CHAPTER 12

Time to Adapt?

Media Coverage of Climate Change in Nonindustrialised Countries

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Climate change demands both political and personal responses in all parts of the world, and effective decision making at both scales will depend on timely, accurate information. The quality and quantity of journalism about climate change will therefore be key in the coming years.

Much has been written in this book and elsewhere about how the media reports on climate change in industrialised countries such as the United States and United Kingdom—and how this is changing (e.g., Boykoff, 2007a; Boykoff & Roberts, 2007; Russell, 2008).

Less well understood is how journalists are covering this story in the rest of the world, both in the rapidly industrialising economies with high greenhouse gas emissions and in the poorer settings that are highly vulnerable to climate change and where adaptation will be more urgent than reducing emissions (IPCC, 2007b).

General problems facing reporters who cover climate change in such countries include a lack of training, unsupportive editors, and limited access to information and interviewees (Shanahan, 2006). In addition, limited resources mean that few journal-

ists from poorer nations can follow and report on the international negotiations aimed at addressing climate change under the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC).

The negotiations are gathering pace and the decisions made will have far-reaching repercussions for people the world over. Yet of 1,500 journalists who applied to attend the UNFCCC summit in Bali in December 2007, just 9 percent were from nonindustrialised countries other than the host Indonesia (Fahn, 2008a). A much smaller percentage actually travelled to Bali and for nearly the entire UN list of 50 Least Developed Countries, there was zero media representation.

This prevents relevant information from reaching people in such nations and means that negotiators are under little public scrutiny. It also means that journalists are missing major opportunities to meet climate change experts and to learn more about the subject. Some brief anecdotes from my own work illustrate knowledge gaps that suggest many millions of vulnerable people are being misinformed.

- In July 2008 the environment correspondent for a national newspaper in Africa told me they did not know how solar power and biofuels were relevant to the environment.
- A few months earlier, I met a reporter from a national radio station in Asia who believed incorrectly that climate change caused tsunamis and bird flu.
- About the same time, a science journalist in Latin America told me he didn't think there was a broad consensus among climate scientists that human activities were largely responsible for climate change.

This chapter takes a closer look at climate change coverage in nonindustrialised countries. It reviews recent studies from Brazil, China, Honduras, India, Jamaica, Mexico, Mozambique, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Vietnam, and Zambia, and discusses efforts to improve climate change journalism in such settings.

To broaden the scope of this work, I asked journalists in Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean, and the Middle East what barriers they faced when reporting on climate change. The 111 journalists who replied were from 35 nations: Argentina (1); Bangladesh (1); Benin (2); Brazil (1); Chile (3); Colombia (2); Egypt (2); Ethiopia (3); Ghana (2); India (9); Jamaica (1); Jordan (1); Kenya (20); Lebanon (1); Lesotho (1); Madagascar (1); Malawi (1); Mexico (3); Morocco (1); Namibia (1); Nepal (1); Nigeria (5); Oman (1); Pakistan (2); Sao Tomé and Príncipe (1); Sierra Leone (1); South Africa (13); Sudan (1); Suriname (1); Tanzania (3); Togo (1); Uganda (13); Uruguay (1); Zambia (7); Zimbabwe (3).

All reported on climate change (with varying frequency) but only 35 (31 percent) had received any formal training about the subject, usually in the form of short workshops. Beyