episodes, the ITCZ moves closer to the equator and then away during La Nina episodes (Porteus & Thompson 1996 cited in Storey & Hunter, 2010).

⁷ North Tarawa conservation area: a report prepared by a number of outside and local environment and marine experts with the assistance of SPREP and South Pacific Biodiversity Conservation programme.

In recent years, there has been an attempt through aid support to mainstream climate change into national sustainable development planning and budgetary processes (White et al, 2007). One of the more important attempts to do this has been through the Kiribati Adaptation Program (KAP), which began in 2003 and is now in its final stages.⁸ KAP II has a fund of US\$6.58m from the World Bank, the Global Environmental Fund (GEF), and bi-lateral assistance through AusAID and NZAID. The programme focuses more on changing the way planning and implementation takes place, so that climate change risks are mainstreamed into policy and planning across government (World Bank, 2010). Currently there are two climate change departments; one located at the Ministry of Environment and the other at the Office of Te Beretitenti.⁹

1.5 Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme

SPREP is a regional organisation established by the governments of Pacific Island countries to look after their environment and is based in Apia, Samoa. The regional organisation has grown from a small programme attached to the South Pacific Commission (SPC) in the 1980's, into the Pacific region's major intergovernmental organisation charged with protecting and managing the environment and natural resources.¹⁰

The Pacific Island governments and administrations saw the need for SPREP to serve as the conduit for concerted environmental action at the regional level. The establishment of SPREP also sent a clear signal to the global community, of the deep commitment of the Pacific island governments and administrations towards sustainable development, especially in light of the outcomes of the World Summit on Sustainable Development in the form of the Plan of Implementation, the Millennium Development Goals and Declaration, the Barbados Plan of Action and

⁸ Storey & Hunter conclude that environmental policy implementation in Kiribati remains to be a problem, they also looked at past projects their strength and weakness

⁹ Kiribati has a similar style of executive with the US where Te Beretitenti (President) is the head of government and head of state. He's elected by the people for a four year term. The constitution limits the president's terms to only twelve years

¹⁰ *About SPREP* and the history of the organization are found on its website, <http://www.sprep.org>

Agenda 21.¹¹ Kiribati has received assistance from SPREP in the form of grants, research and consultancy work.

The solidarity and unity of the Pacific Island countries on climate change was put to the test at the Copenhagen Summit in 2009. The Papua New Guinea delegation distanced itself from their Pacific neighbours, Kiribati and Tuvalu, as they were concerned more about their forests (Ryan, 2010). Big economies were reluctant to accept a deal that did not bind developing countries, which included small and low lying islands in the Pacific. Tuvalu demanded industrialised countries to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions to 1.5 degree Celsius, the main reason that divided the world at COP15 (Ryan, 2010; Dimitrov, 2010; Gunster, 2011).

1.6 How do Kiribati journalists fit into all these developments?

The year 2009 was an important year for Kiribati and the rest of the world as it marked the beginning of a fresh start for negotiations between industrialised and developing countries, following intensive talks and preparations in 2007 and 2008 (Dimitrov, 2010). Kiribati, like other countries, had its own agenda to push through during the meeting in Copenhagen. It aimed to change the world's attitudes so they would listen to its people's voice. There was a combination of anxiety and curiosity among both developing and developed countries. Kiribati's President Anote Tong wasted no time and attended the meeting with his delegation.¹²

Journalists have difficulties understanding and articulating on their role in finding solutions for their country. And this problem has been addressed elsewhere and also in the Pacific by Papoutsaki, Rooney, Robie, Sharp, Singh and Duncan where they wanted the media to be part of the community they operate in. While they were not making reference to climate change, some of their shared concepts are important for the cultural framework of this study.

¹¹ The significance of early warning for disaster reduction has been repeatedly emphasized in major international agendas, including the Yokohama Strategy (4), Agenda 21 (5), the Barbados Plan of Action for Small Island Developing States (6), the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation (7), the Mauritius Strategy (8) and the G8 Summit in Gleneagles (9), as well as major multilateral environmental agreements, including the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Convention to Combat Desertification.

¹² *Te Uekera* reported about President Tong's visit of Germany on his way to Copenhagen.

For example, disagreements and differences over the role of the media during this century have become a tenor of other scholars' writings in the West where they have struggled to conceptualise why the media were slow to become part of the solution process. It is worth noting that these scholars have identified the causes of the gap in media reporting of climate change, focusing on media bias, objectivity, news structure and norms, but they have stopped there. Kunda Dixit has been a champion and promoter of deliberative journalism in the Asia Pacific region. In this dynamic and globalised world his book, *Dateline. Earth. Journalism. as. if. the. planet. mattered* (1997) has doubtlessly become the catalyst for emerging climate change scholarship in the region also shedding new light on how the media should become part of the solution. However, in 1991 an expatriate journalist who spent time covering nuclear testing wrote in the New Zealand *Evening Post* about climate change and atolls scared drowning when the issue was not seriously considered by the mainstream media (Robie, 1991).

1.7 The media in Kiribati

The government owned Broadcasting and Publications Authority founded Radio Kiribati in 1954 and *Te Uekera* in 1945, formerly known as *Te Tero*.¹³ The authority is governed by the Broadcasting and Publications Authority Act 1979. The Minister responsible appoints a board of directors to oversee the administration of the organisation. Kiribati Television was set up in 2004 and is governed under the Telecommunications Act 2004. Private and independent newspapers are the *Kiribati Newstar* established in 2000, and *Kiribati Independent*, established in 2011. The Kiribati Protestant Church publishes its own newspaper, *Mauri*, it first published in 2000. Private newspapers are registered with the Ministry of Communication through the Newspaper Registration Act 1988. A private FM radio is owned by Sir Jeremiah Tabai and others operating under the Telecommunications Act 2004. Landlines are becoming the main source of communication in Kiribati, these services are provided by the government owned Kiribati Telecom Services Limited.

¹³ Bataua was Kiribati's first commentator on media, his commentaries published as early as 1985.

There is a private video production unit, Nei Tabera ni Kai, owned by Linda Uan and John Anderson, a New Zealander. Websites include *Kiribati Online Community* and *The Kiribati Independent* published outside Kiribati. The government publishes its own newsletter, *RMAT* and administers a Press Unit set up by the government of President Teburoro Tito. The Press Unit combines and publishes news from all government ministries. However, the Ministry of Fisheries publishes its own newsletter, *Te Mamautari*. The Environment Ministry also published its own newsletter but stopped after being instructed by the Office of Te Beretitenti to send its articles to the Press Unit.

1.8 Understanding deliberative journalism

In her chapter, 'Deliberative Journalism; American Public Journalism versus Other International modes' published in a book titled 'International Journalism and Democracy: Civic engagement from around the world', of which she is the editor, Angela Romano defines deliberative journalism as the combination of all forms of journalism, public, civic, development and citizen practices.

Romano argues that deliberative journalism culminates from different forms of journalism practices in the United States and other big economies. Romano explains that the news media's influence on public agenda setting and communities' understanding of issues and events makes them a major social power in their own right. In this case, the media is involved in deliberations with those involved in finding solutions to issues they commonly face. She explains that deliberative journalism is a discussion and consideration undertaken by the news editorial before a decision is made. She cites community projects run by the news media in the United States as examples of deliberative journalism where journalists were heavily involved in the process. Opponents of these projects argued that journalists help manufacture events to cover. However, Romano disputes this saying these negative feelings were the results of poor planning, and lack of sound communication and consultation between the journalists and the editors.

Extending this deliberation to journalism is the model, deliberative journalism. Examples of projects that follow the concepts of this model include networking between journalists and universities such as the Global Environmental Project at the University of Technology, Sydney. Romano explains this new form of journalism requires commitment, expertise and specialist knowledge of the journalist. However, much of what Romano says in her article has already been argued by Kunda Dixit in his book *Dateline. Earth. Journalism. as. if.the. planet. mattered.* in 1997. The book was republished in 2010. Romano argues that all proposed forms of journalism are part of deliberations.

1.9 Redefining deliberative journalism in a cultural context

A culturally planned deliberative journalism is the next step which requires vertical and horizontal communication as well as three-ways communication between the media, the public and the government. This is lacking in Kiribati and this study suggests these areas be looked into. A framework centred on the cultural practice of the I-Kiribati people in finding solutions to their own problems, especially in relation to development, is proposed.

Claims that the media in Kiribati have little role in climate change deliberations because the country did not cause it are wrong. In fact, Kiribati contributes to climate change and the media should use its power to educate the people about all this and what they need to do to show the world that they care.

People are aware of the impacts of climate change but they have not yet reached a point where they will stand up and do something. In a similar vein, the media is aware but does not care much about it. Applying deliberative journalism and taking it to the next level is not easy. This is especially the case because studies have shown much about the gap but have disagreed on how to bridge that gap. Proposing a Fifth Estate, or watchdog of nature through deliberative journalism has not been thoroughly explored. ‘*Who cares*’ is a very critical question which has been addressed in areas such as education, clinical nursing and counselling but very few relate it to the study of media reporting of climate change in the Pacific. Politicians and businesses alike have used the ‘we care’ to lure votes and build their customer base.

In Kiribati, people have become increasingly dependent on the state for their daily needs (Tabai, 1985). Projects funded by the government often receive little support from the community unless there is something in it for them. People spend more time on their church projects without any monetary benefits as they are willing to support their own projects because the more they give the more likely they will get a place in that eternal life. At the community level, people set up their own networks to help each other such as *te airiiri*, *te karoronga*, *te kataanga*, or *te ua aai*. *Te airiiri* is a term used by a group of people in Makin in the north to help each other grow plants in their babai pits. Each island group has its own name for this cultural networking. The groups discuss among themselves plans and tasks and collectively put together their efforts to achieve their aims. This cultural network or chain was not discussed in the *maneaba*.¹⁴

Therefore, the following chapters take a deliberative journalism approach (Dixit, 1997; Romano, 2010) and apply it to the journalists' reporting of climate change through Kiribati cultural context. Allowing journalists to make sense of their own world by reporting what matters the most to their community has been addressed but not taken to the next level. Scholars concluded that journalists, especially in the West, are still attached to their traditional journalistic practices, and trainers who assist journalists in the Pacific to boost media coverage of climate change have not explored the existing cultural framework. This new approach seeks to re-connect and bridge the gap between the public, the media and the government.

1.10 Outline of thesis

Chapter Two is a discussion of the literature review exploring available texts on media coverage of climate change written by academics, journalists, governments, NGOs, intergovernmental agencies and climate change organisations in the Pacific and elsewhere. The focus of the literature is on Pacific texts. Due to the political, cultural and religious elements of the central theme of this thesis, there are some reviews of these important factors which may have indirect and direct influence on the reporters' writing of climate change. This section provides a discussion on deliberative journalism and how it can be applied to the Kiribati media.

¹⁴ Teiwaki argues that although Kiribati has changed, the *maneaba* system remains.

Chapter Three outlines the methodology employed in the collection of data. There is a discussion of Kiribati's cultural norm of *taona tabon inaim* used to collect data in Kiribati. Other topics discussed in this section include the author's method of study such as newspaper content analysis, supplemented by personal interviews with journalists, editors, government and NGOs in Kiribati. There are discussions on the ethics and confidentiality issues in this section.

Chapter Four is a report of results from the newspaper content analysis, interviews, questionnaires and cross-cultural comparative studies. While these data collection processes may differ in some ways, their common purpose is to understand how journalists in low lying islands such as Kiribati - disappearing nations – address climate change by exploring the way in which the stories were told, where they were put in the paper and who was interviewed as well as discursive themes regarding cultural, economical and political aspect of the issue.

Chapter Five provides a discussion on these findings against the political and cultural backdrop of the country's strong focus on climate change. The media was caught between the growing relationship with Aote Tong and foreign news media, while NGOs and the community lagged behind not knowing what to do during these difficult times. The author uses the findings from this research to form his preliminary statements and Culturally Planned Deliberative Journalism (CPDJ) based upon the cultural concept of cooperation and teamwork, *te karoronga*, *te uaai*, *te airiiri* and *te kataanga*. The author has preferred *Te Karoronga* because its sound is similar to *Kareke Rongorongo* the local definition of journalism or *Te Kaarongo*.¹⁵

Chapter Six sums up this thesis by revisiting the original scopes of the research and explaining too how they have been addressed in this research.

In the last part of this thesis, a summary of a climate change learning guide has been included.

¹⁵ Teaero would like to see the local name of journalists changed to 'kaarongo', taani kaarongo instead of *taani kareke ao ni kanako rongorongo*. Kaarongo is a sound rings in the ears to show news, either good or bad.

The reporting guide is designed for Kiribati journalists and is written in the vernacular. Entitled ‘Tabeu riibotinakina bwa I maeka i Kiribati’ (It is my responsibility to report it because I live in Kiribati). Who cares if Kiribati sinks tomorrow? Deliberative journalism is a model used to understand how journalists could take part in social deliberations to find solutions in a broader sense while culturally planned deliberative journalism is a specific preliminary model the author has explored to engage the media and the people in climate change deliberations through the notion of *te karoronga*. This guide can be viewed at www.thekiribatiindependent.co.nz

CHAPTER 2: Literature Review

*Ai kamimira taeka n rabakau
Ake a taekinaki
Bwa e na iekaki aonnaba
Ni korakoran te iabuti*

*Cho/ Bon te Atua ae karika aonnaba
Ma kanoana nikabane
Ao E tautaeka iaon bwaai nako
Akea riki n te aonnaba aei*

- Atara & Otintai, 1997¹⁶

We are surprised by scientific predictions
That the world would be flooded due to sea level rise.
It is God who created this world
He ruled over everything, no one else on this world.

Translation by the author

2.1 Research on media coverage of climate change

Research on media coverage of climate change in the Pacific is limited, when compared with similar studies around the world. The body of literature is growing significantly, for example, in the United States (see Antilla, 2005; McComas & Shanahan, 1999; Good, 2008), the United Kingdom (Garvin, 2009; Carvalho, 2005; Carvalho & Burgess, 2005; Taylor & Nathan, 2002), British Columbia (Gunster, 2011), France (Brossard, Shanahan & McComas, 2004), New Zealand (Wilson, 2000; Dispensa & Robert, 2003; Kenix, 2008), Australia (Bacon, 2011; Henderson-

¹⁶ This is a popular song among the Kiribati Protestant church community. The composers wrote the song in 1997 against the backdrop of rumors and gossips that 'Kiribati would disappear' in 2000 (Taakena, personal communication, 8 October 2012)

Sellers, 1998; McManus, 2000), Japan (Sampei and Aoyagi-Usui, 2009), Peru (Takahashi, 2010), Finland (Dispensa & Robert, 2003), Spain (Leon et al, 2011), India (Boykoff, 2010) among others. These studies examine diverse aspects of journalism such as objectivity, norms, bias, structure (Boykoff, 2007a, 2007b; Boykoff and Boykoff, 2004, 2007; Shanahan & Good 2000; Smith, 2005) and media framing (Antilla, 2005; Takahashi, 2010) and examine the weaknesses and strengths of media coverage in the West (Boykoff & Roberts, 2007), with a few studies focused on foreign media reporting about low lying islands (Day, 2010; Cameron, 2011).

Qualitative and empirical studies confirmed that journalists in the Pacific are aware of the issue of climate change and the threat it poses to the inhabitants (Jackson, 2008; National, 2009), but these studies focus more on describing the patterns of reporting rather than theorising about why journalists have reported that way. Therefore, literature on media and climate change is still in a burgeoning state elsewhere despite some positive signs that it has garnered interests among scholars in the Pacific. The available literature in the region has grown insignificantly since its beginnings in the 1990s, particularly when Kunda Dixit published the original edition of his book, *Dateline Earth Journalism as if the planet mattered*. After the launch of this book, only one Pacific journalism scholar wrote a review about its message and contribution to journalism.¹⁷

Most recent studies on media coverage of climate change have based primarily on empirical, comparative analysis in countries such as Samoa, Fiji and Papua New Guinea. The available literature so far has been increasingly centred on politics, the coups in Fiji, journalism education and the media's role in development (see Robie, 2001; Robie, 2005; Papoutsaki & Sundar, 2008). Unfortunately, no single scholarly investigation has examined the media coverage of climate change in Kiribati.

Journalism scholars such as Papoutsaki, Rooney, Singh and Robie have proposed journalism education, which is appropriate to the circumstances of Pacific journalists to train them to be part of people's lives, especially in terms of

¹⁷ Robie said newsrooms in the South Pacific should have a copy of this book (see *Pacific Journalism Review*, 2007).

development. Furthermore, there is a notion that journalists need to become researchers themselves so they could interpret expert reports on projects in their islands (Papoutsaki et al, 2008; Duncan, 2007). The weakness of this proposal is that it does not prescribe clear and practical journalism curricula for the media in low lying islands. For example, the media in Kiribati, Tuvalu and Niue are small and receive little scholarly interest. Very few outside researchers have been able to cope with the lifestyle and climatic conditions in countries such as Kiribati. Fiji, Samoa and Papua New Guinea are more developed than these islands, which is why they have received sustained academic interest. Special reference is made to Kiribati and Tuvalu because they are mostly vulnerable to the impacts of climate change (IPCC, 2007).

A number of books on media in the Pacific are available for this literature review. They included *The Pacific journalist* (2001), *Nius Bilong* (1995), *Mekim Nius* (2004) authored and edited by Robie. The books carry commentaries and descriptive work which detail personal experiences of journalists in Fiji and Papua New Guinea. There is no single section in these books devoted to media coverage of climate change in the Pacific. Other peer reviewed articles on media related issues in the Pacific have been published regularly in *Pacific Journalism Review* since its inception in 1994. From 2006 to 2011, only 2 articles examined issues relating to media coverage of environment in Tuvalu (Patel, 2006) and Bangladesh (Das, Bacon & Zamon, 2007). Patel's article was a commentary based on his personal experience of the environmental issues in Tuvalu and Nauru. There were no other articles specifically examining how the media in low lying islands represent climate change. Other useful books such as *Media & Development: Issues and Challenges in the Pacific Islands* carried only two articles on the environment and climate change (see, Jasperse, 2008; Hayes, 2008). These published works produced little insight into media coverage of climate change in low lying islands. Another journal, *Australian Journalism Review* has a focus on New Zealand, Asia and Australia with few or almost no research articles on Pacific or low lying islands. Bryant-Tokalau (2008) examined environment and governance in the Pacific but not media coverage of climate change. Lack of literature is due mainly to there being no specialist journals focusing on the environmental or climate change journalism in the Pacific.

These journals have not published any scholarly articles on media coverage of climate change in the Pacific because there has not been any study in this area.

A great deal of Pacific media research is dominated by Fiji, Samoa and Papua New Guinea. These studies, as mentioned earlier, did not examine media coverage of climate change in the Pacific or in low lying islands where the adverse impacts of climate change are real. A comparative study by Jackson (2008) on Samoan newspapers lacks in-depth analysis and has no clear theoretical framework. A newspaper article regarding a comment by Papua New Guinea researcher, Nalau Bengeding, challenged the media to talk to the people about the impacts of climate change (2009, October 19, *Journos challenged to expand climate change reporting*, National). This review could not trace the study by Bengeding Nalau to see whether it has been updated.

In terms of literature in the Pacific, it has been difficult to find a solid and thorough theoretical analysis of Pacific media that explored the context addressed in this thesis. Due to the significance of understanding how the media in low lying islands respond to the notion of ‘disappearing nations’, the author has sought a theoretical framework to reconnect media, people and climate change actors in Kiribati. How do journalists cover the issue that endangers their very existence and the community at large? How do they engage with government, NGOs, climate change activists and the community at this time of uncertainty? These are some of the key questions to be examined in this thesis.

2.2 Environmental concern and climate change science

Many studies feature the environment and climate change in Kiribati (Tebano, Kiata, Abeta, 2008; Hogan, 2008; Kuruppu, 2009; Kuruppu & Liverman, 2010; Kiribati Ministry of Environment, 1995; Storey & Hunter, 2010; Locke, 2008; Barnett, 2005), when compared to studies of media coverage of climate change in this country. Quite interestingly, the public’s attention and debate on climate change became a high priority for Pacific island governments and Kiribati in particular. At the other end of the spectrum, governments in industrialised countries have tried hard to downplay the seriousness of global warming on low lying islands.

Questions have been asked elsewhere, such as, is climate change really happening, and what causes it? As a matter of fact, low lying island nations have not delved into the scientific aspect of this issue as they have already seen the changes in sea level, temperature and marine resources. Climate change has its original roots in scientific fears that the climate was changing in the Soviet Union in the 1950s (Wilson, 2000). Wilson found that in 1965, the United States President's Science Advisory Committee published the government's first report claiming that climate change could be caused by human activities and could have impacts for the rest of the world. The broad topic of greenhouse effect appeared on the front page of *The New York Times* for the first time in 1981, but it did not make the news agenda until 1988 (see Wilson, 2000).

Profiling the issue of public environmental concern, Hansen (2010) found that this developed during the 1960s and reached an initial peak around 1970. Then the issue retreated during the 1970s and a second cycle started around the early 1990s, and then waned again from around 1992 onwards. Hansen argues that the 2000s witnessed the era of climate change, which has now become the most important science issue of all time. These studies investigated how and when the issue of climate change came to be reported. From the regional standpoint, SPREP did a series of studies on environment and climate change in the Pacific but did not study media coverage.

2.3 Climate change workshops and seminars

A number of workshops, training programmes and seminars have been undertaken since 2008 dealing specifically with Pacific media coverage of climate change. Who received invitations to participate and who did not is a very significant question that has not been thoroughly examined by the organisers and funders before the events. For example, it has now become the norm that journalists from Fiji, Samoa and Papua New Guinea are the preferred participants ahead of journalists in low lying states.

Government and NGOs have conducted climate change workshops in Kiribati inviting participants from the outer islands.

The question that has not been thoroughly explored is this: ‘whether the participants were coming to the workshop to learn, or just for the sake of travelling and receiving allowances? Travelling to the capital island is costly and there was a common feeling among people, especially those in rural areas that it is a special privilege.

Besides this, a few I-Kiribati people have written and commented on the media in Kiribati. They are USP academic, Teweiariki Teaero, and former editors of *Te Uekera* and Radio Kiribati, Iaram Tabureka, Batiri Bataua, former President Ieremia Tabai and the author of this thesis. Most of the works are very descriptive reflecting the personal views of the writers. For example, Tabai presented his paper at the Australian Media Council conference in 2001. His views were based on his personal experience about the government of Teburoro Tito. He was invited because his radio station was shut down by that government at the time, and he became an outspoken critic of Tito.

Teaero has been vocal and critical of the Tito government handling of media freedom when Tito banned Michael Field from Kiribati in 2000. His views are challengeable as he never criticised the government of Anote Tong when he clamped down on the freedom of journalists, or when editors of *Te Uekera* and Radio Kiribati were suspended in 2005 for breaching the order of the former Minister of Communications, Natan Teewe (Korauaba, 2007a). The author, on the other hand, has written one commentary on media freedom and one research paper on the media in Kiribati in 2007, and has been actively involved in the pursuit of media freedom in Kiribati and continues to do so with the present study, the launch of his news website and his *Kiribati Independent* newspaper published and printed in Tarawa.

There are other opinion pieces and news stories about climate change and the environment published on *Kiribati Online Community* and *The Kiribati Independent* website. The Kiribati government newsletter, *Rongorongo Man Ami Tautaeaka* (RMAT), Kiribati Climate Change and Ministry of Environment websites have also published articles on climate change and the environment, but they did not examine media coverage of climate change.

For these reasons, the author argues that there is a growing amount of research through the government's Kiribati Adaptation Programme initiatives on climate change, awareness, and adaptation but very little examining news media coverage of climate change in Kiribati.

2.4 Deliberative journalism

In terms of theoretical framework, the governments in Pacific Island countries have participated significantly in deliberations to raise public understanding of climate change and sea level rise through conferences, seminars, awareness programmes and consultations (Hogan, 2008; Hogan, 2011: Tarawa Climate Change Conference, 2010; RNZI, 2008; Pacific Wave Media Network, 2009; RMAT, 2010). This is, nevertheless, parallel to academic research which addresses questions around the news content, and its implications for public attitudes, intentions, perceptions and behaviour towards climate change (e.g. Anderson 2009; Boykoff 2009; Carvalho & Burgess 2005; Liu et al, 2008; Russill & Nyssa, 2009 cited in Boykoff, 2010). What is missing though, from climate change deliberations in the Pacific, is the study of the media coverage of climate change in low lying islands also known as 'disappearing nations'. The most recent study by Cameron (2011) studied 'disappearing islands' such as Kiribati and Tuvalu, but it did not explore the issue of media coverage of climate change in low lying islands.

Public awareness programmes were purportedly intended to raise public understanding about climate change in the Pacific, and included media awards for best environmental reporting, training workshops and conferences targeting the Pacific journalists (Hogan, 2008: Radio Australia, 2009: SPREP, 2010; *Matangi Tonga Online*, 2009: *Pacific Magazine*, 2008: USP, 2010). In other words, they seek to increase media literacy and public trust of science (Shanahan, 2011: Cooper, 2011). These are parts of deliberative democracy aimed at engaging a relatively small group of citizens in discussions (Spoel, Goford, Cheu & Pearson, 2009). Spoel and others used the documentary by Al Gore, *An Inconvenient Truth* (2007) in their analysis. Nevertheless, no single study in the Pacific has ever looked at the influence of this documentary on the attitudes of the journalists in low lying islands in the Pacific.

2.5 Kunda Dixit and Angela Romano, part of the problem or solution?

Dateline Earth; Journalism as if the planet mattered is the title of the book written by Nepalese journalist, Kunda Dixit. It was first published in 1997 and revised later in 2010. He said his book was inspired by the ‘ghosts of the untold stories’ of climate change and environmental issues. In 1997, climate change was not yet taken seriously by the mainstream media in the Pacific or elsewhere. Dixit (2010) explained that journalists ‘had been trained to write on development and environmental issues, but for the most part were covering them without linking the stories to larger economic and political realities’. Dixit insisted that journalists should play a part in helping nature.

What do they aim to achieve for themselves and the society and the planet that they live in? What, when the planet looks like it is headed towards ecological collapse, then how far does the profession allow journalists to be a part of the solution?

Dixit, 2010; p. 219

Nearly a decade later in 2005, another Pacific journalism scholar, Robie agreed with Dixit over his views that journalism should be part of finding solutions. He wrote:

Dixit’s prophetic view that issues such as jungle families sickened by mine tailings, peasants impoverished by global free trade, countries harmed by toxic waste and general environmental neglect were often ignored is now widely accepted in the region with a wider range of environmental and human rights reporting now a normative.

Robie, 2005: p. 230

2.6 Part of the solution

In terms of becoming part of the solution, Kiribati journalists should have no difficulty achieving that as they are the government's employees, and follow upon the government's policies from time to time. With Kiribati's focus on climate change, journalists appear to have lost interest in the issue. Siebert, Peterson & Schramm (1965) developed their theories of the press, authoritarian, libertarian, communist and social responsibility arguing that the press always takes on the coloration of the social and political structure in which they operate. These theories have little influence in understanding why the media in 'vulnerable countries' such as Kiribati feel reluctant to devote time to this issue.

In Kiribati, journalists are not recruited as participants for the surveys and studies. An example of this was the Kiribati Adaptation Programme phase I-III where journalists were excluded, and the study tended to focus mainly on the lay understanding by the public of climate change. Spoel et al (2009; p. 49) argues that climate change entails a rich and timely venue for exploring "theoretical and practical questions about public understanding, and engagement with science."

Latu (2010) contended that global journalism textbooks lack in-depth details about the media in the Pacific. She did not, however, make special reference to environmental reporting in the Pacific and in Tonga. Papoutsaki & Rooney (2004) argue that lack of research on communication in Papua New Guinea increasingly reinforced the public perception that it was not the top priority need of the country. They found that the mainstream media are arguably preoccupied by Western-centric media focusing primarily on the elite and on urban areas.

2.7 Watchdog of democracy in the Pacific

A study in 2001 found that 73 percent of journalists in Papua New Guinea, and 74 percent in Fiji took up their career in the media because they wanted to be the watchdog of democracy. They also chose the profession because they wanted to communicate knowledge to the community and because it was an exciting career (Robie, 2001). This watchdog role is underpinned by the notion of the Fourth Estate, a term introduced by Edmund Burke.

Although this study was undertaken ten years ago and there has been no update by researchers in Fiji and Papua New Guinea, it adequately demonstrated the fact that journalists in these two countries strongly perceived themselves as watchdogs of democracy. When it comes to reporting climate change, journalists and editors face a dilemma as the issue is largely abstract and intangible (Boykoff, 2010). Studies of the news media coverage of global warming (climate change in the Pacific) showed much uncertainty and controversy (Antilla, 2008).

Secondly, the researcher studied these two countries because the news media there are well established and thirdly because they have universities, the University of the South Pacific in Suva, and University of Papua New Guinea both of which offered journalism programmes (Latu, 2010). The author argues that a new study or pilot survey of some kind would help us understand how Fijian journalists cover climate change under the military regime. For example in China, the communist state suppressed media freedom but environmental reporting is a high priority and is backed by the state (Bao, 2010).

A watchdog role has some strong connections with political journalism – a term originated in the West (McNair, 2009) and is still being practised elsewhere in the Pacific. McNair (2009) found that the practice of political journalism emerged against the backdrop of the English Civil War and its aftermath, which also links to the ideas of liberation, critical and inquiring thinking that Brazilian educator Paulo Freire discusses in the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (cited in Robie, 2005). In his book, *The Pacific Journalist* (2001), Robie explored the problems facing journalists from their politics, culture, education, salary and especially the two coups in Fiji. Overall, Robie presents a case that formal tertiary education for journalists, as opposed to short term training, would make a lasting contribution to the profession and the society in which it operates.

It is for these reasons that the author of this thesis finds the concepts of the *Pedagogy of the oppressed* difficult to apply to the circumstances of low lying islands in the Pacific in terms of media coverage of climate change.

A gap in the literature on media coverage of climate issues in the region has started to fill up with a number of researchers focusing specifically on journalists' representation of the environment and climate change in the region (Patel, 2007; Jasperse, 2008; Hayes, 2008; *The National*, 2009; Jackson, 2008; Robie, 2010).

2.8 Watchdog of environment

With the watchdog role in mind, the author believes some journalists write stories that they believe will influence policy. Would journalists continue to write stories that they knew could not make any difference? This concern was voiced in 2009 by a Samoan journalist who asked if the efforts of Samoa would make a difference. When the Climate Change officer replied that they would not, the journalist replied; 'So that means this is no use.'¹⁸

A senior research fellow of the National Research Institute, Nalau Bengeding, found that Papua New Guinea newspapers have covered climate change extensively (*The National*, 2009). While Nalau was impressed by the scale of climate change publicity, he also found that 48 percent of the total number of climate change stories were from conferences, seminars and interviews with bureaucrats and government people. He also challenged journalists to extend their scope to the impact on people's lives. This is another call for the media to become a watchdog of the environment.

2.9 Kiribati journalism context

The media in Kiribati is dominated by the government's Broadcasting and Publications Authority which operates Radio Kiribati on Tarawa and Christmas Islands and the *Te Uekera* newspaper. There are privately owned news media which run the Kiribati Newstar and FM radio. The Kiribati Protestant Church publishes a weekly newspaper, *Mauri*. A few Kiribati people have written on the media in Kiribati.

Around 6,000 I-Kiribati people were registered with Kiribati's first social media, *Kiribati Online Community (KOC)*.

¹⁸ The Samoan journalist concludes that there was no solution in Samoa. Article is published at www.kauri.aut.ac.nz:8080/.../Environment%20Reporting%20in%20Samoa article written by Jackson, 2008

Although the site has published some controversial and negative stories and discussions against the government, many use it as a place to network with their friends and families from around the world. Further to this, climate change has often featured on this site but mainly through the personal views and experiences of the members. Studies on the roles of social networks or new media in bringing diaspora communities together has been well documented elsewhere (Cho, 2009). There are other websites that provide room for debate for and against climate change such as *briefingroom.com*. The site also has published some commentaries and personal experiences of the impact of climate change by I-Kiribati. However, the discussions on climate change in these social media networks highlight some scepticism.

The Broadcasting and Publications Authority was a member of the former Pacific Islands Broadcasting Association (PIBA), now replaced by the Pacific Islands News Association (PINA). It has in the past been involved in a number of activities organised by PINA and its regional news service, PACNEWS such as training workshops. Much of these training workshops took place outside Kiribati. The organisation has not assisted journalists with designing their code of ethics or the formulation of a media council body that would promote professionalism. Despite the assistance offered by PINA and the membership fees paid by the state broadcaster, little improvement could be seen in terms of quality media reporting. The organisation was clouded by controversies due to lack of transparency and accountability (Robie, 2004), and has become increasingly irrelevant to the needs of member countries (Wood, 2010). Short term training appears to be unworkable and did not bring about the expected outcome (see Robie, 2004).

The only code of ethics for journalists can be found in the Broadcasting and Publications Authority Act and the Newspaper Registration Act. These Acts of Parliaments are made from a political viewpoint rather than that of journalists and the public, and have not been updated since they became law in 1979. Section 10 of the BPA Act stipulates the need to report fairly and to treat controversial matters sensitively and cautiously. The author has documented these in his article published in the *Pacific Journalism Review* 2007 and in his dissertation in 2007 both of which examined the difficulties facing the emergence of a free press in Kiribati.

No other studies provide an in-depth analysis of the difficulties and the laws governing the work of journalists in the state media (see Korauaba, 2007b).

An UNESCO workshop was conducted in Kiribati in May 2007 to promote cooperation among journalists and their sources. Politicians, NGOs and members of the media were invited to the workshop coordinated by a Samoan journalist. Despite some qualified and veteran Kiribati journalists being available, the Pacific Islands Forum that conducted the training on behalf of UNESCO, did not use them as local resources. Bringing in an outsider reinforces people's belief that they know better than the locals (Papoutsaki, 2010) but it also undermines the knowledge, skills and talents of Kiribati journalists. Workshops like this one did not have any theoretical basis, and as a result, there was no improvement seen in the work of journalists.¹⁹ In its report on this workshop, UNESCO found that it had made a contribution with the establishment of the Media Council in Kiribati.²⁰ No attempt has been made to investigate why the Media Council in Kiribati is not functioning and why journalists continue to face difficulty accessing information from the government.

2.10 What's next? Journalism education

Journalists in the Pacific and in Kiribati in particular, have at times clashed with their governments when it comes to the serious business of performing the role of watchdog of democracy. There have been calls for journalists to be more responsible with their reporting and to respect culture. These have now become the common challenges facing journalists in the Pacific (*see The Pacific Journalist, South Pacific Communication Journal*). With the growing concern by developing and low lying island countries on climate change and sea level rise (Carden, 2003; Kurupu & Liverman, 2010; Hogan, 2008), scholars elsewhere have shifted their attention to the ethics of journalism in order to understand why they did not cover environment and climate change beats (Howes, 2005; Boykoff, 2009; Dixit, 2010). They did not go deeper to understand the cultural values and traditional knowledge of the journalists, their sources and recipients.

¹⁹ Ioane, a retired journalist, saw the decline of quality news reporting in Kiribati these days. He studied journalism at the University of Hawaii. In 2007, *Mauri* and the now defunct *Tarakai* newspapers published the photo of a decapitated man.

²⁰ Tibwere Bobo, editor of first private media, *Kiribati Newstar* is not aware of the media council

The bulk of research on media coverage of climate change has focused mainly on countries in the Group of Eight and other countries of the global north (Boykoff, 2010; p. 19). While the Pacific lags behind in terms of development, there is an urgent need to re-educate Pacific journalists to become researchers in their own communities writing news articles that empower their people (Duncan, 2007).

However, there has not been any single study addressing how these journalists can be taught traditional knowledge. The call for media to be 'part of the solution' has emerged (Dixit, 2010) as planet earth is in a serious ecological dilemma. And others proposed that the media must use its power and influence to work out solutions through deliberative journalism (Romano, 2010). Pacific journalism scholars have earlier called on the media in the region to be part of their own communities finding solutions for their own problems whether economical or political. But they should also be working for the betterment of their societies (Singh & Birman, 2009).

There are many other studies on the environment, climate change and sea level rise, adaptation and public attitudes to climate change, but none examine journalists' coverage of the issue. The government has consulted with the community through surveys, research and conferences to improve their knowledge on climate change. Journalists have been left out. While it is generally accepted that journalists are more comfortable with their role as observers rather than being part of the process (Romano, 2010; Boykoff, 2010; Antilla, 2009), there is an urgent need to explore this in detail.

The review of the available literature found no published work, other than news stories, that discussed media coverage of the Copenhagen 15 in the Pacific. This thesis has examined the coverage of the Kiribati state media, the *Fiji Times* and the *New Zealand Herald* with a view to finding common themes and dissimilarities there. The sole aim of this thesis is to explore why there has been little coverage of the summit by the Kiribati media, and how its coverage could have been improved. It has also looked at other contributing factors to the ups and downs of the coverage of climate change from the Kiribati journalist perspective. In doing so, it is hoped to uncover the implications of climate change on journalism in one of the most vulnerable nations in the South Pacific.

Chapter 3: Taona tabon inaim as a methodology

Any discussion of climate change in Kiribati should also involve the 'village' people who know their environment first hand and I believe can detect 'changers' if there are any

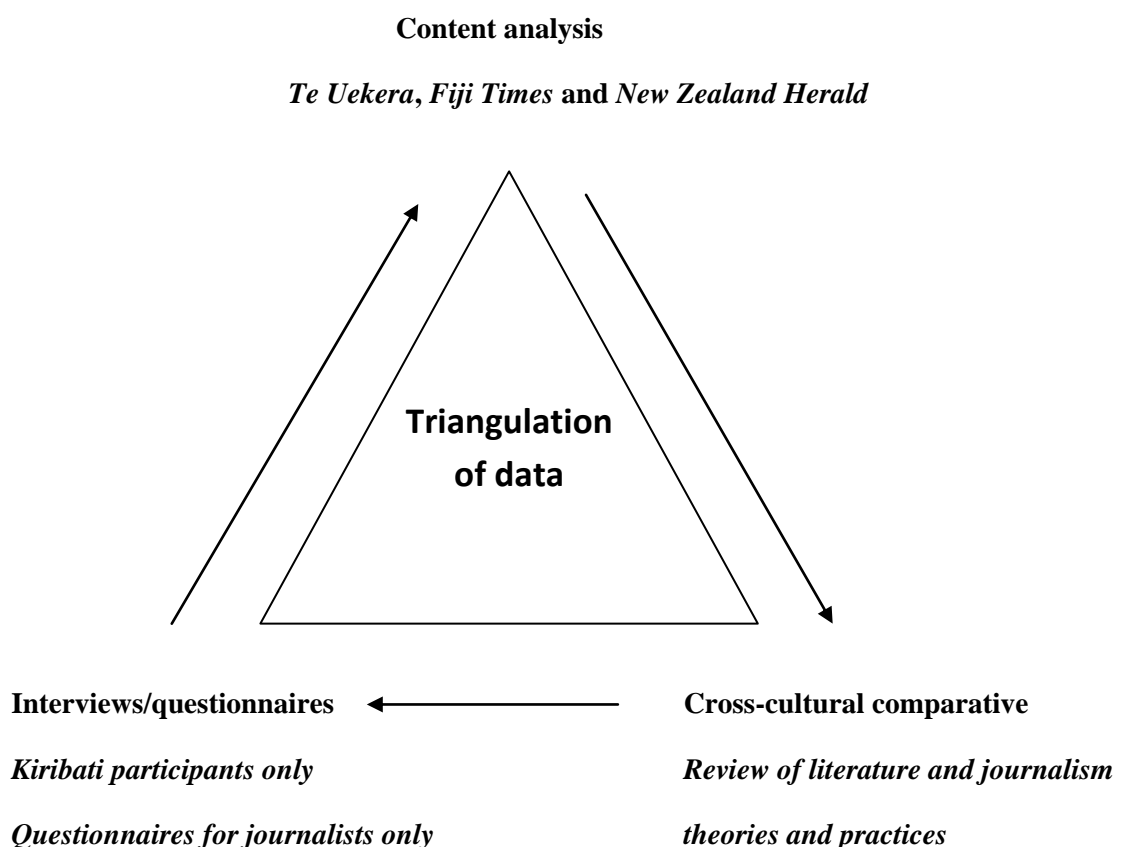
- Ioane, personal communication, 14 October 2011

This study is informed largely by the author's experience as a journalist in Kiribati and also by the growing concern regarding the threat that climate change and rising sea level pose to low lying island nations such as Kiribati. This chapter provides a detailed account of the methodology, the subjects, the participants and the design of the research, and ethical issues around the data collection and the review of relevant literature. To examine more deeply why and how journalists in Kiribati cover climate change and sea level rise, with consideration of both the deliberative and development approaches, this chapter frames three overarching aims which form the direction of this research:

1. To understand the implication of the notion of a 'disappearing nation' on journalism in Kiribati;
2. To examine how the public news media communicate climate change information within this context;
3. To discuss how the findings of this research could provide directions for future research and education about news media coverage of climate change in low lying island nations.

Three methods were employed in this research: (1). Content analysis of news coverage of the Copenhagen 15 summit in 2009; (2) A cross-cultural comparative study and (3) Interviews and questionnaires and a triangulation of this data (see Table 3.1 below). The content analysis and cross-cultural comparative discourse were adopted to find dominant and common themes that surfaced in the coverage of the summit. The third method involves the interview of state journalists, editors, climate change activists, politicians and community leaders to understand the patterns, values, and norms behind their stories and commentaries. The interviews are recorded and transcribed. The author develops a climate reporting guide for Kiribati journalists as a creative component of this thesis.

Fig 3.1 Triangulation of data



The principal hypothesis is that Kiribati is not united on climate change. This is exacerbated by journalists' lack knowledge and skills in climate change reporting. For the past fifty years, the journalists have been ignored, victimised and subjected to political bullying. As a result they have practised a culture of 'self-censorship'.

This self-censorship runs parallel to I-Kiribati sense of complacency and a ‘don’t bother’ attitude – some value their jobs more than the ideals of journalism. With the emergence of climate change and sea level rise as new phenomena for Kiribati, which for the most part, are being associated with terms such as ‘disappearing nations’ or ‘drowning islands’ (Day, 2010; Cameron, 2011; Robie, 1991), journalists are struggling to come to terms with this extreme approach. The hypothesis is subdivided into four sections:

Hypothesis 1. Kiribati journalists state that they need a climate change reporting guide;

Hypothesis 2. They have preferred to cover climate change during high tides when houses are flooded;

Hypothesis 3. They have preferred to cover climate change conferences;

Hypothesis 4. They rely on press releases and press conferences;

Hypothesis 5. If people don’t care, journalists are likely to stop there;

3.2 Location of study

The study was conducted in Tarawa, the capital of Kiribati between 28 September and 18 October 2011. One week, from 20 - 27 October, was spent in Fiji at the University of the South Pacific to study *The Fiji Times* reports of COP15 and for an interview with a Kiribati academic teaching at this university. The analysis of data and writing of the thesis was undertaken in Auckland, New Zealand.

3.3 Research design and sampling procedure

Interviews

Participants were selected during the months of August and recruited in September 2011. Participation was voluntary. They included reporters and editors of Radio Kiribati and *Te Uekera* - part of the government-owned Broadcasting and Publications Authority. Two former reporters from the authority were also interviewed.

Other participants included President Anote Tong; former President Teburoro Tito; a climate change activist, Claire Anterea; the Climate Change officer at the Ministry of Environment, Riibeta Abeta; a Kiribati academic at the University of the South Pacific, Teweiariki Teaero; and two elders, Tokantetaake and Taakena.

Rationale for selection of the participants

This study seeks to explore how the state media cover climate change and, as such, it has adopted two criteria for the selection of the participants: 1. The interviewees work or have worked for Radio Kiribati and *Te Uekera* as news reporters. 2. Outside the state news media participants included opinion leaders and people who have commented on or advocated about climate change. The Ministry of Environment has a climate change division dealing with internal policy on climate change and their official was selected as he has been active on this issue. A climate change activist was also selected based on her advocacy work and experience with such work in Tarawa, the outer islands and overseas. President Tong, a climate change icon was selected to give an insight as a Kiribati leader who has campaigned vigorously on this issue. His political opponent, former President Teburoro Tito was selected to compare his political stance on climate change. Two elders, a man and a woman, were selected to give their views on climate change through a traditional perspective. Other locals were consulted informally during the study to seek a general overview of the public's attitudes to climate change.

Table 3.1. Breakdown of participants' background/experience

BPA	Former BPA reporters	Political leaders	Elders	Activist	Policy /Academic
5	2	2	2	1	2

Source: The author

Table. 3.2. Female and male participation

BPA	Former reporters	Political leaders	Elders	Activist	Policy/academic
2 males	2 males	2 males	1 male		2 males
3 females			1 female	1 female	

Total number of females = 5/ Total number of males = 9; Source: The author

Weakness and strength of interview and selection

The interview has its own weakness and this is related to the fact that participants are likely to please the interviewer and may not give genuine answers to the questions. However, it also gives the interviewer the chance to ask follow-up questions. The strength of the selection process was that it focused on the scope of the study. The weakness, however, was that it excluded other participants whose contributions are pertinent to the study such as reporters and editors of other news media outlets. This study's timeframe and resource limited cover of prospective participants, but they would be exceptionally useful in future research.

Subjects' background

It is important to note that participants selected in this study have a wide range of experience in climate change reporting, are involved in news editorial decisions, and have commented on the Kiribati media, climate change or both in the country. Two elders were recruited to give their thoughts on climate change using their own traditional knowledge.

Table 3.3. BPA News reporters

Names	Journalism qualifications, or any other undergrads	Number of years on the job	Written on environment/climate change?
M	None	7+	Yes
TR	None	10+	Yes
BR	None	10+	Yes
UR	None	7+	Yes
AT	None	20+	Yes

Source: The author's survey

Table 3.4 Former reporters of BPA

Names	Journalism qualifications, or any other undergrads	Number of years on the job	Written on environment/climate change?
TM	BA	20+	No
KK	None	3+	Yes

Source: The author's survey

Table 3.5. Participants outside the news media

	Work/Position	Qualification	Location
Tong	President	Masters	Tarawa
Tito	MP/former president	Degree	Tarawa
Teaero	Academic/USP	Masters	Fiji
Abeta	Climate change/ Environment	Masters	Tarawa
Anterea	Climate change activist	Certificate	Tarawa
Tokantetaake	local Navigator	Navigator	Tarawa
Taakena	Chrisitian	Devoted chrisitian	Tarawa

Source: The author's own design of participants' background

The above table (Table 3.5) outlines the level of knowledge and skills of participants outside the news media. The two elders have no formal qualifications but one believes in Christianity while the other believes in traditional knowledge and skills. Interviews with BPA news reporters took place at their office except for an interview with Eno Teabo. The author interviewed him at his residence in Bairiki as he was on leave in October. He was the only reporter to explicitly criticise government's relations with the media.

Questionnaires

Questions in the questionnaire forms were structured and designed to ensure that the participants understood them. They were very simple and straightforward with open and closed questions. They were framed along the lines of how the reporters cover climate change amid scientists' predictions that their country was 'disappearing', and how well they cover the issue given the government's perceived negligence and tight control on sensitive and investigative journalism.

The advantage of the questionnaires was that participants were able to think about the answers, but their hands were tied as they had to answer questions or tick the answers provided for them. The disadvantage was that some could not be asked follow up questions. The author handed out questionnaires and waited somewhere else other than where the participant was. The author also followed up with them on important issues they raised in the questionnaire.

Who is filling out these questionnaires and why?

Journalists, editors and former reporters were the only participants who filled out the forms. This was due mainly to the study's intention to test, analyse and compare what they said on tape and on paper. The author used the questionnaire as a complimentary method to test what other participants said of the journalists' coverage, and also their coverage of COP15. The author is aware that this could have been better approached had he included other participants (see Table 3.5) for a greater variety of observations. However, their answers in the interviews are sufficient for the analysis and comparisons between what the journalists said and what non-media participants found.

3.4 Content analysis

The content analysis process was developed to make best use of the results from the questionnaires and interviews. While the analysis focused on the coverage of COP15, it was also used to examine the relationships between the reporters and editors and their belief in climate change and the media, and their commitment to be part of the solution. Many studies, especially in the area of communication and journalism, have undertaken content analysis in order to back up what they already knew with what they found in their research. The author knew why journalists in Kiribati did certain things with their reporting but his 'knowing' could only be verified by analysing their published work. The interviews and questionnaires raised similar questions and themes which could be used to analyse the coverage; for example, how climate change came to be reported. Did journalists have the skills and experience to cover it? Did they have the resources, and how did they frame their articles on climate change?

The method of textual analysis was drawn partly from Stuart Hall's introduction in *Paper Voices* (1975), which also was applied by Latu (2010) in studying the Tongan newspapers' coverage of the riots in Nuku'alofa in 2006. There are two reasons why this study is different: (1) The analysis of publications from different countries in the Pacific; and (2) The topic is climate change. While Stuart's textual analysis is useful in understanding the patterns and trends of journalism in the three publications, when the length and place of articles are thoroughly examined, there is emphasis on aspects of journalistic practices, such as balance and bias, blamed for giving sceptics a chance to counter claim the scientists' findings that climate change is happening and having an adverse impact on coastal and low lying islands. Studies of the coverage of COP15 by British Columbia media (Gunster, 2011), and by the Spanish press (Leon et al, 2011), and a study of the Australian newspapers' coverage of the government's climate policy (Bacon, 2011) were also closely consulted. The purpose for analysing newspapers from different countries is to determine whether they have shifted their coverage from 'is climate change happening' to 'what are we doing about it' (Good, 2008; p. 240). Gavin (2009) supported this view stating that analysing coverage of climate would not only shed light on the politics of climate change but it would also show how government deal with the matter. He went on to explain that;

The media are deeply involved here, and there is general agreement that the performance of the media is important for a mature and rational political response to the problems besetting modern societies.

Gavin, 2009; p. 766

Selected publications

The author compares the coverage of *Te Uekera* with the *Fiji Times* and the *New Zealand Herald* to know how the three papers communicated climate change to their audience. Kiribati is more vulnerable than Fiji and New Zealand as it does not have higher ground.

It is quite problematic to compare *Te Uekera* with other papers given its size, print run and contents, but what is important is to understand the meaning of the stories; in other words, how the journalists presented the voice of their people amid scientific predictions that in fifty years time the country would be uninhabitable. Many I-Kiribati people live and work in Fiji and New Zealand.

Te Uekera is published as an A4 newsletter three times a week, while the *Fiji Times* published on a tabloid and *New Zealand Herald* is a broadsheet newspaper, these two are dailies. The chosen timeframe of the research period was the COP15, 8-18 December 2009. *Te Uekera* published two issues while *Fiji Times* published twelve editions with coverage of the summit while the *New Zealand Herald* published four editions.

Sampling

The Copenhagen summit was held at the Bella centre in Copenhagen, Denmark between 7 and 18 of December 2009. More than 100 leaders from around the globe attended the summit. Also many activities and events took place in the Pacific showing the importance of this high level conference. Workshops and conferences were held for journalists to discuss how to report climate change; some were invited to overseas meetings and other advocacy movements. There were also high expectations that the summit would achieve something favourable to Pacific Island countries.

The author searched for events and stories at the beginning of 2009 up to the COP15 and the search found the year to be preoccupied with climate change, as has been established elsewhere (see Boykoff, 2010). For example, member states of the Alliance of Small States (AOSIS), which includes Kiribati, met in New York in September 2009 to register their grave concern over climate change, three months ahead of the summit in Denmark. Articles in each newspaper which mentioned the summit during the study period were selected regardless of whether they were the original stories by the newspaper or not. These included headlines, editorials, letters to the editor and commentaries. The purpose of selecting all articles is to establish the type of narrative involved in storytelling.

In total 7 articles from *Te Uekera*, 33 from the *Fiji Times* and 22 from the *New Zealand Herald* were selected for the study.

The literature review shows there is a lack of comprehensive research into the attitudes of public news journalists on climate change in low lying atoll islands in the Pacific. Secondly there is little research that explores how journalists in ‘disappearing nations’ cover climate change. Climate change is regarded as the most contested concept of our time (Anderson, 2008), and this further adds pressure on the journalists struggling to find any interesting aspect of the issue in storytelling or narratives. The only obvious story angle for journalists on low lying islands is high tide and coastal erosion.

The locals simultaneously feel a sense of hesitancy in accepting scientists’ predictions that small island nations such as Kiribati are facing a very bleak future. This is because it threatens their very existence, culture, land and survival. Hayes (2008) described Tuvalu journalists as being disappointed with the coverage of international media on climate change placing the people as helpless victims. This kind of media framing, would not only make the issue look appealing to the outside world, but also it marginalises adaptation – how the local people can adapt to climatic changes (Gunster, 2011). Foreign reporters tend to employ extreme representation of climate change through use of ‘what if’ questions. What if small low lying islands disappeared tomorrow? This is how headlines such as ‘sink, disappear, submerge, drown’ are quickly grasped by the journalists. Journalists invoking particular frames or scripts are often ‘more to do with cueing certain cultural fears’ (Huxford, 2000; p.192, cited in Hansen, 2010).

3.5 Applying *taona tabon inaim* in the collection of data

This study employs the concept of *taono tabon inaim*, the Kiribati traditional methodology to engage with participants in the collection of data. *Taona tabon inaim* is the name of the Kiribati cultural practice used during special visits. Families involved in this cultural process discuss very important and sometimes sensitive matters, such as engagement arrangements and seeking confessions for any ‘wrongdoing’. This is why this cultural form of visit is different from other everyday visits.

Normal and everyday visits occur at anytime between family members and friends for social reasons while the other visit, *taona tabon inaim*, is arranged and organised. For example, during *taono tabon inain* (visit) the researcher seeks peace and blessings of the host family. Two words stand out from this cultural concept, *taono* (to sit on) and *inai* (local mat made of coconut leaves). *Tabon* is the end of something, *inai* is a noun referring to the I-Kiribati mat but its usage in cultural events becomes a metaphor. It is a metaphor because it represents the relationship between the I-Kiribati and their home, their economic and political status in their society. It is a very low and humble status in society that a visitor seeks to adopt by sitting on *te inai*.

I-Kiribati perceive *inai* as a most important part of their culture, because that is where they sit and meet regularly for social reasons. This traditional mat plays an integral role in the lives of the I-Kiribati and is widely used in the *maneaba* and the *auti* (house). While the families have their own *inai* at their house, they also contribute these mats to the *maneaba*. The *inai* is an art work of I-Kiribati women woven from leaves which also represents knowledge and skills. Every woman is expected to learn how to weave mats; they are taught at a younger age. This is critically important, as knowledge is a crucial component of the *mana* (or *te rikia ni Kiribati* – I-Kiribati) of various clans (Teaero, 2007). Weaving the *inai* is part of an ‘open knowledge’ approach where everyone in the society knows its importance and can do it (Teaero, 2003).

How taona tabon inaim works

A visitor is expected to have given prior notice to the family of his or her intended visit. When the visitor arrives, he/she should call the name of the head of the family from a distance. The host family would reply to the visitors by saying ‘*nakomai ikai*’, ‘come here’. Visitors cannot sit until they are invited to do so. Once the head of the family asks for a mat for visitors to sit on, it does not mean that they are given a cultural welcome. However, the visitors must sit on that mat and must carry two gifts; one for their entry known as *ririwete* and the second one is for their exit, *mweaka*. The head of the family would ask his wife or children to prepare a drink for the visitor. The number of visitors depends on the nature of the visit.

For example, in *te kabutiman*²¹ or *kabwarabure*. And as soon as everyone is settled, the visitors are seated, drinks are served then the head of the family would ask the guests to explain the purpose of their visit. This traditional methodology involves formal conversation, exchanging and sharing of ideas between the visitors and the host family. In many instances, the visitors may not directly say ‘*taona tabon inaim*’ to the host family, but once they are allowed to sit on the mat and that their request is granted, the concept of *taono tabon inaia* is invoked. The concept of this special visit is said to be applied regardless of whether it is seen or said but it is there in the minds of the people.

Research is defined as *te kakae* and *te kamatebwai* – they all mean the same thing in Kiribati. Who is researched and studied is an area that has been debated elsewhere by many scholars. Researchers travelled to Kiribati, stayed there for a few weeks to collect information and then left. This is the same with many researchers around the world, especially those who are not indigenous. What is wrong with this? Is there any ethical problem with this type of research method? The word ‘de-colonisation’ comes to the fore as those researched become aware that their knowledge has been ‘stolen’, or there were some ethical concerns, especially from the indigenous point of view. Smith (1999; p.1) defines research as one of the ‘dirtiest words’ in the indigenous world’s vocabulary. Tony Koch, an Australian indigenous affairs journalist once advised: ‘You don’t go there to speak to them, you go there to listen, and that’s just a wonderful experience if you have got the patience for it’ (Waller, 2010; p. 20). While rebuilding trust and relationship with the participants on the islands for students living in New Zealand are vital for research, Professor Tagaloatele Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop told Pacific students during the Pacific Writing Retreat in Auckland to critique the traditional knowledge (Korauaba, T. (2011, July 3). ‘Pacific student researchers told to be ‘self-critical’ over knowledge’, Pacific Media Centre). While the author is an I-Kiribati in his own right, not to mention that he still have a house and land in Kiribati, the rules require him to re-establish his relationships with his people.

²¹ *Te Kabuti man* – the engagement proposal is usually brought by the male’s family. *Kabwara bure* – occurred after a male took away the female as his wife without her family’s knowledge. This is a very sensitive issue. The male’s family (grandparents) visit the female’s parents/family to apologise.

This cultural methodology is the most appropriate method to assist in re-establishing the relationship and trust so he can collect his data with the support of the participants and receive their traditional blessings of *Te Mauri* (Health), *Te Raoi* (Peace) *ao Te Tabomoa* (Prosperity).

3.6 Ethical Considerations

The research is designed with reference to Kiribati's cultural practice of '*taonan tabon inaim*'. Prior to enrolling in this programme, the author has consulted with a senior environment officer, who completed a masters degree at Waikato University, Tauleia Pulefou, and has also consulted with editors of two main news media in Kiribati, Tearinibeia Teabo, Buraieta Toakare and Tibwere Bobo. The author has consulted with Roz Terubea, government's press officer who has written several environmental stories for the state's newsletter, *RMAT* and climate change website, and has also consulted with several church leaders. During the research, the author has sought advice from several elders and prominent people in the Kiribati community in New Zealand about appropriate cultural research protocols.

How *taono tabon inaim* addresses ethical questions:

1. Participation
2. Partnership
3. Protection

The process of data collection in the culture of *taono tabon inaim* involves several stages. For example, there is invitation for participation to families, there is invitation for a partnership and there is also agreement in the process to protect the researcher and the researched or subjects.

Taono, as explained earlier, is to sit down, *tabon* is the end of, and *inai* is the mat. When combined, it actually means the request to sit down with the host family for very important matters, engagement, wedding arrangements and sorting out disputes and differences.

With regard to *participation*, the request to sit down on that mat is in itself a request for the host family's participation.

There is consultation and pre-discussion with family members, as in the case of engagement, *te kabutiman*. When one is allowed to sit at the end of the mat of the host family, and discussion and sharing of ideas taking place, that is called participation in the Kiribati context.

The partnership is invoked when the request is granted which will be followed by few more dialogue, trust and friendship. *Protection* takes place when the visitor is served with food and drink, and when their *ririwete* and *mweaka* are accepted.

The author left Kiribati in 2006 and has now become a New Zealand resident so the concept of *taono tabon inai* is appropriate to re-establish his connections with the people, culture, environment and land.

3.7 Confidentiality

Confidentiality was also discussed with the participants. The media people have no difficulty with this issue as well as the President and the former President. Climate change activist and the Climate Change Programme officer also indicated that they have no problems with the issue of confidentiality. The Kiribati academic and the two elders have no reservations on this matter. The two elders, however, preferred to have their views written down and not taped. They have no problems with confidentiality. The author did not engage the service of a translator or typist.

3.8 Exegesis

The climate change learning guide, which the author is developing as part of the creative output of the thesis, has also been discussed with journalists and participants. While the journalists are very keen on this component, other participants showed greater interest in the body of the thesis where they would like to see their names included as acknowledgement. The creative output, however, is taken from the recommendation section of the thesis. This is very important for the journalists who the Kiribati people rely on everyday for their news. The manual provides advice, coaching and techniques to cover climate change stories in Kiribati so they can unite their people in the fight against climate change and participate in adaptation and sustainable development.

3.9 Give it back to the community

During an interview with Riibeta from the Environment department, he was wondering how the author could apply his thesis to Kiribati as he lives in New Zealand. One way of doing that is to contribute ideas to a local newspaper in Kiribati. However, it is hard to change the mindset of the editors to become environment and climate change friendly because they have their own agendas. Driven by this concern, on 2 December 2011, the author launched a new publication, *Kiribati Independent* becoming editor and proprietor under the slogan ‘focusing on real stories’. The author believes that this is one important step to provide an applied outcome from this thesis, and secondly the author is considering running training programmes for Kiribati journalists, NGOs, and government officials aimed at engaging them in deliberative journalism. Funding will be sought from universities and other funding agencies. The training itself should take place in the mostly affected places in Kiribati, where trainers and trainees would experience the real life experiences of the grass root people and the impact of climate change on their lives and culture.

The author intends to send copies of the thesis to the national library in Bairiki, the University of the South Pacific centre in Tarawa, Kiribati parliament, Office of Te Beretitenti and BPA newsroom. Another option to make this thesis meaningful is to teach a new programme, media and climate change in the Pacific either as a journalism or political curriculum or a component of the environment or climate change programme in any university in the South Pacific or in the Asia Pacific region.

The next chapter details the findings of this thesis.

Chapter 4: Findings

*The conference was a failure whose magnitude exceeded
our worst fears and the resulting Copenhagen Accord was a
desperate attempt to mask that failure*

- Dimitrov, 2010; p. 796

This section begins with presenting the findings from the interviews, then the questionnaires and lastly a content analysis of newspaper coverage of COP15.

4.1 Interviews

Issue 1

How do climate change stories come to be reported in Kiribati?

The head of the *Te Uekera* and Radio Kiribati News, Aneta Moote, said climate change stories were prepared by the government, the Environment Ministry or during seminars and workshops. They also got their stories from the internet about climate change with specific connections to Kiribati. Senior editor, Ueretan Bauro explained they relied on press releases. Sometimes they got tip offs from people whose house were flooded, particularly during high tides. The acting editor for *Te Uekera*, Buraieta Toakare, added that, most of the time, she received press releases from the government, got stories from climate change workshops and also from people who were affected during high tides. Acting news editor of Radio Kiribati, Tearinibeia Eno Teabo noted they reported climate change if they had press releases, or attended climate change workshops or press conferences with the President.

President Anote Tong said he communicated his climate change campaign through a press conference with the media, and sometimes his press unit prepared press releases about talks he attended overseas. Riibeta Abeta said they published their environment articles in *Te Uekera*, sometimes other reporters contacted them for stories.

Claire Anterea, climate change activist working with the Catholic Church's youth group, said the only time she talked about climate change on the national radio was when she had an assignment with UNESCO. Most of her stories were published by overseas journalists outside Kiribati. She explained that no Kiribati journalist had ever interviewed her since she took up this advocacy role in 2005. The former Chief Executive Officer of BPA and editor of Radio Kiribati News, Timeon Ioane, said they received stories from their outer island correspondents in the 1980s regarding coastal erosion, but the stories were not as important as today. Former President Teburoro Tito said climate change was not a very hot topic in Kiribati and whatever President Tong said overseas was very different from the people's views.

Issue 2

Do journalists report climate change objectively or subjectively?

Aneta had worked for BPA for more than 20 years now and had not seen a story on climate change. 'Where would you go with your children when Kiribati is flooded, there is no higher ground and you can see the ocean and the lagoon side from anywhere?' Ueretan claimed climate change quickly lost its news value among reporters after it was repeated a few times. It became one of their regular news items, not a very interesting story to cover. Buraieta said climate change was an issue that had not reached a peak of interest in Kiribati and it is very boring. 'My families, especially the elders said: 'You are instigating fear among the people with your stories,' she said. Tearinibeia said; 'I knew this was a real problem and I am one of the victims but I tried to be neutral with my reporting. I just reported what people said leaving my own emotional feelings aside.'" Timeon said climate change was an important issue and the journalists needed the knowledge and confidence to cover it.

Issue 3

What difference would climate change stories make in Kiribati?

Aneta said the only difference their stories made was to encourage the construction of sea walls. They reported on coastal erosion frequently and government had acted on these. Bauro said it was the journalist's job to influence policy, but he was not sure how many in the government read their stories on climate change compared with those at the community level. "I can say that not all government employees read the papers because they are aware of climate change stories," he explained. Buraieta agreed that the government must do something on their stories they wrote, but with climate change, she could not really see what options were available to the government as climate change was caused by developed countries. Tearinibeia said most stories relating to climate change were the concerns of the people and the government was expected to respond to them such as coastal erosion and flooded areas. Timeon and Teweiariki both argued that before journalists conveyed climate change information, they needed to be well aware of these issues. Anote said journalists needed a strong work ethic and needed to be passionate about what they wrote.

Issue 4

Covering climate change through the victims' perspective

Aneta said they had a feeling that they were the victims of climate change. She asked: where would I run to with my children as we do not have higher grounds? Bauro agreed that they have that kind of feeling and reporters showed this by a declining interest, when climate change stories are repeated, reporters had become fed up. Buraieta complained that her family told her that these stories had caused fear. Tong agreed, saying there is such a feeling, which is why people tended to ignore the issue altogether. He added that climate change was becoming an important issue for Kiribati, but reporters did not cover it thoroughly. Abeta said the coverage should be about explaining climate change. Teaero supported this view, saying many people are still not clear about climate change. Claire added that explaining the impacts of climate change to the community is important.

Tito argued the government used it for political reasons to get funds and build sea walls in the islands to lure votes.

Issue 5

Should the news media influence the making of climate change policy?

Based on her personal experience on political pressure on the journalists, Moote was not convinced that their stories should influence policy. She explained that they have been used as tools to spread the government's message. Toakare could not elaborate on how their stories would influence the government's policy. Teabo, from a far more critical perspective, said all stories that he wrote are based on people's feelings and concerns and it is the government's job to take action on these stories. Ioane said it is the journalists' job to influence government's policy from time to time. Tong argued that his government has not used any of their stories in their policy making. Tito claimed the government saw climate change an important issue to gain recognition elsewhere. Abeta said they had a media section to communicate with the public and the journalists on climate change but it was very small and lacked media training and background. He added, apart from that they relied on the state media to convey their stories to the public.

Issue 6

Understanding the contributions of the news media to climate change awareness.

Moote, Bauro, Toakare and Teabo said they were invited to the workshops or conference to report them, not to sit there as resource people. Tong said the only contribution from the news media has been to instil fear among the readers.

Issue 7

BPA is the government owned body. The journalists have limits, if they cross the line, they get punished. This has an impact on the journalists.

Moote is aware of the restrictions and is very cautious with stories. Bauro is also aware and understands those boundaries. Toakare and Teabo agreed. Ioane said they self-censored and, because of that kind of feeling, they were scared to write outside

these boundaries. Tong argued journalists were using this as an excuse. In fact, he added, they were not working hard, they needed to go out and find stories.

Tito said the general perception among journalists that they were owned by government was an excuse. He strongly encouraged journalists to do their job without fear.

Issue 8

Political leaders such as Tito and Tong used ‘media freedom’ in their campaigns. They promised to make BPA like ABC and BBC, but do the journalists trust politicians?

Moote, Bauro, Toakare and Teabo said they did not trust the politicians. Ioane explained that they enjoyed greater freedom in the 1980s when Ieremia Tabai was President. He argued Tong and Tito had similar restrictions on the media and were very different from the Tabai’s government. Ioane added that this was one of the reasons why Radio Kiribati and *Te Uekera* developed and improved their reputations in the 1980s. During Tito’s terms, the media produced professional and good stories despite strong opposition from the government, but in this government, the quality of journalism dropped and the country returned to the times when BPA had just started broadcasting 50 years ago.

Issue 9

Are you prepared to launch a nationwide media public campaign about the environment/climate change?

Journalists said they are prepared to take a proactive role but they need training and resources. Ioane said climate change was Kiribati’s major concern and therefore journalists must be serious about it. Tong disagreed saying ‘I am not sure what role the local media would play here as this is the government’s job to talk to the international community.’ Tito said Tong saw the opportunity in climate change which is why he preferred to talk to the outside media because his views are very different from his people. Abeta said everyone should be on one path only that climate change is real and is happening, giving sceptics a space to say their views would not do Kiribati any good. Teaero said this was the major issue facing Kiribati.

And he encouraged journalists to work with other bodies, teachers, NGOs to educate those at the grassroots who are still not clear about climate change.

He added this is everybody's business. Anterea said before the journalists take part in this campaign, they needed to cover what people were doing at the community level.

Issue 10

What are your strategies to improve your reporting on climate change and environment in the future?

Journalists have different views on their strategies. They wanted government to be more open to the media, promoting a two-way communication between the government and media. They also needed resources and training. They also wanted to know how to convince people who strongly believe in God and have a 'don't bother' attitude. Ioane and Teaero agreed the journalists needed capacity building and more training. Abeta said the journalists must use translations by their office to communicate climate change to the public. Tong said a change of attitude to work was required. Tito wanted the journalists to report 'below the surface' rather than 'at the surface' itself.

4.2 Different layers of knowledge in Kiribati

Issue 11

People's understanding of nature

The people of Kiribati like other human beings, have a different knowledge about their land, environment, sea and sky. As a local navigator explained, he communicated with the environment and the sea through signs, not with books, dictionaries or science books. For example, Tokantetaake, was a qualified local navigator, he knew where to fish shark and other kind of fish species in Kiribati. He knew the current, he can forecast tomorrow's or one week's weather. As he told me, 'I never listened to weather forecast on the radio, I have my own weather forecast knowledge.' Last year, he took his boat from the island of Makin to Tarawa, some 226 kms without a GPS. He arrived safely with his passenger.

Tokantetaake said he knows about waves and their names too and that each wave has had their boundaries which they could not cross.

Teaero agreed with this saying that it was inherited from the old legends about the creation of the islands (see Beiabure, Teraku & Uriam, 1979).²² Nareau the Creator drew a line between waves which they should not cross.²³ Not surprisingly, elders were the only ones who disputed the reporters' stories on climate change describing it as instigating fear among the people (Toakare, personal communication, 7 October 2011). The only reference made to these understandings was the explanation based on the people's experiences of the past 10 or 20 years (Day, 2010).

Language and science terms have been a major problem facing the journalists, then how can we expect them to comfortably relay that message to the listeners? Kiribati Adaptation Programme (KAP) developed a lot of manuals usually for those in government, not in the media or in the community level. Although KAP intended to promote the bottom up approach, results and reports stated otherwise. For example, the adaptation strategies were all written in English. Furthermore, sea wall erection focused mainly on the government's properties while people struggling to fund their own sea walls to protect their land.

Christianity

Kiribati has not been declared a Christian country. But Christian churches dominate the religious lives of the I-Kiribati. And one of the Christian teachings that is considered to be a barrier to communicating climate change, is God's promise to Noah in which he made an arrangement with Noah that he would never bring back storm and flood again. In some islands, mainly Tamana and Arorae in the south, it is compulsory for everyone on the islands to have family prayers at 7pm in the evening. No one is allowed to work on Sunday. In South Tarawa and Betio, there are churches in each village and they are full every Sunday very different from churches in New Zealand.

²² The book provides a conceptual understanding of I-Kiribati's relationship to their land, nature and gods.

²³ Radio Kiribati stopped a programme about the legends of the first islands in Kiribati to be created by Nareau after people from other islands disputed that story. It became so sensitive (see Batiri, 1985)

People's education

While people recognised the danger of climate change, they argue among themselves based on what they read or studied elsewhere.

They form groups 'for' and 'against' climate change. This is not to dispute the fact that science scepticism of science is also strong among the educated elites in Kiribati, which is seen in a number of climate sceptics' topics posted on social media (see discussion on climate change, *Kiribati Online Community*, www.kiribatonlinecommunity.com. 2009. People's education and knowledge about land was not thoroughly explored by KAP projects as they assume from their preliminary surveys in the outer islands and in Tarawa and Betio that many are aware of climate change. 'Aware of' is very different from care and action being taken. In addition to this, it is not known whether people surveyed by KAP answered questions genuinely, as anecdotal evidence and studies elsewhere conclude that participants are likely to give answers to please the interviewers. For example, in Kiribati, government employees or research teams are regarded as guests and treated as important people.

Political parties divided on climate change

There are three major parties in Kiribati; they are the ruling government *Boutokaan Te Koaua* (BTK), *Karikirakean Te I-Kiribati* and *Maurin Kiribati*. President Tong of BTK, campaigned vigorously to convince the international community that the impacts of climate change are real in Kiribati and that they should take action now. Tito and his party disputed this, saying the people of Kiribati are divided on this issue, and urged Tong to concentrate more on building the economy. In 2010, their supporters circulated their manifesto outlining the failure of Tong's climate change policy in response to a motion raised in Parliament on 22 November 2010 to congratulate Tong for successfully holding the Tarawa Climate Change Conference.

The document reads;

Conferences or meetings at *an* international arena work like courts where solid evidence *is* required. A note administration's argument on the impact of Climate change on Kiribati *are* emotional statements and therefore, stood little chance of being accepted. See <http://www.kiribationlinecommunity.com/profiles/blogs/climate-change-and-kiribati>.

Tito said the government's hidden agenda on climate change was shown during that conference, as only a few topics were on the impact of climate change and the remaining days of the conference were used as a public consultation to get the views of the participants on the performance of the government over the last eight years.²⁴ A journalist who covered this conference confirmed that there was little discussion on climate change when compared to other issues such as development projects on the outer islands.²⁵

Different types of media such as video, mobiles and the internet in modern life and the people's commitment in their villages and groups have also distracted people from the issue of climate change (see Nisbet, 2011).

Findings

Journalists

Journalists have relied on President Tong and the Environment Ministry for their climate change stories. To them high tide; flooding and erosion are the only stories related to climate change. They interview the locals only when they become victims, but do not talk to them when the locals take the initiative to help find solutions.

²⁴ Tito questioned the motive of the government in hosting the Tarawa climate change saying they are using it for political reasons especially as the country prepared for the election in October 2010.

²⁵ Teabo said representatives were invited from the outer islands. He found that not much was said about climate change.

Their perception that the government ‘owns them’ reinforces their lack of commitment to their job. They believe they cannot influence policy because they are not the policy makers.

Government

Government has no difficulty telling the journalists to publish its stories. A two-way communication between the journalists and government is lacking. President Tong’s consistent use of climate change as a disaster is not helping his people’s resilience but rather it undermines their efforts to take part in finding solutions. He used climate change for political recognition given the missing link between what he declared overseas and what his Development Plan 2008-2011 says. The government builds seawalls to protect its properties such as airports and public roads.

NGOs

These groups expect the journalists to come to them for stories but the journalists ignored them because they have little authority.

Political divide

Political parties are divided on climate change.

People’s knowledge

Their belief in old legends and Christianity, and the science debate have become barriers to the communication of climate change issues to the people at all levels. People value their land but they are struggling to raise money to build seawalls.

4.3 Questionnaires

Questionnaire is an instrument for the collection of data, usually in the written form consisting of open and closed questions and other probes seeking a response from subjects (Nunan, 1992; p. 231).

Table 4.1: Kiribati journalists' attitudes to climate change stories, 2011

JOURNALISTS	E/T/I/W/P Environment, Tong, Internet, Workshop, People	NB/H	CHRISTIAN A BARRIER	S/NS
M	YES	NB/H	NO	S
TR	YES	N/BH	YES	S
BR	YES	B	NO	S/NS
UR	YES	NB/H	NO	NS
AT	YES	20+	Yes	NS

Note: (E/T/I/W/P – stands for Environment, Tong, Internet, Workshops, and People. NB/H – Neither boring nor hard, B – Boring, S/NS – S=scary, NS=not scary) Source: Taberannang Korauaba's survey

Table 4.2: Kiribati journalists, politics and climate change

Journalists	PC	NPS	NCCM
M	YES	YES	YES
TR	YES	YES	YES
BR	YES	YES	YES
UR	YES	YES	YES
AT	YES	YES	YES

Note: P/C= political control, NP/S – need political support, NCCM =need climate change manual. Source: The author

Three female and two male journalists, none of them have higher qualification in journalism or in any other disciplines. Only one has attended environmental training overseas, she is the manager of the publication and radio news sections. In Kiribati, overseas travelling is shared by the officials, a culture of taking turns is strong to ensure that everyone has the chance, provided they meet the criteria. In many instances, seniors would never share that opportunity with their juniors.

Findings

BPA journalists

Journalists have not undertaken their own investigations into the impacts of climate change in Kiribati. They lack the knowledge and skills to do so, and, thus need a climate change manual in their own language. They have no qualifications in journalism or any other disciplines. They are influenced by a culture of ‘who cares’ if our country sinks. They cite political control as a reason for not going out to find their own stories. They said they needed political support if they are to go out and report about climate change.

Former journalists

These were more qualified and experienced than practicing journalists. They demand more training and investigative reporting and blamed current journalists for practising self censorship.

4.4 News content analysis, 8–18 December 2009

Content analysis is a research method that has been widely used in different disciplines. It involves textual analysis, coding, and interpreting data stemmed from the analysis. While the textual analysis in *Stuart Hall’s Paper Voices (1971)* may be too old to apply in the study of *Te Uekera*, *The Fiji Times* and *The New Zealand Herald* coverage of COP15, the author has combined the concepts from Halls with studies by Leo’n & Erviti (2011) who explored disagreements, debates, mitigation and adaptation in their study of Spanish newspapers’ and by Gunster (2011) of British Columbia newspapers’ coverage of COP15. The author also borrowed some concepts from a study of Australian newspapers’ coverage of Julia Gillard’s climate policy by Bacon (2011).

Table 4.3 below illustrates the analysis of the coverage of the three newspapers;

Table 4.3 Coding of newspaper articles

Headline:		
Story	Inside COP15	Outside COP15
	Negative = Positive=both	Negative = Positive=both
Sources	Delegates and governments	NGOs/ others
Placement	What page the story appears	

This combines some concepts from Hall (1975), Leon & Erviti (2011), Gunster (2011) and Bacon (2011).

Headline

The headline is the most important part of the subeditor's job to catch the eye of the reader. Sometimes it is hard for readers to understand them because they were often incomplete but in most part they contain a noun with no verb. For example, *difficult times ahead*. Headlines have been studied before (see Bacon, 2011) when examining the coverage of Australian newspapers of Prime Minister Gillard's climate policy.

Story (2 categories) Inside COP15 – negative or positive

The article was about the summit or mentioned COP15. A news article is coded as negative if it only talks about debates and disagreement without making reference to possible solutions. It is positive if it focuses on the impacts of climate change on people and which also includes funding and future improvements. The news item is coded as both negative and positive if it talks about disagreements and agreements for possible solutions.

Outside COP15 – negative or positive

This refers to a news item about events relating to climate change such as awareness programmes, meetings, sea level rise and disasters. The story under this category is coded negative if it only focuses on people as victims, seeing them as helpless. And it is positive if it talks about awareness, seminars and when victims are interviewed on how they cope with or adapt to the impact of climate change. The item is marked positive and negative if it contains both.

Sources

Who was the author and who were interviewed; whether their source was a press release or conferences and commentaries such as letters to the editor and the editorial of each newspaper.

Placement

Where they put that story.

4.5 Kiribati: About *Te Uekera*

Te Uekera is published twice a week, Tuesday and Friday. It has a print run of 2,000. *Te Uekera* was first published in 1945 to coincide with the end of the war. It was called, *Te Tero* a common Kiribati language used if a foreign vessel is sighted by anyone. It was later renamed to *Atoll Pioneer* in 1972 and then named *Te Uekera* in 1981. Its main purpose when it was published as *Te Tero* was to run war news, notices and family announcements mainly to serve Europeans especially the British working in Kiribati during those years (Bataua, 1985). Between 7-18 December 2009, there were only two editions of *Te Uekera*. As was explained to the author, the reporters produce stories for *Te Uekera* and Radio Kiribati News.

In total, the Kiribati oldest newspaper ran 7 climate change stories, some were about COP15 (inside COP15); other news articles were about climate change awareness programmes in the country, the Pacific or the world (outside COP15).

11 December

Story 1

Headline: E katika te nano kautun Kiribati i Copenhagen (President Tong won hearts at Copenhagen)

Story: Inside Copenhagen – positive

Source: Private Secretary of the President

Placement: Front page

Story 2

Headline: Ana kateniua ni kaitiaki EYC n te ririki 2009 (Third time for Environment Youth Club to clean the environment this year, 2009)

Story: Outside Copenhagen – positive

Source: Press release from the Ministry of Environment

Placement: Page 8

18 December

Story 3

Headline: Kabwaekeeke Kiribati n ana side event show i Copenhagen (Kiribati side show was the best)

Story: Inside Copenhagen – positive

Source: Linda Uan, Riibeta and Michael, Kiribati delegates

Placement: Front page

Story 4

Headline: E kanakoa ana buoka MET ibukin ataakin te oniia
(MET office published a vernacular high tide guide)

Story: Outside Copenhagen – positive

Source: Meteorological office in Betio

Placement: Front page

Story 5

Headline: Teniua tengaa aika a rotaki mwengaia i Viti Levu imwin rokon Cyclone Mick i Biti (Three thousand houses affected by Cyclone Mick in Viti Levu, Fiji)

Story: Outside Copenhagen – negative

Source: Not shown

Placement: Page 9

Story 6

Headline: Bwanaan te Beeba (Editorial)

Story: Inside Copenhagen – positive

Source: *Te Uekera*

Placement: Page 3

Story 7

Headline: Slow progress at Copenhagen talks

Story: Inside Copenhagen – negative

Source: Reuters news agency, delegates, governments, others

Placement: Page 7

Table 4.4 **11 December stories**

18 December stories

	S1	S2		S3	S4	S5	S6	S7
IN COP15	1			1			1	1
OUCOP15		1			1	1		
Negative						1		1
Positive	1	1		1	1		1	
Both								

Total=7 stories for Dec, 11 and 18/Inside COP=4/Outside=3/positive=5/negative=2

Source: The author

Headlines

The headlines of five stories are positive and two are negative. Its story on the damage caused by Cyclone Mick in Fiji and *Reuter's* article on COP15 contain negative headlines.

For example, thousands of homes damaged by cyclone Mick and a 'slow progress at Copenhagen talks'. In contrast, *Te Uekera* wrote culturally attractive headlines for its stories on COP15. For example, the headline *E katika te nano kautun Kiribati i Copenhagen* (Kiribati leader wins hearts at Copenhagen). As Table 4.5 shows, 4

stories about COP15 (Inside COP), three are positive and one is negative. Three stories outside COP15, two are positive and one is negative.

Placement

As shown in the following figures, COP15 was a big story to *Te Uekera*. The two editions carried a front page story of the summit. Because *Te Uekera* is a vernacular publication, it had more chance to use its own language to describe the summit, these words have significant cultural meanings to the I-Kiribati people. Placing the stories in the front page with bold headlines showed the advantage of the reporters to use local language that are not only moving but unique and special.

Fig: 4.1 *Te Uekera* with its *Katika te nano Kautun Kiribati i Copenhagen* headline



Fig: 4.2. *Te Uekera* with its *Kabwaekeeke Kiribati* headline employing culturally unique words used in dancing performances



4.6 Fiji: About *The Fiji Times*

The Fiji Times is a daily tabloid newspaper. It published 10 editions between 7 to 18 December 2009. Established in 1896, *The Fiji Times* is one of the oldest newspapers in the region. Formerly owned as part of Rupert Murdoch's Australian-based Limited News in the Pacific, and is now owned by Mutibhai, an Indo-Fijian multimillionaire in Fiji. The author analyses stories from 8 to 18 of December. It is important to be reminded here that around the same year, the Fiji regime placed tight restrictions on media reporting in the country resulted in hostile relations between the media and the government.

Nevertheless, *The Times* published 33 news articles on or relating to COP15 and climate change. They included local, regional, overseas stories, editorials and commentaries.

8 December 2009

Story 1

Headline: Save the planet

Story: Inside COP15 – positive

Source: Editorial

Placement: Page 8

Story 2

Headline: 10 million unite on climate change

Story: Inside COP15 – positive

Source: Greenpeace activist group, Tckctck campaigner in Suva. Two sources were interviewed

Placement: Page 5

9 December

Story 3

Headline: Pacific women plead for change

Story: Outside COP15 – positive

Source: Submission

Placement: Page 5

Story 4

Headline: Fiji girl pleaded with world leaders

Story: Inside COP15 - positive

Source: Leah Wickham, keynote speaker from Greenpeace activist group in Suva, Tcktcktk. Two sources were interviewed

Story 5

Headline: Scientists call for emission cutbacks

Story: Inside COP15 – both

Source: International scientists

Placement: Page 5

Story 6

Headline: Divisions run deep

Story: Inside COP15 – negative

Source: AP

Placement: Page 28

Story 7

Headline: Summit welcomes US emissions curbs

Story: Inside COP15 – positive

Source: AP

Placement: Page 28

10 December 2009

Story 8

Headline: Danes hatch green plan

Story: Inside COP15 – negative

Source: AAP

Placement: Page 28

Story 9

Headline: 5 billion deal at stake

Story: Inside COP15 – negative

Source: AFP

Placement: Page 29

11 December 2009

Story 10

Headline: Little attention to climate change links to right

Story: Outside COP15 – positive

Source: Fiji Women's Rights Movements

Placement: Page 3

Story 11

Headline: Hot topic: Is climate change a myth?

Story: Outside COP 15 – negative

Source: Letters to the editor

Placement: Page 9

Story 12

Headline: Hot topic: Is climate change a myth?

Story: Outside COP15 – negative

Source: Letters to the editor

Placement: Page 9

Story 13

Headline: Hot topic: Is climate change a myth?

Story: Outside COP15 – negative

Source: Letters to the editor

Placement: Page 9

Story 14

Headline: Tuvalu calls for COP15 suspension

Story: Inside COP15 – negative

Source: Not shown

Placement: Page 34

Story 15

Headline: Tokelau hopes for the best

Story: Inside COP15 – positive

Source: Not shown

Placement: Page 34

Story 16

Headline: Samoa's adaptation measures featured

Story: Inside COP15 – positive

Source: Not shown

Placement: Page 34

Story 17

Headline: Tuvalu climate proposal

Story: Inside COP15 – positive

Source: AFP

Placement: Page 36

12 December 2009

Story 18

Headline: Please seal a deal

Story: Inside COP15 – positive

Source: Tessie Lambourne was interviewed by Matelita Ragogo, part of UNFCCC at COP15

Placement: Page 12

Story 19

Headline: Pacific in full force

Story: Inside COP15 – positive

Source: AOSIS

Placement: Page 30

Story 20

Headline: Nabou rejects suicide outcome

Story: Inside COP15 – negative

Source: Nabou

Placement: Page 30

Story 21

Headline: Survival the key for island nations

Story: Inside COP15 – positive

Source: Dr Albert Binger

Placement: Page 31

Story 22

Headline: Pacific journos cover COP15. 6 Pacific journalists are in Copenhagen

Story: Inside COP15 – positive

Source: Not shown

Placement: 31

Story 23

Headline: Euro Summit falls short

Story: Outside COP15 – negative

Source: AFP

Placement: Page 34

Story 24

Headline: Copenhagen baffling bizarre

Story: Inside COP15 – negative

Source: AFP

Placement: Page 42

No stories on COP15 or climate change on 13 December

14 December

Story 25

Headline: Hurdles stay if deal sealed

Story: Inside COP15 – negative

Source: AFP

Placement: Page 9

Story 26

Headline: Aussies unhappy at summit

Story: Inside COP15 – both

Source: AFP

Placement: Page 14

Story 27

Headline: Mick powers in

Story: Outside COP15 – negative

Source: Meteorological office, written by Fiji Times journalist Mary Ranto

Placement: Front page

Story 28

Headline: Arrest at mass rally

Story: Inside COP15 – negative

Source: AFP

Placement: Page 24

Story 29

Headline: Copenhagen talks aim ‘far too low’

Story: Inside COP15 – both

Source: AP

Placement: 27

16 December

Story 30

Headline: Why COP15 is vital

Story: Inside COP15 – positive

Source: Matelita Ragogo

Placement: Page 12

17 December

Story 31

Headline: Warming at a much faster rate

Story: Inside COP15 – positive

Source: Matelita Ragogo

Placement: Page 11

18 December

Story 32

Headline: An inconclusive truth (in bold and big fonts), and Ice Melts on Gore

Story: Inside COP15 – negative

Source: Geoff Taylor

Placement: Page 9

Story 33

Headline: An inconclusive truth (in bold and big fonts), and Ice Melts on Gore

Story: Inside COP15 – negative

Source: Letters to the editor, climate change, not COP15

Placement: Page 9

Table 4.5 8 December stories

9 December stories

	S1	S2		S3	S4	S5	S6	S7
IN COP15	1	1			1	1	1	1
OUCOP15				1				
Negative							1	
Positive	1	1		1	1	1		1
Both								

Total = 8 stories on Dec, 8 and 9/ Inside COP=7/ Outside=1/positive=6/negative=2. Source: The author.

Table 4.6 10 December stories**11 December stories**

	S8	S9		S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17
IN COP15	1	1						1	1	1	1
OUCOP15				1	1	1	1				
Negative	1	1			1	1	1	1			
Positive				1					1	1	1
Both											

Total=10 stories on Dec, 10 and 11/ Inside COP=6/ Outside=4/positive=4/negative=6. Source:
The author

Table 4.7 12 December stories**14 December stories**

	S18	S19	S20	S21	S22	S23	S24		S25	S26	S27	S28	S29
IN COP15	1	1	1	1	1		1		1	1		1	1
OUCOP15						1					1		
Negative			1			1	1		1		1	1	
Positive	1	1		1	1								
Both										1			1

Total=12 stories on Dec, 12 and 14/Inside COP=10/Outside=2/positive=4/negative=6/both=2.
Source: The author.

Table 4.8 16 December**17 December****18 December**

	S30		S31		S32	S33
IN COP15	1		1		1	1
OUCOP15						
Negative					1	1
Positive	1		1			
Both						

Total = 4 stories on Dec, 16,17 and 18/ Inside COP=4/Outside=0/positive=2/negative=2.
Source: The author

4.7 New Zealand: About *New Zealand Herald*

The New Zealand Herald is part of the Australian-based APN news corporation which owns several leading newspapers in New Zealand and Australia. It published 4 editions during the summit. It is a daily broadsheet newspaper with a print run of more than 200,000. It only published stories about COP15 between 14 of December 2009 to 28 December. The author chose 16 to 18 of December in his analysis. It published 22 stories. Unfortunately, *The New Zealand Herald* did not publish stories on COP15 on the first day of the meeting, the only stories were found on 16 to 17 with heavy coverage taking place from 19 to 20 of that month. The leaders' meeting was on 17 and 18, the final two days of the two-week summit.

On 4 December 2009, *The Herald's* Eloise Gibson wrote that John Key had announced a plan to attend COP15 despite earlier statements that he was not attending: 'I have decided that on balance it makes sense for me to be there,' he said. Key did not want to give the impression by his absence that New Zealand was not committed to playing its part.

16 December 2009

Story 1

Headline: On the skids and looking forward to the ride

Story: Inside COP15 – negative

Source: Eloise Gibson (Copenhagen diary)

Placement: Front page

Story 2

Headline: Fire on the mountain

Story: Outside COP15 – positive

Source: Government (Philippines) and others

Placement: Front page

Story 3

Headline: NZ hopes to make splash with global plan

Story: Inside COP15 – positive

Source: Government

Placement: Page 2

Story 4

Headline: Gore's ice-cap claims disputed

Story: Inside COP15 – negative

Source: AP/NZH, delegates

Placement: Page 2

Story 5

Headline: Canada victim of activist campaign

Story: Inside COP15 – negative

Source: AP, NGO

Placement: Page 2

Story 6

Headline: Climate change will hit Koalas hard, group claims

Story: Outside COP15 – positive

Source: Reuters, others

Placement: Page 2

Story 7

Headline: Back home for clean-up

Story: Outside COP15 – both (Cyclone Mick, Fiji)

Source: AP, government

Placement: A5

Story 8

Headline: On Copenhagen

Story: Inside COP15 – negative

Source: Opinion

Placement: A14

Story 9

Headline: Business as usual

Story: Inside COP15 – positive

Source: Letter (Graeme McDermott, New Lynn)

Placement: A14

Story 10

Headline: America keen to lead, but others must follow

Inside COP15 – positive

Source: NZH, government

Placement: A15

Story 11

Headline: Clean up for Bondi's recidivist stinkers (Sydney)

Story: Outside COP15 – positive

Sources: NZH, government

Placement: A19

Story 12

Headline: China warms to clean fuel to kick coal habit (sub-heading = One of the world's biggest polluters is staring to clean up its act)

Story: Inside COP15 – positive

Source: Telegraph group, government, others

Placement: Page 25

17 December 2009

Story 13

Headline: Different answers from Al and Arnie

Story: Inside COP15 – both

Source: Al Gore, Arnold, Written by Eloise

Placement: Front page

Story 14

Headline: Gov't puts \$45m into emission plan

Story: Inside COP15 – positive

Source: government

Placement: Page 2

Story 15

Headline: Africa's radical climate finance plan backed

Story: Inside COP15 – positive

Source: Independent

Placement: Page 2

Story 16

Headline: Hard to keep our name afloat amid sinking islands

Story: Inside COP15 – negative

Source: Eloise

Placement: Page 2

Story 17

Headline: How to become a deeper shade of green

Story: Outside COP15 – positive

Source: NZH

Placement: B6

18 December

Story 18

Headline: Roadblocks on the way to heart of climate talks

Story: Inside COP15 – negative

Source: Eloise

Placement: Front page

Story 19

Headline: New summit touted to end deadlock

Story: Inside COP15 – negative

Source: Telegraph group limited

Placement: Page 2

Story 20

Headline: Climate protesters walk into brutal police attack

Story: Inside COP15 – negative

Source: Independent

Placement: Page 2

Story 21

Headline: Plans to trap coal emissions underground ignored

Story: Inside COP15 – both

Source: Telegraphy group

Placement: Page 2

Story 22

Headline: Tuvalu's plight

Story: Inside COP15 – positive

Source: Letter (Susi Newborn, Waiheke island, NZ)

Placement: Opinion section

Table 4.9**16 December stories**

	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12
IN COP15	1		1	1	1			1	1	1		1
OUCOP15		1				1	1				1	
Negative	1			1	1							
Positive		1	1			1		1	1	1	1	1
Both							1					

Total = 12 / Inside COP=9/Outside=3/positive = 7/ negative = 4/ both=1. Source: The author

Table 4.10. 17 December stories

	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16
IN COP15	1	1	1	1	1
OUCOP15					
Negative				1	1
Positive		1	1		
Both	1				

Total = 5/Inside COP=5/Outside=0/positive =2/negative=2/both = 1. Source: The author

Table 4. 11. 18 December stories

	S17	S18	S19	S20	S21
IN COP15	1	1	1	1	1
OUCOP15					
Negative	1	1	1	1	
Positive					
Both					1

Total =5 stories /Inside COP = 5/ Outside=0/ negative=4/both=1

Fig: 4. 3 *New Zealand Herald's* front pages, 16 December 2009



New Zealand Herald's 'Copenhagen diary' on the right hand corner

Fig: 4. 4 New Zealand Herald front page, 18 December 2009



A 'Copenhagen diary' in the front page on the right hand corner

It must be remembered that the *Fiji Times* and *New Zealand Herald* are not the main topics of this study but are used to compare their coverage of COP15 with *Te Uekera*. The author's emphasis will be on the *Te Uekera*, interviews with Kiribati participants and questionnaires for Kiribati journalists. This is why some of the important issues such as sources of the *Times* and *Herald's* and placement of these stories are not discussed in tables. In the next chapter, this study will discuss these findings and apply them to recognised media theories.

Chapter 5: Discussion of the findings

*Kiribati aban tamau
Are i bungiaki mai iai
E ngaa te tai
Are Nna manga noriko iai
Ma te kukurei*

- Takirua, 1945 cited in Teaero & Takirua, 2008

Kiribati, land of my father, where I was born,
when is the time to see you again
with joy?

Translation by the author

This section discusses in detail the findings of this research and how they support the hypothesis of the thesis. It begins by looking at the development and patterns of climate change discourse around the world, the region and in Kiribati. But first it sets out to map attitudes to the Kiribati media since it was established in the country more than 50 years ago.

5.1 Attitudes toward the Kiribati media

After independence in 1979, the governments used BPA for political reasons among other agenda. Presidents such as Ieremia Tabai, Teburoro Tito and Anote Tong have long demanded that the media be given more freedom and independence. But when elected into office as President, they do the opposite (Korauaba, 2007a).

On the other hand, the public uses the state media for family-related matters. As noted by an outsider in the following commentary:

One by one, people come to the station to fill out request forms with such messages as: "Baraniko on Tarawa would like Winnie on Butaritari to know that grandma's cold is getting much better. Thank you for the bananas." Songs are dedicated. Weddings are announced. School graduation is commemorated. Official memoranda are read.

And the whole country listens in. Not many people have electricity in Kiribati, especially on the outer islands but, normally, at least one person in a village will have a battery- or generator-powered radio. If the Keeper of the Radio hears a message for someone, it is his duty to tell that person.

Cleo, 1998²⁶

Investigative journalism is lacking in Kiribati (Mackenzie, 2004; Tabureka, 2007; Korauaba, 2007), and attempts by the journalists to go deeper into alleged corrupt practices often meet resistance from the authorities. The author ran a number of investigative stories in 2002 and 2005 regarding the failure of the French-leased aircraft ATR 72 which cost taxpayers millions of dollars, the government's overpayment of AUD \$500.000 to a church car dealer, millions in debts owed by government employees including the Auditor-General and the controversial call by Catholic Bishop Paul Mwea on President Tong to step down because he failed to address prostitution (Korauaba, 2007b). The directors of Radio Kiribati, after being pressurised by the Secretary of Communication, Tebwee Ietaake and Chief Secretary, Makurita Baaro, complained about these stories citing the journalists' lack of professional approach but they did not deny the content of the news reports.

²⁶ Where everyone knows what's cooking. *National Post* 1998, November 26

Embarrassed by these reports, former Minister of Communications, Natan Teewe, stepped in and issued an order to stop these reports while Attorney-General jumped on that wagon giving a strong warning from a legal standpoint to journalists that there was no section in the BPA Act that guarantees journalists the right to do investigative work like the police, CIA or FBI agents (Korauaba, 2007a).

5.2 Development in media coverage of climate change

Media coverage of climate change in 2009 globally was five times greater than that of the turn of the millennium (Boykoff, 2010). The year 2009 witnessed a peak of expectation among industrialised and developing countries. These were driven by assumptions that the climate summit in Copenhagen in 2009 would produce a positive outcome for low lying islands such as Kiribati. The release of the IPCC report in 2007, growing numbers of studies of media coverage of climate change, and the controversy around the film *Inconvenient Truth* by Al Gore, among others, triggered interest among climate change activists, journalists and world leaders. Around the world there was hope that the time was ripe for COP15 to come up with a binding agreement to reduce greenhouse emissions to 2 degree Celsius. Low lying islands such as Tuvalu proposed 1.5 degree Celsius.

Ahead of the COP15 summit, a number of important events took place with direct impact on the Pacific. For example, the Alliance of the Small Island States met in New York three months before the summit to reaffirm their stance on one collective voice only – they are in real danger and thus urgent action is warranted. In their lengthy and strongly worded declaration, they called on the international community to work together to reduce their gas emissions to save the low lying islands. IPCC identified Kiribati, Tuvalu, Marshall Islands in the Pacific and the Maldives in the Indian Ocean as “vulnerable countries”. In addition to this, the Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environmental Programme (SPREP) carried out training workshops and conferences to raise awareness and improve media reporting of climate change in the region.

COP15 was the result of two years of intensive preparation by developed and developing countries. On 4 September 2007, President Anote Tong assented to the new amendments to the Environment Amendment Act.

The amendments were made at the request of the environmental officials who complained that the previous legislation, enacted in 1999 by the government of Teburoro Tito, did not specifically spell out the legal mandate of the ministry under the Act (Abeta, personal communication, 14 September 2011). A key component of the amendment was the new position of the Environmental Principal Officer who will play a major role in the administration of the Act. The entire amendments were driven by the Kiribati government's commitment to the international treaties of which it was a signatory as the Attorney - General, Tiitabu Taabane, noted:

In addition, the Bill contains legislative provisions necessary for the implementation of the following international agreements – the Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and National Heritage, the Convention on the Prevention of Marine Pollution by Dumping Wastes and other Matters, and the Convention on Biological Diversity

Taabane, 2006 published in the Environment Amendment Act 2007, www.environment.gov.ki

President Tong's numerous visits to the United Nations, speeches published and broadcast locally and elsewhere, and the launch of the Kiribati Adaptation Programme, including studies on climate change in Kiribati by I-Kiribati officials were higher in 2008. Awareness programmes, video productions in conjunction with UNICEF which targeted youths and church groups reached their highest peak in 2009. Overseas journalists travelled to the islands to report on the impacts of climate change.

In the international domain, there was a sense of competition among Island leaders to attract the attention of the world, and also to bring more cash to fund projects such as sea walls. In Kiribati, for example, the need to build sea walls had been raised since the 1980s. As Timeon Ioane explained, they received complaints from the outer islands on erosion and requested for sea walls to protect their land (Ioane, personal communication, 12 October 2011).

In relation to this, a year before Kiribati achieved independence, on 24 August 1978, Parliament discussed some questions regarding the need to build a causeway between the islets of Tabiteuea North to the main island to make transportation easier (see report on Hansard <http://www.parliament.gov.ki/content/han>).

Studies on the impacts of these walls had been done in Kiribati in the 1980s and 1990s (Holden, 1991: Kiribati Ministry of Environment and Social Development, 1991), or studies exploring the difficulties in teaching environmental subjects at primary schools (Taylor, 1992) and the need to incorporate environmental studies at secondary schools (Van Trease, 1993) and more recently the study on the importance of education for sustainable development (Moy, 2009) among others. The author's argument is twofold: sea walls and causeways have been raised elsewhere in Kiribati well before the issue of climate change emerged, which means that the country had to fund these from its own pocket. Secondly, although climate change was gradually recognised in Europe and the West in the 1970s, low lying island states such as Kiribati were too young to have sufficient information about the science. It was widely accepted that attention during those years focused largely on decolonisation and independence.

5.3 Kiribati Development Plan 2009-2011

Kiribati's rising concern on climate change received little mention in the country's Development Plan 2008-2011. This plan is the country's blueprint outlining policies and strategies for national development and it was the eighth series of plans since 1979. With only a few sections devoted to climate change, this lack of emphasis questions the credibility of the President's passionate and sustained campaign on climate change. For example, there was no mention of migration and purchase of a floating island in the plan as the President declared in an interview with AP ('Kiribati faces a very bleak future due to sea level rise, and considered buying land overseas', Pacnews, 9 February, 2009). In 2011, an overseas news agency quoted Tong: He had seen models for a \$2 billion floating island, which he likened to a giant offshore oil platform.

He said while it sounded ‘like something from science fiction’, every idea had to be considered given the dire situation facing Kiribati (‘Kiribati ponders floating island to fight sea rise’, Perry, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/feedarticle/9833936>). Paradoxically, there was no detailed discussion in the plan about climate change awareness. Despite being under the spotlight for possible inundation in the next 50 years or so, the Development Plan has no relationship with what President Tong has declared. Although the government was very outspoken on this issue, it was outperformed by Tuvalu attracting the attention of journalists and world leaders (Dimitrov, 2010). The *New Zealand Herald* ran an article showing the struggle of the New Zealand government delegation to get international attention at world stage.

Headlined ‘hard to keep our name afloat amid sinking islands’, the *Herald*’s Eloise Gibson wrote:

when it comes to getting attention on the world stage, New Zealand has some stiff competition. This week showed Tuvalu was a master, while the United States did not even have to try.

Gibson, 2009; p. 2

The *Herald* was disappointed too when John Key was dropped from BBC’s high profile televised debate. Back home, a few New Zealanders wrote letters to the *Herald* expressing their disappointment at the attitudes of some of New Zealand’s delegates towards Tuvalu who at some stage describe it as ‘extremists’. On 18 December 2009, Susi Newborn of Waiheke island wrote to the *Herald*:

These people, our neighbours, are fighting for their lives, their livelihoods and their cultures.

Susi added;

Tim Groser, associate climate change minister did little to enhance New Zealand waning international image by describing vulnerable nations such as Tuvalu at the summit as ‘extremist tactics’.

New Zealand Herald, 18 December 2009

While the summit failed in that it did not come up with a binding agreement on developed countries, Tuvalu demonstrated to the world leaders that it was well prepared for this summit because it was serious about the impact of climate change on its 10,000 people.

5.4 Media attitudes to climate change: victim-oriented and hero approach

Headlines such as ‘drowning’, ‘submerging’, ‘disappearing’ and ‘lost paradise’ (Robie, 1991; Day, 2010; Cameron, 2011), are parts of the media’s attempt to invoke fear and to draw attention. Wilson (2000; p. 201) found that these are not carefully worded scientific findings, ‘rather dramatic eye-catching, entertaining stories that attract audiences but do little to enlighten them about the risks associated with climate change’. The meaning of these headlines is better explained in the model, ‘CNN effect’ and ‘Manufacturing Thesis Effect’ employed by foreign journalists who were not only covering wars but also sought to make policy (Robinson, 2002a; pp. 37-41, cited in Balabanova, 2007).

The journalists and producers travelled to Kiribati with a view to place people as ‘victims’ using their Western journalistic techniques to interview victims (see Luechtefeld, 2003). The trouble with this victim-oriented approach is that there are no victims yet in Kiribati as people are still alive which is very different from what foreign journalists have experienced in other parts of the world. Those on the ground regard overseas journalists as advocates and activists who came to help them.

What happens when no action results from this coverage is triggering indignation among the locals. Carteret Islander Ursula Rakovo made this plainly clear when interviewed by an Australian news agency:

We've had 17 international TV crews come over the past two and a half years,' she told AAP. It's too much. We'd like to see the advocacy turn into practical support.

TVNZ, 2009

The foreign journalists, who came to the islands to tell the stories of these people to the world, sought to help Kiribati through a concept Dunfield has called 'do something about it'. With climate change, people in Kiribati are alive, but their lands are eroded, their water is brackish, and trees are dead, showing the disastrous effect of climate change on low lying islands. But still these are not adequate to convince the industrialised countries to take urgent action. The white man hero and victim relationship is found elsewhere in movies where victims are rescued by a white man hero, probably from the West or the United States. This underlies the important role of the mass media as a platform or conduit for working with experts to explain environmental risks to the lay public (Beck, 1995; Gregory and Miller, 1998 cited in Antilla, 2008; p. 4).

With respect to climate change, the foreign media sought to play that white man hero role but in vain, and the local media did not try because they did not see it as culturally appropriate. The difficulties in getting world leaders to take action on climate change stories have been studied elsewhere, but very few compared it with actions on nuclear technologies. Palfreman (2006) in a classic work concluded that the underlying causes of lack of political will to address climate change are twofold: firstly, people are the culprits and victims of this new phenomenon. Secondly, climate change is an idea while nuclear weapon and power is a technology. As confirmed in the interviews with Kiribati journalists, they felt a sense of uncertainty over climate change because it involves debates. Journalists like any other I-Kiribati

living on this low lying island are concerned about their future and the future of their children (Moote, personal communication, 7 October 2011).

There is no training course specifically designed to teach journalists in the South Pacific to interview victims of attacks, accidents, cyclone and tsunami, only in counselling and psychology. Put simply, there are no courses designed to teach journalists how to interview prospective victims of climate change. In this somewhat challenging role, journalists do not see themselves equipped for the task given their deadlines and professional codes of ethics. The consequence of bringing down senior officials for corruption is somebody else's business.

There is no guarantee that journalists, after they have opened the door to justice, would provide counselling or support for a victim's wife and children. Media laws, for example in Kiribati, prohibit the publication of juvenile photos, children as victims, or allow breaches of the bad taste and decency code. Decomposed bodies of Kiribati people killed in a boat tragedy in 2009 between Maiana and Tarawa were filmed and watched on social media websites and videos. The photo of a decapitated man was published by several newspapers in Kiribati in 2007. In spite of the widespread viewing of these videos, journalists in Kiribati never interviewed families of the dead because they are not trained to interview people under such circumstances. But the reality is Kiribati does not have a law for the internet, and the media have no council and no media ethics. The BPA journalists are using the outdated ethics envisaged in the BPA Act.

5.5 Is it development or disaster?

President Tong has never referred to climate change as a development issue. Rather, he kept on invoking controversy with his human survival issue, disappearing islands and migrating to the unknown world among other things. These views were substantiated by media reports such as drowning, submerging, underwater and paradise lost culminated in a close relationship between him and foreign news media. There is nothing wrong with these headlines because that is the job of the subeditors to attract the attention of the reader because news has to sell (Dixit, 2010). The implication of this for climate change discourse encouraged Tong to keep saying 'a disaster' rather than a development issue.

Some studies have examined the development side of climate change as in the form of grants, sea wall construction and adaptation. In Kiribati, for instance, the government received grants from overseas for these purposes but has never recognised them as a development opportunity despite some studies suggesting otherwise (see, Francisco, 2008; Bryant-Tokalau, 2008; Maclellan, 2009; Halsnæs & Verhagen, 2007; Mertz, Halsnaes & Olesen, 2009; Storey & Hunter, 2010). More work is needed in the Pacific to raise awareness on adaptation through a development perspective (Lata & Nunn, 2011).

5.6 Interviews

Information elicited from the questionnaires did not correspond with some of the journalists' answers in the interviews. For example, in the interviews, the participants found that the beach erosion and flooding of coastal sites were the only stories related to climate change. Aneta explained that they were having difficulty translating climate change terms into Kiribati words, but in the questionnaire she disagreed that it was a complicated story. Covering climate change stories was not easy because journalists such as Aneta feared for herself and her children. But on the questionnaire she disagreed that it was a 'scary story'. As researcher, the author is a former colleague of the participants and it may be hard for them to accept that he came from New Zealand to explore this issue. Tearinibeia, Buraieta and Ueretan all supported the perception that the topic of climate change, if it were repeated more than twice, would systematically become a recipe for fear rather than public awareness. Asked what role the local media would play in climate change advocacy, Anote said: 'The only task I could see is to make people fearful and panic', (see also Moser & Dilling, 2004). He considered that it was his job as leader of Kiribati to talk to the international community to take action because they have caused the problem (Tong, personal communication 13 October 2011). This contradicts scientific findings that Pacific Island countries contribute to less than 0.03 percent of the world's total greenhouse gas emissions (Pacnews, 25 November 2011) and of growing waste in some of these islands (Carden, 2003; SPREP, 2009; Patel, 2007; Moy, 2009).

Tong's views, similar to those of other small and developing countries that they were not 'causing climate change', thus laying all the blame on industrialised countries, were among the reasons for the collapse of COP15 (Dimitrov, 2010) and the recipe for causing 'inaction, exclusion or irrelevance' (Hayward, 2008; p. 80).

5.7 How climate change stories come to be reported

A good time to report climate change was when there were workshops or when President Anote Tong attended a climate change summit overseas. The other good time was during high tide when some coastal areas were flooded, such as in Tebikeniko and Eita, and causeways between Ambo and Taborio, Nanikai and Bairiki, Bairiki and Betio. The journalists visited the flooded areas to interview the house owners and then sought comment from the Environment Ministry, President's office or the Meteorological Office. Tearinibeia was aware of the emotional feelings attached to these stories, but he kept his reporting neutral. Anote disagreed with this type of reporting and called on the journalists to be more passionate about the impacts of climate change. This is why it is becoming necessary to conduct research involving in-depth interviews with editors and journalists to understand the profession and their attitudes toward climate change (Anderson, 2009).

Fig:5.1 A causeway between Betio and Tarawa severely damaged



Source: Courtesy of *Te Uekera*, 2009

Fig: 5.2 Abairarang, South Tarawa



It can be peaceful and beautiful. Photo: T.Korauaba, 2011

Fig: 5.3 During high tides



This was in 2008, the photo was taken by an overseas journalist. Source: Janesoceania

Fig: 5.4 Researcher and participant at home in Bairiki



Sitting crossed legged on a mat with papers and cup of tea was more comfortable than sitting on chairs. The researcher, Taberannang Korauaba (left), and Radio Kiribati news editor, Tearinibeia Eno Teabo, during the interview, 14 October 2011. Photo: Courtesy of Mrs Teabo.

Fig: 5.5. BPA journalists



Buraieta Toakare, Ag editor of *Te Uekera*, and Monee Tateru, radio announcer, inside the newsroom checking an item to be read on air. Photo: T. Korauaba, 5 October 2011.

5.8 Framing as the construction of social reality

‘The entire study of mass communication’, McQuail (1994) wrote; is based on the premise that the media have significant effect. He went on to argue that ‘this diagnosis, however, must be understood as the temporary result of a scholarly discussion which has been characterised by significant changes in paradigms over the past decades’ (cited in Scheufele, 1999; p. 103).

Scheufele divided the changes into four stages. The first stage began in the 1930s with war propaganda, the second ended in 1960s which revised the paradigm of media effect, the third started in the 1970s which shifted from attitude change to a more cognitive effect of mass media and the fourth focused on the construction of social reality through the interaction between media effect and recipients. In the Pacific media scholars have focused their attention on 'decolonising media research' influenced by indigenous scholars (Smith, 1999). Because there are few media scholars in the Pacific, most of whom have just emerged in the 1980s with specialist knowledge on politics, journalism and development that is different from the Western countries, the students they produce would follow their interest. For example, in the Pacific and Kiribati in particular journalists have been provided with short term journalism courses rather than tertiary courses (Robie, 2004), and could not analyse overseas experts report of their country because they lack analytical skills, which is why it is important that they become researchers themselves (Papoutsaki, 2008). Due to their limited knowledge and understanding of the issue of framing and selection of sources in their stories, there is a likelihood that they would not critique and select their sources thoroughly. Studies have found that journalists felt reluctant to frame unknown things or scientific predictions (Hansen, 2010).

The official source of climate change stories in Kiribati was President Anote Tong, who not only became a claims-maker but also framed the issue to his own political advantage. The issue of framing these stories has been documented elsewhere (see Good, 2008; Hansen, 2010) and also in Kiribati (Day, 2010), but this is different from the approach of this present study. Furthermore, there was agreement between the journalists and government to work together at some stage to frame climate change, but this frame was not extended to public or individual framing (Scheufele, 1999), because the journalists did not have solid understanding about framing. However, the journalists might have not paid attention to this agreement given their limited knowledge of climate change and this has resulted in miscommunication and misunderstanding between them, the recipients and the senders.

Henderson-Sellers (1998; p. 421) argued that ‘it is important to differentiate, whenever possible, between the audience failure (i.e. misunderstandings) and the author’s failure (i.e. misrepresentation) components of miscommunication.’ In Kiribati, communication between the government and the media is lacking and may be difficult for climate change stories to be transmitted given the absence of mechanisms that can bring the two together.

In Bangladesh, studies confirmed that newspapers’ coverage of the environment influenced policy making (Das et al, 2010). In the Pacific, there are no specialised journalists (Patel, 2007), and few hardly saw climate change as a human survival issue (Pareti, 2009, *Journos urged to use human touch, Fiji Times Online*, 27 October 2009).

This is partly due to a small number of legitimate sources available in some countries to exchange information with the journalists. The government institutions in the Pacific strongly practise a culture of a closed-door policy adding more problems to the journalists (Moala, 2002; Korauaba, 2007a), or countries such as Kiribati have no freedom of information law (Mackenzie, 2004). Pacific journalists are hardly aware of these stories (Patel, 2006; Jasperse, 2008) or the government’s popularity wanes when other issues take precedence (Gavin, 2009). These factors, along with the Kiribati journalists’ lack of information and understanding of the issue, gave Tong the first choice to be contacted as a legitimate source for climate change stories by local and overseas journalists.

Teburoro, who appeared to be a climate change sceptic despite being the first Kiribati leader to raise this issue overseas (Teaero, personal communication, 22 October 2011) argued that Anote Tong used climate change to sweep all his failures at home under the carpet. This, according to Teburoro, did not correspond to the public’s views on climate change. Anote was aware of these criticisms, saying they are all part of the public’s reluctance to accept that the country is in danger. ‘What happens right now, and imagine in ten years or so, what would happen? The problem in Kiribati is that people do not want to look further into the future’ (Tong, personal communication, 13 October 2011).

Framing climate change, and telling the world that you are desperate to migrate, and focusing all your energy on migration, may undermine other areas of priority for the present generation (Teaero, personal communication, 22 October 2011). Teweiariki said the government's pleas were not only impractical but gave it less hope, aspiration and ambition to think about what ought to be done today for tomorrow's sake.

President Tong talked much about 50 or 100 years, deepening the gap between today and that unknown future. The country has a population of about 100,000, and the government would like to train its people to become worthy citizens of a country they would migrate to. One in 1,000 people is likely to achieve that within five or ten years, something that is highly improbable.

Teaero, personal communication, 22 October 2011

Despite his outgoing personality and campaign over climate change, Tong was seen very much as anti-Christian and not believing in what most of his population thought – God's promise to Noah. He admitted this challenge in an interview with an overseas journalist saying 'people started to question me over my focus on climate change' ('Climate Change and Faith Collide in Kiribati,' Reed, 2011; published on <http://www.npr.org/2011/02/16/133650679/climate-change-and-faith-collide-in-kiribati>). Tito said: 'Anote and his government has gone too far. Our people have not reached a point where their only hope is to abandon their country.' The opposition party has presented lengthy arguments attacking the government's stance on climate change, using quotes from international sceptics. Due to the government's restrictions on the media talking to the opposition, and the journalists' own self-censoring attitude their contrary were hardly known to the majority of the population. The opposition used climate change as a political issue to garner support from thousands of sceptics around the country, mainly the elders who did not want to leave their country (Day, 2010).

Adding further controversy to climate change, Teburoro said Anote wasted his time attending climate change based entirely on his 'fake motive' (Tito, personal communication, 8 October 2011).

5.9 Journalists and their sources

The relationship between the journalists and government sources is based mainly on a one-way communication model. Government has no difficulty getting its news stories broadcast and published. Journalists hardly ever receive replies from the government on their queries. Government usually calls a press conference to talk about climate change. Some journalists lose interest in these conferences because they are controlled by the government. For example, Tearinibeia complained that ahead of the press conference they were asked to send their questions to the President Press Office. 'We did that but then we realised that some of our questions were screened out and when we asked why they did it, the answer was that it was not the right time to ask.' Tearinibeia found the press conferences were controlled and their ability to ask hard questions was limited and thus these conferences are the equivalent to political propaganda to influence media content (Teabo, personal communication, 15 October 2011; and see also Good, 2008).

Ueretan Bauro shared this sentiment saying that their questions on sea wall funding were never answered. It was very easy to receive government press release and their press conference communiques, but 'it is hard from our side to obtain any information for our story'. Bauro proposed that government should promote a two-way communications to make the journalists and government's job easier in transmitting information to the public. Speaking on the independence of the editorial team, Bauro argued: 'I don't feel I have that independence as whenever the government or any senior official wishes to transmit very urgent information, even if the paper was ready for publication, they forced us to put it in the paper' (Bauro, personal communication, 5 October 2011). Aneta echoed the concerns of the two senior reporters saying the government still uses them for political reasons. Getting information from the government ministries was not easy even if the story was just about simple things, as the journalists were required to seek the approval of the permanent secretary.

A culture of mistrust and fear to talk to the media in Kiribati is strong, and not all ministries have a communication unit to network with the journalists (Mackenzie, 2004; Korauaba, 2007). In many parts of the Pacific, the roles of journalists, especially those who are critical of the state or kingdom are seen very similar to that of rebellion (Moala, 2002).

The President's office is the only department in Kiribati that receives all news from the other ministries and publishes this in its newsletter, *RMAT, Rongorongo Man Ami Tautaeaka* (News from your Government). The Ministry of Environment found this a barrier to spreading educational news to the public. As Riibeta Abeta nicely puts it:

In the past we produced our own newsletter and inserted it with *Te Uekera*. Later on we received a directive from the President's Office to submit our news to *RMAT*. So we have to compete with other ministries. Secondly, the newsletter sometimes did not publish.

Abeta, personal communication, 8 October 2011

5.10 Journalists and NGOs

None of the journalists interviewed showed that they received news and information on climate change from any NGO. A climate change advocate, Claire Anterea, worked for an NGO and found it hard to get the attention of the media in Kiribati. The President of the Women's Organisation said they have not discussed their stance on climate change (Tetoea, personal communication, 13 October 2011). In previous years, the organisation had participated in formulating sustainable development strategies (AMAK, 2002). The churches are aware of the impacts of climate change but have not engaged with the media to communicate with their members on their position. The problem here was that the journalists are not very keen to work with these groups and members of civil society despite earlier projects that sought to connect journalists with them (Korauaba, 2007b).

5.11 Journalists and the public

Journalists interviewed people who were affected during high tides and also by coastal erosion. Those are the only areas the journalists saw to be related to climate change. The public sometimes dismissed their reports, or often rebuked some journalists for writing a story to ‘scare people off’ (Toakare, personal communication, 13 October 2011).

The journalists lost interest in this issue when it was repeated more often; secondly, they feel they are the victims and people just do not bother about what is going to happen; and thirdly it was a waste of efforts as solutions are not readily available in Kiribati (Thomas, 2003). These views were shared by Anote who said that seeking solution was the government’s task. Scientific and technical terms were among the barriers facing the journalists in reporting climate change. As Aneta explained it is hard to find a Kiribati actual word for any terms such as biodiversity and acidification. Abeta was aware of this difficulty and proposed to provide recognised local translations to be used widely in Kiribati. KAP had developed a similar manual containing all these translations but journalists were not aware of it.

5.12 Do Kiribati journalists report climate change objectively or subjectively?

The articles published in *Te Uekera* on 11-18 December 2009, showed the attachment of the reporters to their leader rather than the issue of climate change. Endorsing what the President and his delegation did at Copenhagen was a clear indication that they wanted to work together for a common ground, find a solution thus allowing the government of the day to do its job while they (journalists) mobilised public support at home. Due to their perception that government ‘owned’ them, the journalists increasingly practised the ‘government says’ journalism. This was disputed by Anote, Teburoro and Timeon. Anote and Teburoro saw no reason why the journalists should censor themselves when they were supposedly expected to do their job. Anote claimed that journalists used that as an excuse to justify their lack of commitment to their job. Teburoro, who had been very critical of press freedom would like the journalists to extend their horizons by reporting what he terms ‘under the surface of events’.

From a different perspective, Timeon argued that editors and managers lacked the solid understanding of the roles of the media in a democratic society like Kiribati. Teweiariki proposed that journalists should familiarise themselves with issues they would report on, especially climate change. Comparing the roles of teachers and journalists, Teaero explained journalists find it hard to inform and educate ‘their audience because they do not know ‘who they are’ while the teachers developed programmes that suit the learning needs of their audiences because they knew them.’

As the government, and particularly the President, placed strong focus on climate change, the journalists became the most important tool to get the message across. At times, the President was disappointed when the journalists did not interview him about climate change meetings he attended. A youth climate change advocate, Claire Anterea, complained about the lack of interest and engagement of the local journalists in their climate change programmes. Anterea is one of the much sought after activists by international journalists. The local journalists have never interviewed her since she took up this advocacy role in 2005. She said: ‘I have been interviewed by many foreign journalists and I could not understand why the local journalists were not interested in my stories.’ Based on her experience, she argued people did not care about the underlying science, because when you try to explain that to them they are not interested; rather they are much more interested in finding out why they hardly have rain, why water becomes salty and why their *babai* (a taro-like starchy root crop) is dead (Anterea, personal communication, 18 October 2011). Indigenous peoples have experienced similar changes before and have used their own knowledge to learn and adapt (Cherrington, 2008; Macchi, 2008). If Anterea was not seen as important by the local journalists compared with Anote, she might have lacked the authority to present herself because she worked for the church and had little influence over many people. This is linked to the media’s culture of interviewing elites and bureaucrats (Papoutsaki & Rooney, 2008). Relying only on elites sources is problematic because it excludes others in public deliberation (Romano, 2010).

5.13 Workshops

It is disappointing to note the lack of well researched stories by *Te Uekera* and *The Fiji Times* on COP15. While there has been expectation that reporting of this issue would be enhanced following a series of training workshops there was no improvement. Although the *Fiji Times* published more stories than *Te Uekera* and *New Zealand Herald*, they showed very little passion about climate change. *Fiji Times* have attempted to give attention to scepticism on climate change with headlines in its editorial column such as ‘is climate change a hot topic, or myth?’ *Te Uekera*, whose readers stand to lose their country in the future failed to interview people about the summit and their expectations from their leader. This raises the questions around workshops by SPREP.

It is worth noting here that Kiribati journalists have no training on environment, or climate change reporting. None of them have any higher degrees in journalism or other disciplines. As a result, their views on climate change are limited and it would be hard for them to understand linkages between climate change and people’s lives (Jasperse, 2008). There has not been any specific workshop to train journalists for this job in Kiribati. In May 2007, a two-week UNESCO-funded workshop was conducted in Kiribati. The training was aimed at improving relations between journalists and society, which included NGOs, MPs and the media.

It was conducted by a Samoan journalist working at that time for the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat. The workshop also touched on formulating the constitution of the Kiribati Media Association. At the time of this research, there was no improvement in the relationships between the journalists, government and NGOs, ‘but the quality of journalism has dropped significantly’ (Ioane, personal communication, 15 October 2011). Samoa and Kiribati are very different and the appointment of a Samoan journalist to conduct this workshop undermined the expertise of local journalists. Secondly the workshop was designed out of the blue as there have not been any scholarly studies on the Kiribati media at that time.

Beginning in 1999, specialised environmental workshops for journalists were carried out by SPREP. The same organisation organised climate change workshop for regional journalists.

They were run in Tonga, Apia, Fiji and Australia. Kiribati journalists were invited to participate. The locations of these workshops have been problematic as workshops like these should have been carried out in areas where the impacts of climate change are visible for the journalists. It was believed that the organisers and trainers did not want to stay in very hot and poor countries because they were concerned about their health. Holding these workshops in countries that are better off than Kiribati in terms of infrastructure, transportation, communication and health services denied Kiribati journalists real life experience of their own people.

In relation to this, public perception on climate change in Kiribati has not been thoroughly studied. Public relationship with the media, and especially the message they conveyed had not been studied in Kiribati either. The Kiribati Adaptation Programme built up its own data by interviewing lay people on what they know about climate change. They did not know where these people got their climate change information, and where they learned to be sceptical. Removing a question on God's promise to Noah from the questionnaire, due to the fact that it would reinforce people's rejection of climate change is flawed. This is especially the case as the people's way of life needs to be understood thoroughly rather than to ignore it (Cherrington, 2008). The root of this biblical teaching needs to be traced and it cannot be just ignored because it would not disappear.

While church leaders campaigned for action to be taken by industrialised countries at all levels, it is not known whether they have told their followers in church to forget God's promise to Noah because it is not true. They have not reached a point to attack the very foundation of their faith, the Bible. In Arorae and Tamana, a family prayer at 7pm every night is compulsory and no one is allowed to work on Sunday. Storch & Krauss (2005) have noted the role culture plays in climate change perceptions in the United States and Germany but in Kiribati it was ignored.

5.14 Questionnaire

The journalists shared with the author what they found and experienced in their work. But in the questionnaires (Table 5.1) they gave different answers. What does this mean if the information the researcher wishes to elicit is not forthcoming and especially when their reliability and credence cannot be verified and sustained?

This discrepancy has been found and addressed elsewhere by researchers (see Lee, 2004). For example, there is a culture of giving answers to please the interviewer that is in a one-to-one conversation. In the questionnaire, it was between the participant and the paper, so whatever he or she put on paper differed from what he or she said on tape raises a question of inconsistency and reliability. For instance, they disagreed with the view that climate was boring, complicated and a scary story.

Table 5.1: Questionnaires: Who is your main source, when is the good time to report climate change, and how you cover the story

	President	High Tides	Emotions	Complicated	Manual
Aneta	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES
Buraieta	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES
Uretan	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES
Tearinibeia	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES
Monika	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES

Source: Taberannang Korauaba's survey

As the above data (Table 5.1) demonstrated the leading source for the journalist was the President. The journalists relied entirely on this elite source, in urban areas, for their stories. The good time to write climate change stories was during high tides. The journalists tried to remain neutral in their reporting but imagining the impacts of climate change on themselves and family was a barrier. They dismissed questions around the controversy and complexity of climate change, but they wanted a climate change journalism manual that carries the translation of the scientific terms into Kiribati words and advise on how to cover the story. The environment and climate change have good stories for journalists in the South Pacific, which they can relate to the economic difficulties facing their country (Patel, 2006). However, the locals, apart from those in 'government', are the last sources the journalists prefer in their everyday storytelling, and were only interviewed when their houses are flooded or they became victims (Dixit, 2010). In spite of this, the journalists struggled to identify with these stories as their country is facing a dire situation.

5.15 Content analysis

Te Uekera coverage of COP15

The headlines such as ‘Kabwaekeeke or katika te nano Kiribati’ are not surprising because the journalists are I-Kiribati and are working for the government’s owned media, which provided public service to the population, entertainment and education. The journalists saw the President and his delegation at the summit as one team representing the country in Copenhagen. Endorsing the President’s efforts at the summit, and mobilising public support, may be seen as parallel to political propaganda. However this is to be expected from the local media as they are owned and controlled by the government. The control is driven by a self-censorship norm practised by the journalists, not imposed by the government (Tong, personal communication, 13 October 2011). The weakness of the ‘government says so journalism’ being practised by the Kiribati media was that it denies the citizens the right to explicitly understand the agenda of its government at the summit, who were on the delegation and how much they spent from the public fund, and whether they have genuine agenda and motions to raise at the conference.

The use of *kabwaekeeke* in the headline suggests the importance of cultural dance in the lives of I-Kiribati. Its adoption places Kiribati delegation at a very special position at the summit. For example, the President and his entourage were imagined as a cultural dancing group representing Kiribati at an overseas festival. In Kiribati, these words are invoked by great song writers to show their intelligence in traditional skills. The story was provided by Linda Uan, producer of *Nei Tabera ni Kai* video unit who also attended COP15. *Kabwaekeeke* may be used to describe the skills of a talented canoe builder and a dancer.

In that story, written by Buraieta Toakare, she interviewed the President’s Private Secretary before they flew to the summit. These are the key themes from this article: President’s trip is news (Robie, 2004). The President is becoming popular around the world for his brave heart to talk about the future of his people and country. Climate change becomes Tong’s favourite song. Headlined as ‘Katika te nano Kautuun Kiribati i Copenhagen’ - President Tong won hearts at Copenhagen – portrayed a good picture of Tong at home.

Culturally speaking, Tong was described as a great dancing performer though he was attending a summit not a festival. Wincupp (2010) found that a traditional dance in Kiribati remains an important part of the people's life. However, the problem with the headline was that Tong had not arrived in Copenhagen yet, but the reports showed that he already won hearts at the summit. They exaggerated the story and misled the readers. Besides this, only one source was interviewed with a few words in the story regarding expectations that the world leaders would make a new binding agreement to replace the Kyoto Protocol which expires in 2012. While the story talked about the bleak future of the country, it did not make reference to scepticism or negative reports about the President's visit and campaign on climate change. Sceptics, especially the political opponent of Tong have been left out from the media due to government's restriction on this matter. In sum, the use of 'kabwaekeeke' and 'katika te nano' showed the importance of cultural dancing in Kiribati culture.

The Fiji Times coverage

The Fiji Times provided both commentaries and news articles about COP15. In its coverage, some interesting points emerged, such as 'telling what the leaders should do at COP15' and it gave more publicity to the islands' presentations at the summit than the *The New Zealand Herald*. Similar to *Te Uekera*, *The Fiji Times* did not send a reporter to Denmark to cover COP15, indicating the position of the publication on climate change. Although it was a high profile summit, *The Fiji Times* focused more on the impacts of climate change to people's life paying particular attention to other neighbouring countries such as Tokelau, Tuvalu, Samoa and Kiribati

The *Times*' coverage of COP15 may be partly understood by the level of vulnerability of Fiji and the political atmosphere in the country at the time. Although this is outside the scope of this thesis, it worth mentioning the fact that within this period there was consideration by the regime to gag the media. Secondly, climate change has been struggling to get the attention of the mainstream media in Fiji and the Pacific (Robie, 2010) despite SPREP's efforts to mainstream the issue through its training workshops.

Thirdly, the publication focused mainly on the bottom-up approach, put simply, smaller vs bigger or Pacific island countries such as victims and developed countries as responsible for inflicting hurts in the minds of the would-be victims. The *Times* did not make any reference to the government at the summit and this was due mainly to a sour relationship between the media and the regime. Instead, it published stories about other Pacific Island governments' presentations at the summit.

The New Zealand Herald coverage

The coverage of the *Herald* during the summit was more on mitigation and less on adaptation (Anderson, 2009). It focused more on debate, blame-game, conflicts and science (Leon & Erviti, 2011). Its coverage was different from the coverage of the *Times* and *Te Uekera*. Having a highly educated and experienced pool of journalists with specialist knowledge, let alone its financial resources, the *Herald* sent a reporter and also bought stories from other overseas news agencies such as AFP, AAP, AP, and the now defunct newswire agency, *The Press*. Two important issues arose from the analysis of the coverage of COP15; one is that the publication is far closer and similar to the Western news media which confirmed earlier findings (Kenix, 2008), and secondly, the newspaper regarded the summit as a chance to make their country's mark.

They were interested in mitigation, transfer of knowledge, conflicts and debate and sought to raise New Zealand's profile at this high level summit.

5.16 Aspects of journalism and its influence on policy making

Objective and balance

Te Uekera attached itself to the President rather than the issue of climate change. Because it is the government's own publication, its coverage of the summit showed how important I-Kiribati culture was. It is a vernacular newspaper and the advantage of that on the public because they saw themselves through the content. It focused on the summit, the delegate and what the readers could expect from the summit.

The Herald is an English language paper limiting its ability to use unique cultural words to unite its people on climate change.

While balancing stories has been a Western-centric news media approach, the *Herald* when publishing stories from COP15 strongly followed this. For example, the coverage easily shifted from the summit to other issues outside the scope of the meeting. For example, when Prime Minister John Key's name was dropped from BBC high profile televised interview, the *Herald* found it to be 'sad news' because as a New Zealand publication, it wanted their leader to be seen at the world stage. This issue is related to working outside your country where the media and leaders work as a team. This relationship is best understood in sporting events where governments and media attended overseas competitions became one team to gear up for their country. Xifra (2009) argued that diplomacy is no longer only the privilege of nation states, other non state actors participated in international diplomacy such as NGOs and sports organisations.

Professional rules governing the work of journalism brought to light some questions regarding accessibility and relevance to the public's needs. This is not to dispute the fact that in New Zealand climate change is not the top priority of the people despite the government's attempt to become the world leader. As some scholars have found, the newspaper is a reflection of society, and this is related to what *Te Uekera, Fiji Times* and *Herald* did with their coverage of COP15. For instance, the coverage of the *Herald* reflected the attitudes of its leaders who were enthusiastically willing to take the lead. Moreover, the sweeping theories of journalism are helpful to understanding the tenets of different levels of government such as democratic, communist, developing countries. However, they may not be useful in determining the coverage of climate change. Climate change is, in fact, a new phenomenon which only seriously attracted the attention of the Western media in the 1990s. This is not to disagree with the fact that studies were done in the 1960s during the time the environment was recognised as a problem, but not climate change (Anderson, 2008). The attention of the media at the time on climate change was not serious, meaning they did not see it as a major issue and very likely to dismiss its urgency because of its creeping nature (Nisbet, 2011), and also because climate change is only an idea where people are both the 'culprits' and 'victims' (see Palfreman, 2006).

Studies on why and how the media cover any issue focused primarily on framing, agenda setting or priming, and cultural interpretive packages among others (Iyengar & Kinder, 1986 cited in Scheufele 1999) because they believe these can best understand the process of construction. However, the relationship between the sender and receiver remains a contested area (Nisbet, 2009). Climate change is struggling to find a place in the journalists' storytelling. Elsewhere people's main concern is their physical and pressing issues these cannot stay in the minds of the public for a long time (Downs, 1972).

The other good aspect of the *Herald's* coverage was little space given to scepticism in its reporting, focusing specifically on what is happening. The rules of journalism, which require journalists to report what is said, have some weaknesses. This is related to the issue of distancing themselves from climate change. Rather than attaching themselves to climate change, the journalist covering COP15 reported what she saw and what happened, what others said thus limiting the ability of the reporter to move towards finding solutions. Finding solutions has been the enemy of journalism especially in Western countries, but this type of report what is said journalism is strong in the *Herald's* coverage of COP15.

In the rise of modern environmental movements in the 1960s, the mass media is held to be central public area for publicising contesting claims, arguments and opinions about our use and abuse of the environment (Hansen, 2011; p. 8). While Hansen calls for the reconnection with processes of construction of messages, relationship between sources and communicators, there was no mention on how the media should become watchdog of the environment. Environment is a subfield of democracy while the media plays an important role in facilitating or connecting the two in terms of reporting what is happening to the environment and how actors in democratic societies such as NGOs and laws can play a role to safeguard the environment. When the interest of the political decision makers and the public in general seemed not to be sustained as suggested in recent times, scholars stepped in blaming the two for not doing their part. The *Herald* seemed to be more concerned on the elite sources and somewhat celebrity and authoritative people in its coverage, giving less attention to non-prominent figures such as small island states.

Hansen described this as an inequality in the public sphere. There is agreement that research on this area faced difficulty in keeping up with the rapid changes to news media. For example, the internet and social media, and the changing styles of narrative and storytelling in journalism. The *Herald* reporter used at some stage a novelist style of reporting when covering COP15.

Media interest in conflict and controversy was found not only in UK and the US, but also in Russia, China and India. The media tended to follow the lines of their government.

For example the media in Russia found Kyoto Protocol to be an imposed agreement while in China it accused the Western countries of climatic terrorism against its economic development and India called it carbon colonisation ((Tolan, 2007; Rowe, 2009 Billet, 2010, cited in Leon et al, 2011). The *Times* and *Herald* were far more interested in this type of politics when they ran stories on Al Gore, the controversy around his Oscar winning film and the IPCC report.

Cross-cultural comparative study

In Kiribati, the national newspaper endorsed the President's efforts and his team at the summit using specific dancing words such as *kabwaekeeke*, (very unique) and *katika matan te noo* (caught the eyes of the audience). They regarded their leader as a great traditional dancer. For the *Herald* it touched on the BBC and novelist style reporting to make COP15 more appealing. They regarded their leader to be the leader in the fight against global climate change while *Te Uekera* regarded its President as a great traditional dancer. The *Times* did not give credits to the Fiji regime, and instead it played the roles of a leading regional publication.

The *Herald* was far more professional than the *Times* and *Te Uekera*. There is no doubt about this given the resource and expertise of the newspaper's manpower. But their coverage at COP15 is like what Dixit (2010) describes as 'written without relating it to development and people of the country'. Conflicts and debates are the common and favoured recipe of journalism around the world, which also include the *Herald*.

Again the debate and pointing fingers reporting style make COP15 more appropriate to the news media around the world because they could not cover something that is very simple where people are happy and getting along with each other.

Herald being the most influential publication in New Zealand have unknowingly entered the diplomacy negotiation when it sent its reporter to COP15, or intended to become a party to the leaders' summit which is related to the issue of media and foreign policy relations (Balabanova, 2007) or media and state environment relations in Philippines (Das et al., 2010) and in China the media coverage of the environment received support from the state (Bao, 2010). The *Times* and *Te Uekera* did not send in their reporter as they relied on delegates for stories.

The findings of this present study correspond with results of earlier empirical studies (Wilson, 2000; Dispensa & Robert, 2003; Kenix, 2008) in which they concluded that the media was not reporting climate change. Nevertheless the *Herald's* coverage noted some awareness and agreement between editorial and management that they have an important role in climate change. For example, placing 'A Copenhagen diary' in the front page is strategically a big step taken by the newspaper and demonstrating its growing understanding of the danger climate change poses to the world. However, the content shed a different light especially when it shifted its positive reporting in the beginning of the leaders meeting on 16 December to negative reporting 18 December as Table 4.6 and 4.8 in the preceding chapter show.

5.17 Climate change deliberations and deliberative journalism

The government's Kiribati Adaptation Programme has championed this under the sponsorship of overseas donors and the Kiribati government visiting the outer islands to raise awareness and understanding of the issue. The government used the media and its own newsletter to spread messages about climate change and the danger it posed to the inhabitants now and in the future. Climate change deliberations in Kiribati appeared in surveys, workshops and conferences. Most of these deliberations were done by KAP while the government attended climate change conferences and joined inter-governmental organisations for support.

The journalists were not part of these deliberations. They were only invited to get their stories. As Aneta explained in the interview, ‘it’s not our job to sit with the organisers and become part of the decision making’. Ueretan, Buraieta, Tearinibeia and Monica showed that they were there as reporters. A few journalists have been invited to sit on departmental committees to represent the media on health and the environment. Therefore it is the responsibility of the organisers and donors to get one journalist to be on their committee, but then there is another problem relating to short staff as there are few journalists working for *Te Uekera* and Radio Kiribati.

The journalists were never interviewed nor consulted during surveys and studies. Whenever there are stories published by *Te Uekera* and the government’s newsletter, RMAT, no views from the journalists were sought.

One reason for this was that journalists have no recognised qualifications and bureaucrats looked down on them. Some journalists have been confronted by their sources to disclose their qualification in journalism when there was disagreement over stories. Thus climate change deliberations are still going on in Kiribati under the direction of KAP. This project, deals with adaptation such as building of sea walls and raising awareness on climate change. It has a communication unit charged with disseminating information manned by only one person, who formerly worked as a reporter for *Te Uekera*. Lack of cooperation between KAP, *Te Uekera* and experienced and qualified journalists clearly showed a big gap between what the public has learnt, how information is transmitted and what feedback the messengers get from the recipients.

Elsewhere, mainly in the South Pacific it has not been established how the recipients interpret climate change information, where they get their climate change information. Talking to people without knowing their level of understanding about climate change and their source of information is not only flawed but showed the failure of the deliberative system in Kiribati. Hiring an overseas consultant to lead KAP further reinforced thinking that outside people know better than the locals (Papoutsaki, 2010).

This is the case with KAP in Kiribati. The consultants, though they know well and qualified in their own field, it does not mean that they can understand the locals properly. Some of their time would be eaten up learning about the culture. For example, KAP developed a manual consisting of traditional protocols for outsiders. Undertaking this deliberation needs people who are familiar with issues and especially in the area of communication, climate change and culture.

5.18 Government's role in this deliberation

President Anote Tong saw himself the champion of climate change around the world. Teburoro Tito, former president, was the first Kiribati leader to expose the difficulties caused by climate change to the outside world. But Anote's aggressive and extremist approach brought to light some questions worth asking in this thesis;

- Is this the government or the President's climate change show?
- What are the government's plans for the migration of its people?

Analysing the government's current Development Plan 2008-2011 may help understand the relationship between the President's outcry elsewhere and the support from his homeland, along with climate change strategies in Kiribati. The plan never mentions about migration or the purchase of lands overseas as opposed to the President's interviews with overseas media. Secondly, there are no clear plans on when migration would start and to where. Internal relocation has not been seriously discussed (Tebano et al, 2008). Sending people to work and study in Australia is seen as a strategy to get its people a right to live there. The country has about 100,000 people, and under this Australian run scheme, perhaps one in a thousand is likely to obtain work visa and get a permit to live there permanently.

But it is a very tricky scenario. Then how long it would take to get 100,000 people out of Kiribati? The other point was that the Australian run scheme was not an initiative by the Kiribati government. Buying a floating island and purchasing a land in Fiji are beyond people's imagination, and the more these stories are relayed the more pressure on the journalists to stop that nonsense reporting.

The President's one man show and lack of clear paths for the next 50 years or so undermine the credibility of the country's climate change deliberations at home and around the world. Teburoro described the President's views on 'climate change as far too extreme'. Anote argued he did not politicise the issue as he was talking about human survival. Lack of a clear relationship between what the President said and what is done at home is tantamount to propaganda, and as a low lying island facing serious threat from climate change, this needs to be set right from the beginning. As Teaero rightly puts it:

The problem with the government's approach on climate change was that it spent a huge amount of effort and time talking about 50 years or so. That would reduce its efforts on looking at what is happening right now.

Teaero, personal communication, 22 October 2011

A cultural deliberative journalism approach is a model the author wishes to explore and to engage the media in climate change deliberations. Romano also proposes development deliberative journalism, but this does not specifically apply to Kiribati's case on climate change deliberation. What she proposed for deliberative journalism, but with the current situation on climate change, the issue must be localised and seen through indigenous perspectives, so the author is confident a cultural deliberative journalism is very much appropriate. Papoutsaki, Rooney, Singh and Robie have talked about development journalism and often made reference to people's culture, knowledge about development in their own terms. While they did not make reference to climate change because it is outside of their studies' scope, the kind of development they argued for has some relevance to this framework. Romano developed deliberative journalism against the backdrop of complex problems elsewhere, not in the Pacific. The author finds cultural deliberative journalism, a bottom-up and horizontal approach to fill a gap between what the government, KAP and the audience and the media are saying. It will bridge the gap between journalists/sources, journalists and recipients.

This is why the author sought to apply a more culturally appropriate model using deliberative journalism but modified to suit the purpose of climate change and journalism in Kiribati.

Table 5.2: Western news values 5Ws and H based on I-Kiribati as victims and being helpless

WHAT	CLIMATE CHANGE
WHO	INDUSTRIALISED
WHY	DISAPPEARING
WHEN	NOW
WHERE	OVERSEAS
HOW	MIGRATE

Table 5.3: Climate Change 5Ws and H empowering the local journalists

WHAT	CLIMATE CHANGE
WHO	OUR PEOPLE
WHY	SAVE OUR ISLANDS
WHEN	NOW
WHERE	IN OUR COUNTRY
HOW	TE KARORONGA

Source for the two tables: The author

With regard to adaptation programmes and whether they are successful, Storey & Hunter (2010) said policy implementation was a problem in Kiribati caused partly by lack of communication between institutions (see also Tabai, 1985).

However, in order to remedy this shortcoming, climate change must be clearly defined and its boundaries must be set to see what it really means to the locals, not to the outsiders and how the media could fit in.

Development has no clear and specific definition in the Kiribati language. It may mean, *te karikirake* (projects), *te rikirake* (improve), *te waaki nakon ae tamaroa* (ways to improve), *te toronibwai* (self-reliance), *te mwengaraoi* (comfortable life), and *te maeuraoi* (decent lifestyle). Journalists in Kiribati have no problems reporting the start of new projects and village activities, but are having limited capacity to investigate the benefits of these projects on the lives of the people. For example, Taiwan continued to grant large funds to village and community groups, but whether these funds would help the community to be more self-reliant and decreasing dependency has not been reported by the Kiribati media. The journalists only report the handing over of cheques to the recipients and left out what that money could do for the community. To make things worse in the eyes of foreign donors donated buildings would not last as several members of the public would damage it or take advantage of because it belongs to government (Van Trease, 1993).

5.19 Culturally planned deliberative journalism through te karoronga concept

Te Karoronga is a collectivist concept and is being practised nationwide by villagers, families and friends to help each other especially in the rural areas. In the northern part of Kiribati they call it *Te Airiiri*, while in the southern part they call it *Te Kataanga*. As the following diagram illustrates how this cultural concept works:

Fig 5.1. How Te Karoronga works



The author's own reflection of te karoronga concept

In central Kiribati, members of *Te Karoronga* groups contributed toddy so they all have sufficient *kamaimai* (toddy syrups) before their important celebrations.

They also contributed effort to plant babai for their members or to dig and expand babai pits. Babai are very important as the sizes of babai are measured in the *Maneaba* by the old men. In Makin and Butaritari, they have *Te Airiiri* group which also operated outside the maneaba or church meetings. The members helped each other to plant babai. In Arorae, women formed *Te Kataanga* to weave mats and contributed them to each member. The ideas underpinning the operation of these cultural groups are driven by the community's concern for development and self-reliance. They do this as a team. Some studies have recognised the importance of this which encourages outsiders and journalists to walk with the people to record their experience and build trust and relationship.

5.20 How the media fit in this Karoronga, Te Airiiri and Te Kataanga concepts?

Analysis of the interviews, questionnaires and *Te Uekera* coverage of COP15 has highlighted some dominant themes, a cultural aspect of the coverage. For example, words such as *kabwaekeeke*, *katika matan te noo* and *kam bon tonu* are employed by Kiribati journalists to show the importance of their cultural identity at the summit in Copenhagen. The media has no difficulty reporting cultural festivities and thus that ability must be modified into connecting the community with policy makers because this has been lacking in Kiribati.

Te Karoronga deliberative journalism or a culturally planned deliberative journalism is a model that will give voice to the voiceless, and allows the community to be part of climate change adaptation, and raises understanding and awareness about actions people can take to help save their islands. *Te Karoronga* must start with the Kiribati media first to form a media council and to work cooperatively to report climate change before outsiders run projects for them that Teiwaki (1985) has termed as 'alien'.

Te Karoronga requires commitment and dedication by the locals to find solutions for their own problems in partnership with government and NGOs centred on what Sir Tabai termed as a more caring environment.

Because of this, it is appropriate to end this chapter with a call to those responsible for policy decisions in general, and particularly for those involved in planning and implementation of development projects, to be more considerate of the needs of all I-Kiribati

Tabai, 1993; p. 333

The final chapter revisits the aims and provides directions for future research.

Chapter 6: Part of the solution or the problem?

Unfortunately, for the most part, media in Australasia and the Pacific is probably part of the problem. The relentless pursuit for ratings, short term circulation spin offs, the dumping down of content and ruthless cutting back of staff are examples of this.

Robie, 2010; p. 35

This section has two main parts; the first one revisits the aims of the study and discusses how they have been addressed, the last part presents recommendations for future research and actions required to address the problems.

1. To understand the implication of the notion of ‘disappearing nation’ on journalism in Kiribati.

The notion of a disappearing nation, a term inherited from climate change, disrupts a transitional process in Kiribati. There are two forces that cause this disruption; one is from within Kiribati and the other from outside the country.

6.1 Internal factors

The country is not united, and remains largely split on climate change. Lack of support for President Tong’s stance on climate change within his country was a culmination of poor planning and consultation with the public. The role of the local media has been, in the most part, ignored in climate change deliberations.

Tong's openness to outside news media to spread his fears about the possible inundation of his country has shortcomings, but has not been picked up by any research. Lack of scrutiny of his outspoken criticisms against the 'industrialised nations' encouraged him to tout climate change as a 'disaster'. Tong has become a climate change icon and has produced what the author calls a 'Tong climate syndrome'. This syndrome is explained below together with its implication on media and public participation in the process or discussion of the phenomena.

The shortcomings include, but are not limited to the following:

Tong's government is doing little actual work because Kiribati is not causing global warming. His people are aware of the impacts of climate change but they don't care because they have been told that there are no readily available solutions in their country. The media has not been taken on board from the start of the government's campaign in early 2003. There is a sharp and deepening gap between what President Tong knows about climate change, and what the media and the general public know. Adaptation programmes coordinated by the Kiribati Adaptation Programme have focused more on protecting the government's properties. People may aware of the existence of this project but they do not know why it was set up in the first place, and whether it can assist them protect their eroded lands. This has particularly been the case as the government shifted its attention to that 'unknown future' (Teaero, personal communication, 22 October 2011). The missing link between what President Tong has declared overseas at conferences to the news media, and his government's Development Plan 2008-2011, is a good example of this. While public participation in climate change is important, the only time for this participation to occur is when there is a research team visiting the outer islands. What happens when this team leaves remains unexplored and is left for people to guess.

6.2 External factors

These include lack of support given by researchers to identify this gap. Kiribati is a member of regional and intergovernmental organisations, but these organisations have left everything to the government.

Universities, academics and news media organisations to which Kiribati is an active member are not paying much attention to this problem and as a result, foreign news media have visited the country and become part of 'Tong climate syndrome'. Some enthusiastic journalists have interviewed the elders and concluded that these people do not want to leave their country (Day, 2010). Where to? Have they asked them deeper questions such as why they did not want to leave? And apart from that, have they investigated how the government spent the climate change fund? President Tong dominated the local and foreign news media scene on climate change and became a 'friend' of these news media. At home, people don't bother about climate change and carry on business as usual. To make things worse, foreign journalists have played the role of 'white man hero' coming to rescue the victims and of course to look for 'dead bodies' but have not found any body yet. Ironically, the local media waited for high tides to see how many houses were flooded to see the cost of damage. They also waited for conferences and press releases, and if there are not any, climate change is ignored. And when a small portion of the community stood up to find a solution, they were invisible to the journalists.

2. To examine how the public news media communicate climate change information within this context.

Although *Te Uekera* had little stories of COP15, the coverage itself highlighted key cultural themes. Headlines such as 'kabwaekeeke', 'katika matan te noo', are used in dancing festivities. Blessing Tong's delegation with Te Mauri (health), Te Raoi (peace) ao Te Tabomoa (prosperity) showed strong support for the government. *Te Uekera* is owned by the government and this support is not surprising. What is important though is that 'cultural activities' are paramount in the lives of the I-Kiribati. The newspaper saw Tong and his team as dancers though they were attending a summit. They regarded COP15 as a festival rather than a summit. The newspaper attached itself to their leader rather than the issue of climate change and as a result they failed to relate what happened in Kiribati on the ground during the COP15. They become part of the problem.

While this pro-government and cultural reporting approach reflects the situation of the media in Kiribati, it suffered some problems. They limited their scope to see what is behind the summit and what role their people can do to contribute to the solutions of this issue— reducing greenhouse gas emission. Do the Kiribati people not emit some gases and carbon dioxide to the greenhouse? *Te Uekera* holds a perception that Kiribati is not causing greenhouse gas emissions this is the view of their President and across the country. Instead of finding out what is missing between the media, public and the government, *Te Uekera* focused on their President and praised him for his hard work. Perhaps they did not know that Tuvalu was the climate change champion at the COP15, not Kiribati.

There is no doubt that Kiribati is set to receive more climate change funding in the future (Francisco, 2008), but how it will spend those funds is hard to predict as there are no mechanisms for this in Kiribati. The media, mainly Radio Kiribati and *Te Uekera* are unlikely to uncover discrepancies if there are any. Public scrutiny is lacking in Kiribati and thus expenditure of these climate change funds prone to corruption. One-way communication and a closed door policy are being practised by the Kiribati government and its institutions, making it hard for media to access climate change information, and also to establish how these climate change funds are managed.

3. Discuss on how the findings of this research could provide directions for future research and education about news media coverage of climate change in low lying island nations.

What happens to training workshops for journalists in the Pacific? Why are Kiribati journalists not prepared for this task? What is wrong with these training workshops? There had not been any single workshop on media and climate change held in Kiribati. The trainers may be concerned about their health as Kiribati is very hot and water is not as clean and safe like water in Fiji, Papua New Guinea or Samoa.

Many essential services are lacking in Kiribati. However, Kiribati journalists were invited to workshops outside the country such as Fiji, Samoa or Australia. This is problematic because Kiribati journalists are not writing or covering stories for Fijians, Samoans or Australians. They write in Kiribati language and their audiences are I-Kiribati. Serious impacts of climate change are visible in Kiribati outer islands and they need to go there. There is a tradition that more funding will be secured if the project covers 'Pacific journalists'. This must change. With the growing concern on climate change, and lack of skills by Kiribati journalists to report it, training in their own language, in their own context is becoming much more relevant and important. At the end of the day, it is the Kiribati journalist who lives with the impacts of climate change, and should be equipped to report effectively.

6.3 Recommendations

This thesis does not counter scientific findings that Kiribati is in danger because that is not its purpose. It argues that there are problems in Kiribati that need to be fixed and proposes that the following measures be taken to help remedy these problems before Kiribati's pleas to the international community to reduce greenhouse gas emissions are misinterpreted. It thus recommends that:

1. There should be a workshop to bring together journalists in Kiribati. They will discuss future cooperation among themselves before they can unite their people on climate change. Consideration be given to World Press Freedom Day in May 2012 or 2013;
2. A comprehensive vernacular climate change reporting guide be developed. Local environment, climate change experts, elders and journalists should work together to design this manual;
3. A climate change journalism training course for the Kiribati media based on a culturally planned deliberative, *Te Karoronga* approach be developed;
4. Future study to explore 'transparency and accountability mechanisms' in Kiribati as the country stands to gain more funding from overseas;

5. 'Media and the politics of climate change in low lying islands' be considered as a new undergraduate paper at tertiary institutes in Kiribati or at the University of the South Pacific;
6. Funding be sought from donors to meet the expenses of roving Kiribati journalists who will work with the community.

6.4 Exegesis

Summary

This climate change learning guide is drawn from the findings of this research and designed for Kiribati journalists. Titled *Tabeu ribotinakina bwa I maeka iai* is written in the Kiribati vernacular and consists of four main sections.

Section A

Examines the origins of climate change; when it was first reported in the media and how it was reported

Section B

Discusses the impact of climate change discourse on the media in Pacific and in Kiribati

Section C

Provides cases studies from New Zealand, Fiji and Kiribati and offers advice on how to report climate change from Kiribati's own context as the most vulnerable country

Section D

Contains translation of climate change terms and future references

The guide can be viewed at www.thekiribatiindependent.co.nz

References

- Abete, M, T., Tonganibeia, K., Ruatu, N,T., Redfern, F.,& Willie, R, T. (n.d). *Kiribati state the environment report 2000-2002*. Retrieved from <http://www.sprep.org/att/IRC/eCOPIES/Countries/Kiribati/20.pdf>
- ADB. (2007). Kiribati fact sheet, Asian Development Bank, Madaluyong City. Retrieved on 12 November 2011 from www.adb.org/Documents/Fact_Sheets/KIR.pdf
- Aia Maea Ainen Kiribati. (2002). *Review on Rio Declaration on environment and development (Agenda 21)*. Retrieved from www.sprep.org/att/IRC/eCOPIES/Countries/Kiribati/13.pdf
- Anderson, A. (2009). Media, politics and climate change: towards a new research agenda. *Sociology Compass*, 3(2), 166-182. doi:10.1111/j.1751-9020.2008.00188.x
- Antilla, L. (2005). Climate of Scepticism: US newspaper coverage of the science of climate change. *Global Environmental Change*, 15(4), 338-52.
- Antilla, L. (2008). Self-censorship and science: A geographical review of media coverage of tipping points. *Public Understanding of Science*, 1-17. doi:10.1177/0963662508094099
- Bacon, W. (2011). *A sceptical climate media coverage of climate change in Australia 2011 Part 1- Climate Change Policy*. Sydney: University of Technology Sydney.
- Balabanova, E. (2007). *Media, wars and politics. Comparing the incomparable in Western and Eastern Europe*. Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate.
- Bao, J. (2010). Inspiring Public Participation Environmental journalism in China. In Romano, A. (Ed.), *International journalism and democracy: a civic engagement models from around the world*. Routledge. New York.
- Barnett, J., & Adger, N. (2005). Climate dangers and atoll countries. *Climatic Change*, 61, 321-337.
- Batiri, B. (1985). Windows on the world. In Mason, L.(Ed.), *Kiribati: A Changing Atoll Culture*, (pp.124-139). Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific.
- Beiabure, M., Teraku, T., & Uriam, K. (1979). Creation: The work of the Gods. In *Kiribati: Aspects of History*. Suva: University of the South Pacific & Kiribati Ministry of Education.

- Boykoff, M. (2010). Indian media representations of climate change in a threatened journalistic ecosystem. (Editorial). In *Climate change*. Publisher: Springer. doi: 10.1007/s10584-010-9807-8. pp. 17-25.
- Boykoff, M, T. (2007a). Flogging a Dead Norm? Newspaper Coverage of Anthropogenic Climate Change in the United States and United Kingdom from 2003 to 2006. *Area*, 39(4), 470–81.
- Boykoff, M, T. (2007b). From Convergence to Contention: United States Mass Media Representations of Anthropogenic Climate Change Science. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 32(4), 477–89.
- Boykoff, M, T. and Boykoff, J, M. (2007). Climate Change and Journalistic Norms: A Case-study of US Mass-media Coverage. *Geoforum*, 38(6), 1190–204.
- Boykoff, M,T.,& Roberts, J, T. (2007). Media Coverage of Climate Change: Current Trends, Strengths, Weaknesses. Human Development Report 2007/2008. United Nations Development Programme.
- Boykoff, M. T.,& Boykoff, J. M. (2004). Balance as Bias: Global Warming and the US Prestige Press,” *Global Environmental Change Part A* 14(2): 125–36.
- Broadcasting and Publications Act 1979.
- Brossard, D., Shanahan, J.,& McComas, K. (2004). Are Issue-Cycles Culturally Constructed? A Comparison of French and American Coverage of Global Climate Change. *Mass Communication and Society*, 7(3), 359-77.
- Bryant-Tokalau, J. (2008). From summitry to panarchy: Issues of global, regional and indigenous environmental governance in the Pacific. *Borderlands e-Journal:New Spaces in the Humanities*, 17(3).
- Cameron, F, R. (2011). Saving the ‘disappearing islands’: Climate change governance, Pacific island states and cosmopolitan dispositions. *Continuum: Journal of media and cultural studies*, 25(6), 873-886.
- Carvalho, A. (2005). Representing the politics of the greenhouse effect: discursive strategies in the British media. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 2(1), 1-29.
- Carvalho, A.,& Burgess, J. (2005). Cultural Circuits of Climate Change in U.K. Broadsheet Newspapers,1985–2003. *Risk Analysis*, 25(6), 1457–1469.
- Cherrington, M. (Ed.). (2008). Indigenous peoples and climate change. *Cultural Survival Quarterly*. Retrieved from <http://www.culturalsurvival.org.ezproxy.aut.ac.nz/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/none/indigenous-peoples-and-climate-change>

- Cho, V. (2009). *New media and Burmese diaspora identities in New Zealand*. (Dissertation, Auckland University of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand). Retrieved from <http://aut.lconz.ac.nz/vwebv/holdingsInfo?bibId=1459189>
- Cleo, P. (1998, November 26). Where everyone knows what's cooking: Radio takes on new meaning in Kiribati. *National Post*. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.aut.ac.nz/docview/329321908?accountid=8440>
- Cooper, C. B. (2011). Media literacy as a key strategy toward improving public acceptance of climate change science. *BioScience*, 61(3), 231-237.
- Das, J., Bacon, W., & Zamon, A. (2007). Covering the environmental issues and global warming in Delta land: A study of three newspapers. *Pacific Journalism Review*, 15(1), 10-32
- Day, L. (2010). *We are not refugees* (Unpublished Bachelor of Arts (Honours) dissertation). Sydney: University of Technology Sydney.
- Dimitrov, R. S. (2010). Inside UN Climate Change Negotiations: The Copenhagen Conference. *Review of Policy Research*, 27(6), 795-821.
- Dispensa, J. M. and Robert, J. B. (2003) "Media's Social Construction of Environmental Issues: Focus on Global Warming – A Comparative Study," *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* 23(10), 74-105.
- Dixit, K. (1997). *Dateline.Earth.Journalism.as.if.the.planet.mattered*. Interpress Service: Philippines.
- Dixit, K. (2010). *Dateline.Earth.Journalism.as.if.the.planet.mattered*. Interpress Service: Philippines.
- Downs, A. (1972). Up and down with ecology-the issue-attention cycle. *Public Interest*, 28, 38-50.
- Dreaver, B. (2012, February 4). Barbara Dreaver: Ferry disaster a Pacific wake-up call. Retrieved from <http://www.pmc.aut.ac.nz/pacific-media-watch/png-barbara-dreaver-ferry-disaster-pacific-wake-up-call-7813>
- Duffield, Lee R. (2009) *A news story as big as a doctoral thesis? : deploying journalistic methodology in academic research*. In: "Communication, Creativity and Global Citizenship"; Refereed Proceedings of the Australian and New Zealand Communication Association Conference 2009., 8-10 July 2009, Queensland University of Technology, Kelvin Grove, Brisbane.
- Environment Amendment Act 2007.

- Environment Unit. (1995). North Tarawa conservation area. South Pacific Biodiversity Conservation Programme Project Preparation Document
- Fifita, S. (2008). Media has a critical role in climate change issue – SPREP director. Retrieved from http://www.sprep.org/climate_change/piggarep/news_detail.asp?id=482
- Francisco, H, A. (2007). Adaptation to climate change: needs and opportunities in Southeast Asia. *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*, 25(1), 7-19.
- Fred, S, S., Peterson, T., & Schramm, W. (1963). *Four theories of the press: the authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility, and Soviet communist concepts of what the press should be and do*. Chicago, USA: University of Illinois Press.
- Gavin, N, T. (2009). Addressing climate change: a media perspective. *Environmental Politics*, 18 (5), 765-780. doi: 10.1080/09644010903157081
- Good, J, E. (2008). The framing of climate change in Canadian, American, and International Newspapers: A Media Propaganda model analysis. *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 33, 233-255.
- Guggenheim, D. (Director). *An inconvenient truth* [Motion picture]. United States: Paramount Picture.
- Gunster, S. (2011). Covering Copenhagen: Climate change in BC media. *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 36, 477-502.
- Hall, S. (1975). Introduction. In A.C. Smith, E. Immirizi and T. Blackwell, *Paper voices: The popular press and social change, 135-1965* (pp.11-24). London: Chatto & Windus.
- Hansard report, Kiribati parliament 1978. www.kiribatiparliament.gov.ki
- Hansen, A. (2010). *Environment, media and communication*. New York: Routledge.
- Harbu, P. (2008). Media has a critical role in climate change issue – SPREP director. http://www.sprep.org/climate_change/piggarep/news_detail.asp?id=482
- Hayes, M. (2008). On being a Tuvaluan *Tino Tusitala*: Reporting from the frontline of global warming. In Papoutsaki, E., & Harris, U, S (Eds.), *South Pacific Islands communication: Regional perspectives, local issues* (pp. 254-273). Singapore: Asia Media Information and Communication.
- Hayward, B. (2008). Let's talk about the weather: Decentering democratic debate about climate change. *Hypatia*, 23(3), 88-97.

- Henderson-Hellers, A. (1998). Climate whispers: media communication about climate change. *Climatic Change*, 40, 421-456.
- Hogan, C. (2008). Kiribati adaptation programme phase II. Consulting citizens of Kiribati: an operational manual. Retrieve from <http://www.climate.gov.ki>.
- Howe, K, R. (2000). *Nature, culture and history: The “knowing” of Oceania*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). (2007). *The Fourth Assessment Report*. Retrieved 13 March 2011 from <http://www.ipcc.ch/>
- Jackson, C. (2008). Reporting on Climate Change in Samoa: The status of environment reporting from a Newsprint Perspective. Retrieved from kauri.aut.ac.nz:8080/.../Environment%20Reporting%20in%20Samoa.
- Jasperse, J. (2008). Environmental journalism in the Pacific; Cross cutting and cross weaving. In Biman, P., & Shaleindra, S. (Eds.), *Media and Development in the Pacific* (pp.97-106). Suva: Fijian Institute of Applied Studies and Pacific Media Centre.
- Kabwere, P. (2011, April 28). Kiribati government is urged to follow Tonga’s handling of sinking Princess Ashika. *The Kiribati Independent* retrieved from <http://www.thekiribatiindependent.co.nz/p.php?q=%2Farticle%2Fboat-tragedy>
- Kenix, L, J. (2008). Framing Science: Climate Change in the Mainstream and Alternative News of New Zealand. *Political Science*, 60 (1), 117-132. doi:10.1177/003231870806000110
- Kiribati Development Plan 2008-2011. Retrieved from www.sprep.org/att/irc/ecopies/countries/kiribati/87.pdf
- Kiribati government. (2011). Kiribati adaptation programme phase III. Environmental plan. Retrieved from http://www.climate.gov.ki/pdf/KAPII/EMP_KAP%20III%20-%20Final.pdf
- Korauaba, T. (2007a). Small Pacific states and media freedom. *Pacific Journalism Review*, 13(1), 29-38.
- Korauaba, T. (2007b). *The way forward in Kiribati: A case study of the problems facing the emergence of a free media*. (Unpublished dissertation). Auckland: Auckland University of Technology.
- Korauaba, T. (2011, July 3). ‘Pacific student researchers told to be ‘self-critical’ over knowledge’, Pacific Media Centre.

- Kuruppu, N., & Liverman, D. (2010). Mental preparation for climate change: The role of cognition and culture in enhancing adaptive capacity in water management in Kiribati. *Global Environmental Change*, 1-13. doi:10.1016/j.gloenvcha.20.12.2010
- Lata, S., & Nunn, P. (2011). Misperceptions of climate-change risk as barriers to climate-change adaptation: a case study from the Rewa Delta, Fiji. *Climatic Change*, 110, 169-186. doi:10.1007/s10584-011-0062
- Latu, J. (2010). *Political Reform and the Media in Tonga: An examination of cultural, political and media attitudes towards democratic reform in two Tongan newspapers* (Masters thesis). Available from AUT scholarly commons. <http://hdl.handle.net/10292/1054>
- Leo'n, B., & Erviti, M, C. (2011). Portrayal of scientific controversy on climate change. A study of the coverage of the Copenhagen summit in the Spanish press. *Observatorio Journal*, 5(3), 045-063.
- Macchi, M. (2008). *Indigenous and traditional peoples and climate change. Issues Paper March 2008, IUCN.*
- Macdonald, B. (2001). *Cinderellas of the empire: Towards a history of Kiribati and Tuvalu*. Suva: University of the South Pacific.
- Mackenzie, U. (2004). International transparency Kiribati. <http://www.transparency.org.au/documents/kiribati.pdf>
- Maclellan, N. (2009). Rising Tides - Responding to Climate Change in the Pacific. *Social Alternatives*, 28(4), 8-13.
- Matangi Tonga. (2009, September 16). Some Pacific islands nations will vanish in 50 years.
- Matangi Tonga. (2009, February 10) Pacific broadcasters meet on climate change www.matangitonga.to/article/spnews/pacificislands/tonga_broadcasters_090209.shtml
- McComas, K., & Shanahan, J. (1999). Telling stories about global climate change: measuring the impact of narratives on issue cycles. *Communication Research*, 26(1), 30-57.
- McDermott, G. (2009, December 16). Business as usual. *New Zealand Herald*. A14
- McManus, P, A. (2000). Beyond Kyoto? Media Representations of an environmental issue. *Australian Geographical Studies*, 38(3), 306–319.

- McNair, B. (2009). Journalism and Democracy. In Wahl-Jorgensen, K., & Hanitzsch, T. (Eds.), *The handbook of journalism studies*. Routledge: New York.
- McQuail, D. (1994). *Mass communication theory: An introduction* (3rd ed.), Thousand Oak, CA: Sage
- Mertz, O., Halsnæs, K., Olesen, J. E., & Rasmussen, K. (2009). Adaptation to climate change in developing countries. *Environ Manage*, 43, 743–752.
- Moala, K. (2002). *Island Kingdom strikes back: the story of an independent island newspaper, Taimi o Tonga*. Auckland: Pacmedia Publishers Ltd.
- Mogolia, M., Perez, P., & Burn, S. (2008) ‘Water troubles in a Pacific atoll town’, *Water Policy*, 10, 613-637.
- Moser, S. C., & Dilling, L. (2004). Making climate hot. *Environment*, 46(10), 32-46.
- Moy, T. (2009). *The importance of incorporating education for sustainable development (ESD) into the secondary curriculum in order to minimise the problems of waste on South Tarawa*. (MA, Unpublished thesis). Victoria University of Wellington.
<http://researcharchive.vuw.ac.nz/handle/10063/1017?show=full>
- Newborn, S. (2009, December 18). Tuvalu’s plight. *New Zealand Herald*.
- Newspaper Registration Act (1989).
- New Zealand Herald*. (2011, April 28). Sentencing today, April 11). Retrieved from http://www.nzherald.co.nz/world/news/article.cfm?c_id=2&objectid=10716951
- Nisbet, M. C. (2011). Communicating climate change: Why frames matter for public engagement. *Environment: Science and policy for sustainable development*, 51(2), 12-23.
- Nunan, D. (1992). *Research Methods in Language Learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Office of Te Beretitenti. (2010). Tarawa Climate Change conference. Retrieved from http://www.climate.gov.ki/tarawa_climate_change_conference.html
- Pacific Media Watch. (2009, May 14). PNG’s climate change refugees feel cursed. [http://tvnz.co.nz/world-news/png-s-climate-change-refugees-feel-curse - 2738817](http://tvnz.co.nz/world-news/png-s-climate-change-refugees-feel-curse-2738817)

- Pacific Media Watch. (2008, August 23). Pacific journalists draw up draft climate change reporting guidelines. Retrieved from www.pacificmagazine.net/news/2008/10/23/pacific-journalists-draw-resolutions-on-climate-change-reporting
- Pacific Scoop. (2009, September 14). Pacific journalist takes gender, climate advocacy to New York. <http://pacific.scoop.co.nz/2009/09/pacific-journalist-takes-gender-climate-advocacy-to-new-york/>
- Palfreman, J. (2006). A Tale of Two Fears: Exploring Media Depictions of Nuclear Power and Global Warming. *Review of Policy Research*, 23(1), 23-43.
- Papoutsaki, E., & Sundar, U. (Eds.), (2008). *South Pacific Islands communication; Regional perspectives, local issues*. Singapore: Asia Media Information and Communication.
- Patel, S, S. (2006). 'Island of understanding': Environmental journalism in the South Pacific. *Pacific Journalism Review*, 12(2),148-15.
- Radio New Zealand International. (2008, September 22). Fiji-hosted climate change film festival to raise awareness of Pacific plight. Retrieved from <http://www.rnzi.com/pages/news.php?op=read&id=42125>
- Reed, P. (2011). Climate change and faith collide in Kiribati. Retrieved from <http://www.npr.org/2011/02/16/133650679/climate-change-and-faith-collide-in-kiribati>
- RMAT. (2010, January 29). Australia's leadership crucial for a legally binding agreement on greenhouse gas. Office of Te Beretitenti. Retrieved from <https://sites.google.com/a/ob.gov.ki/rmat/RMAT-Issues>
- Robie, D. (2010). Iconic media environmental images of Oceania: Challenging corporate news for solutions. *Dreadlocks*, 6(7), 24-48.
- Robie, D. (2009). 'Impartial'? No, this is a tribute to a people's suffering. *Pacific Journalism Review*, 15(2), 230-234.
- Robie, D. (Ed.). (2004). *Mekim Nius: South Pacific media, politics and education*. Suva: University of the South Pacific.
- Robie, D. (Ed.). (2001). *The Pacific Journalist: A practical guide*. Suva: University of the South Pacific.
- Robie, D. (Ed.). (1995). *Nius Bilong Pasifik: Mass media in the Pacific*. Port Moresby: University of PNG Press.
- Robie, D. (1991, August 15). Atolls scared of drowning. *Evening Post*, p.12.

- Romano, A. (Ed.). (2010). *International journalism and democracy: a civic engagement models from around the world*. Routledge: New York.
- Romano, A. (2010). Ongoing issues for deliberative journalism. In Romano, A. (Ed.). *International journalism and democracy: a civic engagement models from around the world*. Routledge. New York.
- Rooney, D., Papoutsaki, E., & Pampa, K. (2004). *A Country Failed by its Media: A Case Study from Papua New Guinea*. Paper presented at the 13th AMIC conference, Thailand, July 3-5.
- Russill, C., & Nyssa, Z. (2009). The tipping point trend in climate change communication. *Global Environ Change*, 19, 336-344.
- Ryan, Y. (2010). COP15 and Pacific Island states: A collective voice on climate change. *Pacific Journalism Review*, 16 (1), 193-203.
- Sanga, K. (2004). Making philosophical sense of indigenous Pacific research. In Baba, T., Mahina, O., Williams, N. & Nabobo-Baba, U. (Eds.). *Researching the Pacific and Indigenous Peoples* (pp.41-52). Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University.
- Sampei, Y., & Aoyagi-Usui, M. (2009). Mass-media coverage, its influence on public awareness of climate-change issues, and implications for Japan's national campaign to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. *Global Environmental Change*, 19(2), 203-12.
- Scheufele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a theory of media effect. *Journal of Communication Winter 1999*, 103-122.
- Singh, C., & Prasad, B. C. (Eds.). (2008). *Media and development: issues and challenges in the Pacific Islands*. Suva: Fiji Institute of Applied Studies & Auckland University of Technology. Pacific Media Centre, School of Communication Studies.
- Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonising methodologies: research and indigenous peoples*. London: Zed Books.
- Spoel, B., Goforth, D., Cheu, H., & Pearson, D. (2009). Public communication of climate change Science: Engaging citizens through apocalyptic narrative explanation. *Technical Communication Quarterly*, 18(1), 49-81.
- SPREP. Pacific Environment Information Network [PEIN] Digest Archive. http://sprep.org/publication/Digest_archive.asp#May2007

- Storch, H., & Krauss, W. (2005). Culture contributes to perceptions of climate change: A comparison between the United States and Germany reveals insights about why journalists in each country report about this issue in different ways. *Neuman Report*, Winter 2005.
- Storey, D., & Hunter, S. (2010). Kiribati: an environmental 'perfect storm'. *Australian Geographer*, 41(2), 167-181. doi:10.1080/00049181003742294
- Taabane, T. (2006). Environment Amendment Act (2007).
www.kiribatiparliament.gov.ki
- Tabai, I. (1993). The first twelve years. In Trease (Ed.), *Atoll Politics: The Republic of Kiribati*. Christchurch: University of the South Pacific & University of Canterbury.
- Tabureka, I. (2007). Absolute freedom a must for the media in Kiribati. Retrieved from <http://www.kango.org.ki/Views%20Features%20Analysis.php> retrieved on 10 March 2011
- Takashi, B. (2010). Framing and sources: a study of mass media coverage of climate change in Peru during the V ALCUE. *Public Understanding of Science*, 20(4), 543-557. doi: 10.1177/0963662509356502
- Taylor, N., & Nathan, S. (2002). How science contributes to environmental reporting in British newspapers: A case study of the reporting of global warming and climate Change. *Environmentalist*, 22, 325-31.
- Taylor, A, N. (1992). Environmental education in Kiribati; constraints and prospects. *Directions: Journal of Education*, 1(14), 69-78. Retrieved from <http://www.directions.usp.ac.fj/collect/direct/index/assoc/D770037.dir/doc.pdf> on 11 May 2011
- Teaero, T., & Tebano, T. (2008). *Te mwamira teuana: tabekora kunan Kiribati*. Suva, Fiji: The University of the South Pacific.
- Teaero. T. (2001, November). *The role of indigenous art, culture and knowledge in the art education curricula at the primary school level*. A paper presented at the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. Retrieved from http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/files/9199/10542967713paper_Teweiariki_Teaero.pdf/paper%2BTeweiariki%2BTeaero.pdf

- Teaero, T. (2003). Indigenous education in Kiribati. In Thaman, K. (Ed.), *Educational Ideas from Oceania*, UNESCO Chair/IOE, USP, Suva, pp. 106-111.
- Tebano, M., Kiata, R., & Abeta, R. (2008). Community consultation, Risk and Assessment and island profiling - TOR 4.1. Kiribati Adaptation Programme, Office of Te Beretitenti.
- Teiwaki, R. (1985). Leadership in the village. Mason, L. (Ed.), *Kiribati: a changing atoll culture*, (167-179). Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies: USP.
- Telecommunications Act (2004).
- Television New Zealand. (2009, May 14). PNG climate change refugees feel media curse. Retrieved from <http://tvnz.co.nz/world-news/png-s-climate-change-refugees-feel-curse-2738817>
- Thomas, F, R. (2003). Kiribati: some aspects of human ecology, forty years later. *Atoll Research Bulletin*, 501.
- Thomas, F, R. (2002). Self-reliance in Kiribati: Contrasting views of agricultural and fisheries production. *Royal Geographical Society*, 168(2), 163-77. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3451615>
- Tofiga, M, P. (1985). Agricultural subsistence and development. In Mason, L. (Ed.), *Kiribati: A Changing Atoll Culture*, (pp.155-165). Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific.
- Van Trease, H. (Ed.), (1993). *Atoll politics: The Republic of Kiribati*. Christchurch: University of the South Pacific & University of Canterbury.
- United Nations. (2005). Report of the International meeting to review the implementation of the programme of action for the sustainable development of small island development states, Port Louis, Mauritius, 10_14 January.
- University of the South Pacific. (2010). *Environmental journalism workshop, Apia, Samoa*. 15-16 June 2010. Retrieved from <http://www.usp.ac.fj/news/story.php?id=574>
- University of the South Pacific. (2010). USP journalism bags top environmental reporting awards. Retrieved from <http://www.usp.ac.fj/news/story.php?id=574>

- University of the South Pacific. (2010). Regional Training Climate Change Workshop 22Nov - 3 Dec 2010. Retrieved from [http://www.usp.ac.fj/index.php?id=9878&tx_ttnews\[tt_news\]=1001&cHash=415fa8332bef76646009ab01daf0af77](http://www.usp.ac.fj/index.php?id=9878&tx_ttnews[tt_news]=1001&cHash=415fa8332bef76646009ab01daf0af77)
- White, I., Falkland, A., Metutera, T., Metai, E., Overmars, M., Perez, P., & Dray, A. (2007). Climatic and human influences on groundwater in low atolls. *Vadose Zone Journal*, 6, 581-590.
- Wilson, K. M. (2000). Drought, debate, and uncertainty: Measuring reporters' knowledge and ignorance about climate change. *Public Understanding of Science*, 9, 1-13.
- Wincupp, T. (2010). *Bwaai ni Kiribati: Artefacts of Kiribati*. Wellington, New Zealand: Steele Robert Publisher.
- Wood, J. (2010). Cook Islands: The Cook Islands News and the genesis of FOI. *Pacific Journalism Review*, 16(2), 15-23.
- World Development Report 2010. World Development Report 2010: Development and Climate Change. <http://econ.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTDEC/EXTRESEARCH/EXTWDRS/EXTWDR2010/0,,menuPK:5287748~pagePK:64167702~piPK:64167676~theSitePK:5287741,00.html>
- World Bank. (2010). Cities, seas and storms: managing change in Pacific Island economies, Volume IV: Adapting to climate change, World Bank, Washington, DC.
- Xifra, J. (2009). Building sport countries' overseas identity and reputation: A case study of public paradiplomacy. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 53(4), 504-515. doi: 10.1177/0002764209347627

APPENDIX 1



MEMORANDUM

Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC)

To: David Robie

From: **Dr Rosemary Godbold** Executive Secretary, AUTEC

Date: 26 August 2011

Subject: Ethics Application Number 11/171 **Media and climate change in Kiribati: A case study on journalism in a 'disappearing nation'**

Dear David

Thank you for providing written evidence as requested. I am pleased to advise that it satisfies the points raised by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) at their meeting on 11 July 2011 and I have approved your ethics application. This delegated approval is made in accordance with section 5.3.2.3 of AUTEC's *Applying for Ethics Approval: Guidelines and Procedures* and is subject to endorsement at AUTEC's meeting on 12 September 2011.

Your ethics application is approved for a period of three years until 24 August 2014.

I advise that as part of the ethics approval process, you are required to submit the following to AUTEC:

A brief annual progress report using form EA2, which is available online through <http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/research-ethics/ethics>. When necessary this form may also be used to request an extension of the approval at least one month prior to its expiry on 24 August 2014;

A brief report on the status of the project using form EA3, which is available online through <http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/research-ethics/ethics>. This report is to be submitted either when

the approval expires on 24 August 2014 or on completion of the project, whichever comes sooner;

It is a condition of approval that AUTECH is notified of any adverse events or if the research does not commence. AUTECH approval needs to be sought for any alteration to the research, including any alteration of or addition to any documents that are provided to participants. You are reminded that, as applicant, you are responsible for ensuring that research undertaken under this approval occurs within the parameters outlined in the approved application.

Please note that AUTECH grants ethical approval only. If you require management approval from an institution or organisation for your research, then you will need to make the arrangements necessary to obtain this. Also, if your research is undertaken within a jurisdiction outside New Zealand, you will need to make the arrangements necessary to meet the legal and ethical requirements that apply within that jurisdiction.

When communicating with us about this application, we ask that you use the application number and study title to enable us to provide you with prompt service. Should you have any further enquiries regarding this matter, you are welcome to contact Charles Grinter, Ethics Coordinator, by email at ethics@aut.ac.nz or by telephone on 921 9999 at extension 8860.

On behalf of AUTECH and myself, I wish you success with your research and look forward to reading about it in your reports.

Yours sincerely

Dr Rosemary Godbold

Executive Secretary

Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Cc: Taberannang Korauaba tekoriri@yahoo.co.uk, xhd2874@aut.ac.nz

APPENDIX 2



Participant Information Sheet

Date Information Sheet Produced:

26 May 2011

Project Title

Media and climate change in Kiribati: A case study on journalism in a disappearing nation

An Invitation

My name is Taberannang Korauaba. I am doing my masters degree in communication studies at Auckland University of Technology. As part of the masters' programme, I am required to produce a thesis. The topic of this thesis is based on media and climate change in Kiribati. I am focusing more on how the local journalists cover this issue in spite of growing uncertainty over the future of Kiribati.

I am inviting you to participate in this research because of your experience and involvement with the media and climate change advocacy work in Kiribati. Your participation is voluntary. You can withdraw at any time prior or during the collection of data without any adverse consequences.

The information below aims to help you understand your part in the research if you wish to participate.

What is the purpose of this research?

This project aims:

To demonstrate that journalists have a different attitude on environmental issues than public perception. This is in response to research being done in Kiribati regarding the attitudes of the public about climate change and public consultation and conferences that followed.

It would demonstrate that journalists are being disadvantaged by the public service news model. It would demonstrate that journalists lack the knowledge, skills and experience to cover climate change. It would show that deliberative journalism is what Kiribati may find appropriate to mainstreaming the issue of climate change and encouraging the news media to be part of climate change deliberations.

The research will produce somewhere around 40,000 – 50,000 words thesis, and an online resource for journalists and those having vested interest in journalism, environment and climate change. The materials would be used only for academic and educational purposes.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

You are chosen to take part in this research because of your experience and knowledge on the research topic.

What will happen in this research?

Two parts of the thesis; a written exegesis and an online resource.

I would interview you for an hour or two. I would provide you with a list of indicative questions beforehand so you can prepare yourself before the interview. The second part of the research is the development of an online resource for you in Kiribati language, which will put on The Kiribati Independent website.

My interview with you would be taped and transcribed by myself. It is required as part of the thesis process. You can ask to have interviews in Kiribati or English.

What are the discomforts and risks?

The discomforts include speaking in English, and asking you to comment on political issues. Doing an interview in Kiribati, and not naming you will help you express yourself more clearly and conscientiously without any fear.

How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

You would be given the choice, to have an interview in English or in Kiribati whichever suit you best. I will not pressure or influence you to comment on things you don't want to talk about. Thirdly I would seek your consent. Fourthly confidentiality and off the record will be discussed with you before the interview. Don't forget that you have the right to withdraw anytime if you don't want to take part in this research.

What are the benefits?

There is no academic or scholarly work on the media and climate change in Kiribati. There is so much research in Kiribati about the public's attitudes towards climate change. In the Pacific there is very little academic study on climate change and media. There is a huge amount of texts about climate change, which is very descriptive in nature. Other scholarly work focused primarily on media, politics, press freedom and education with not much on media and climate change in the Pacific.

The present research would demonstrate that journalists are different from the public and argue that it would be a mistake to put them together under one heading 'public attitudes towards

climate change'. Journalists in Kiribati have been neglected for more than fifty years. Bureaucrats and educated people alike looked down on the journalists in Kiribati. During this climate change crisis, they have been forgotten again and overlooked.

Journalists, public, government and overseas donors would benefit from this study. It would explore problems facing journalists under the so-called climate change and sea level rise and unearth long overdue problems facing the journalists since independence.

This research would help the journalists and stakeholders understand what journalists need in order to up their reporting on climate change. The online resource, for instance, would bring journalists to the wide web and promote positive networking with other journalists from around the world on climate change and environmental reporting.

How will my privacy be protected?

You will remain anonymous unless you give me consent to be identified in my report. If you choose not to be identified, your details would not be shared with any third party. You will also not be named in my thesis.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

There are no costs to incur on you if you take part in this research. I only need one or two hours of your time to discuss this research and to do a face-to-face interview if you agree to participate.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

Collection of data will start 28 September 2011 and it would be mostly appreciated if you can get back to me before that date.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

If you agree to take part in this research, you can sign the consent form attached to this information sheet.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

I will provide an executive summary of the report which will also be available on Kiribati website, The Kiribati Independent, www.thekiribatiindependent.co.nz and Pacific Media website.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, David Robie, david.robie@aut.ac.nz, +649 921 999 ext 7834. Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, AUTEK, Madeline Banda, madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext 8044.

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 26 August 2011, AUTEK Reference number 11/171

APPENDIX 3



Participant Information Sheet

Date Information Sheet Produced:

26 May 2011

Project Title

Media and the politics of climate change in Kiribati: A case study on journalists in a disappearing nation

An Invitation: Te kakao

Arau Taberannang Korauaba. I karaoa au beeba ae te master iaon te communication n te university ae AUT, Auckland, Nu Tiran. Kanoan au reirei are I kantaningaaki bwa Nna korea au thesis ke te karaki iaon te topic ae botaki ni kareke rongorongo ao te bwai ae bibitakin kanoan te bong ma rikiraken iabutin taari i Kiribati. E na boboto riki au kamatebwai iaon tarakia taani kareke rongorongo bwa a kanga ni karaoa aia mwakuri ngkai Kiribati e na ananga ni kabuanibwai nakon ririki aika a na roko.

I a bon kaoko ma te nano rinano bwa kona ira au kamatebwai aio ngkai bon iai naba am atatai ma rekerekem ma ana boto ni iango au kamatebwai aei. I kan kaongoko naba are ko bon aki kairoroaki bwa kona ira te kakae aio. Bon nanom bwa kona iria ke kona aki. Ko kona ni bubai man te kakae imwain waakinana ke inanon te tai are e a waaki iai n akea te bwai ae tao e na ananga ni karekekai nakoim.

Te rongorongo ae inanon te beeba aio e na bon buokiko ni kaotako iaon baika kona karaoia ngkana arona bwa ko kukurei n ira te kamatebwai aei.

What is the purpose of this research? Tera raoi oin te kakae aio?

E na katerea te kakae aio are e bon okoro anuaia taan kareke rongorongo ma te botanaomata nakon te bwai ae bitakin kanoan te bong. Aio bon kaitaraan kakae tabeua ake a kunea bwa e a tamaroa aia taratara aomata nakon te climate change. E kan katerea naba te kakae aio bwa e karako aia atatai ma aia konabwai taani kareke rongorongo ni karaoa aia karaki iaon te climate

change; e kan katerea naba bwa e karako boutokaia taani kareke rongorongo man te tautaeka ao mataniwi bwa a na kakaei rongorongo aika a bongana nakon te botanaomata, e kan katerea naba bwa tein te aekaki ni kanako bwanaa ma kareke rongorongo ae e bwainaki ngkai i Kiribati e aki buoka karikirakeia taani kareke rongorongo, te tautaeka e aki naba oota raoi nanon te bwai ae te kanako nako bwanaa ibukin te botanaomata, e kan katerea naba bwa 'deliberative journalism' ke te aeka n tei ni kareke rongorongo are e karinaki te kareke rongorongo bwa kain naba te rabwata ni babaire ni kakaea bwainaorakian kangaanga iaon rikiraken iabutin taari. E na bon ibuobuoki te aeka n tei ni kareke rongorongo aio ni karika climate change bwa teuana naba aia issue taani kareke rongorongo ae kakawaki.

Imwin te kakae ao I a korea naba ngkanne au thesis ae mwaitina imarenan 40-50,000 te taeka ao ai te website are e na kona ni kabonganaaki irouia taani kareke rongorongo i Kiribati ni ikotaki ma naake iai rekerekeia ma te bwai ae bibitakin kanoan te bong ma iabutin taari.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research? I kangaa n rineaki bwa Nna ira te kakae?

E koaua, ko rineaki ibukina bwa bon iai am atatai ma rabakaum ake a irekereke ma ana boto ni iango te kakae aio, media ao climate change. Koraki ake I taaketenia bon taani kareke rongorongo n te BPA, te beretitenti ni kawai Teburoro Tito ao ae ngkai, botaki n aro, aine, te roro n rikirake.

Tera ae na riki n tain te kakae?

Uoua mwakoron te kakae aio. Te moan bon te karaki ae 40,000 - 50,000 te taeka. Are te kauoua bon karekean te website are inanona taian ibuobuoki ibukin aron karaoan karaki iaon te otabwanin ma bibitakin kanoan te bong.

Ma te moan itera ao Nna bon karaoi marooro ma koraki ake a kariaia bwa a na iri n te kamatebwai aio. A karaoaki titiraki ni kaeti nakon ana boto ni iango te kamatebwai aei, ao are e na bon kainanoa teutana am tai ibukin te kaekaeka. Nna moantaai naba ni karekea katooton titiraki ake Nna tabeki nakoim imwain te marooro bwa e aonga n reke am tai ni katauraioiko.

A na bon raweaki marooro aikai n te teibi ao ni manga koreaki ke taibinaki irou. E kakawaki bwa a na raweaki marooro aikai bwa taian kakoaua nakoia taan ukera mwiin au kamatebwai bwa au kakoaua. Nna tauraoi naba n rairii titiraki aikai nakon te taetae ni Kiribati ngkana ngaia anne ae kona mwengaraoi iai n te marooro.

Nna bon kakoaua ae n ara katei ao e taraa ni kamanga ngkana a marooro kain Kiribati n te taetae ni imatang ngkana a bon kona n taetae ni Kiribati. I aki tangiria bwa e na riki anne bwa te totoko naba nakon waakinan te kakae aio, ma ngaia are I tauraoi ni karaoa te marooro n te taetae ni Kiribati.

Baikara kanganga ao bwaai aika a na karika te aki mwengaraoi

N aron are I mwaneweia mai ieta ao te taetae n i matang bon teuana te kangaanga are e kona ni karika te aki mwengaraoi n tain te maroro. Te kauoua bon titirakinaia taan ira te kamatebwai titiraki aika a na ananga n reke n te kabuakaka iai ana waaki te tautaeka ke aia tia kamwakuri,. E kaeti rikia aei nakoia taan kareke rongorongo n BPA ao taan mwakuri n te tautaeka.

A na kanga ni kanakoaki kanganga ma aki mwengaraoi aikai

A na anganaki nanaia taan ira te maroro bwa a na taetae ni imatang ke ni Kiribati. A na bon aki titirakinaki titiraki ake aki mwengaraoi iai. A na tuangaki naba are e kona n aki kaotaki araia ke ni kona ni maroro ma a na bon tuanga te tia kakae bwa e ngaa mwakoron aia maroro ae e na aki tauaki ke off te record. A na bon kaongoaki naba are a inaomata ni kiitana te maroro ngkana a namakina te aki mwengaraoi, n akea te bwai ke ananga ni karekekai ae e na kona n reke nakoia.

Baikara kabwaia ke ibuobuoki man te kakae aio

Akea te kakae irouia taan rabakau iaon itera aikai ae e a tia ni karaoaki i Kiribati. A mwaiti kamatebwai i Kiribati ni kakaean anuaia aomata nakon te climate change, ao a mwaiti naba kamatebwai iaon aroia botaki ni kareke rongorongon n te betebeke. Ma e karako te kakae iaon aroia botaki ni kareke rongorongon ao bibitakin kanoan te bong. E a koro tiran rongorongon iaon bitakin kanoan te bong ma iabutin taari, koroboki aikai ake aki karaoaki irouia taan rabakau. Kamatebwai iaomia botaki ni kareke rongorongon e bototo riki iaon inaomataia botaki aikai, te waaki n tautaeke ao te reirei, ma akea iaon taekia botaki ni kareke rongorongon ao bitakin kanoan te bong ma rikiraken iabutin taari n te betebeke, climate change and sea level rise.

Rongorongon aika a raba a na kangaa ni kawakinaki

Kona bon aki kaotaki n te koroboki tii ngkana k otaku bwa ko kukurei bwa e na kaotaki aram. Ngkana ko aki tangiria bwa kona kaotaki ao ngkanne bon iai te booma ke te boraraoi are kona tiainaia, aram ma rongorongon tabeua a na aki kona ni kaotaki nakoia te korakina.

Baikara kabanemwane ngkana Nna ira te kakae aei

Bon akea, ma e tii kainanoaki teuana ke uoua te aoua man am tai ibukin karaoan te maroro.

Iai au tai ae I anganaki bwa Nna rinanoa te kakao aio

E na waaki te kakae n 15 Aokati 2011, ao e na bon rangi ni butimwaeaki ngkana ko kona n okira imwain te tai anne ma am kaeke.

Nna kangaa ni kariaia bwa Nna ira te kakae

Ko kona n tiaina te boraorai ae a ira ma te rongorongon ni kamataata aio ngkana ko kukurei n ira te kakae.

E na reke nakou rongorongon mwiin te kakae

Eng. Nna reitaki ma ngkoe ngkana iai baika a kakawaki aika a kuneaki n te kakae. E tataneiai te aba n are e ukeraki moa te ribooti iaon te kakae imwain ae e na kaotinakoaki nakoia botaki ke aomata ake a tangira aia katooto. Ma, Nna kataia ni karekea am copy, ngkana e ak reke are bon te boki ao I email nakoim. A na bon karekeaki naba aia katooto ana aobiti te Beretitenti, BPA, library ao te auti n tei.

Tera ae Nna karaoia ngkana iai tangitangu n te kakae

Tangitang ake a irekereke ma te kakae aio a kona ni karokoaki iroon te mataniwi n te kakae aio ae David Robie, david.robie@aut.ac.nz. ke n te tareboon ae +649 921 999 ext 7834. Tangitang ake a kaineti ma aron waakinan te kakae a kona ni karokoaki iroon te Executive Secretary,

AUTEC, Madeline Banda n ana email ae *madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz* ke n te tareboon ae 921 9999 ext 8044.

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 26 August 2011, AUTEC Reference number 11/171

APPENDIX 4

List of figures

- 0.1 Aerial view of South Tarawa
- 0.2 Kiribati's location
- 0.3 Map of Tarawa
- 0.4 Kiribati man watching the waves helplessly
- 3.1 Triangulation of data
- 4.1 *Te Uekera* front page 11 December 2009
- 4.2 *Te Uekera* front page 18 December 2009
- 4.3 *New Zealand Herald* front page 16 December 2009
- 4.4 *New Zealand Herald* front page 18 December 2009
- 5.1 Causeway between Betio and Bairiki
- 5.2 A peaceful islet of South Tarawa
- 5.3 During high tides
- 5.4 Researcher and participant
- 5.5 BPA journalists

APPENDIX 5

List of tables

- 3.1 Breakdown of participants' background and experience
- 3.2 Female and male participants
- 3.3 BPA news reporters
- 3.4 Former news reporters of BPA
- 3.5 Participants outside the media
- 4.1 Kiribati journalists' attitudes to climate change stories
- 4.2 Kiribati journalists, politics and climate change
- 4.3. Coding of newspaper articles
- 4.4. 11 December and 18 December stories
- 4.5. 8 December stories and 9 December stories
- 4.6. 10 December stories and 11 December stories
- 4.7. 12 December stories and 14 December stories
- 4.8. 16, 17, and 18 December stories
- 4.9. 16 December stories
- 4.10. 17 December stories
- 4.11. 18 December stories
- 5.1. Questionnaires
- 5.2. Western news values 5Ws and H
- 5.3. Climate change 5Ws and H
- 5.4. How Te Karoronga works

APPENDIX 6

Abbreviation

SPREP	Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Programme
BPA	Broadcasting and Publications Authority
SOPAC	South Pacific Applied Geoscience Commission
ADB	Asian Development Bank
KAP	Kiribati Adaptation Programme
USP	University of the South Pacific
RMAT	<i>Rongorongo Man Ami Tautaeaka</i> (News From Your Government) Government's newsletter

Definitions

Maneaba	Meeting hall
Te Karoronga	The name of a network of I-Kiribati in central Kiribati
Te Uekera	Tree of knowledge, government owned newspaper
Taona tabon inaim	A cultural special visit
Kabwaekeeke	Unique and outstanding
Katika te nano	Winning hearts
Ko tonu	You are so great
Ko bon tau	Suitably qualified
Office of Te Beretitenti	President's office
Auti	House
Te Kataanga	A network of I-Kiribati in the southern islands
Te Airiiri	A network of I-Kiribati in the northern islands
Kamwaimwai	Toddy syrup
Kabutiman	Engagement proposal
Kabwarabure	Apology
Kamatebwai	Research or study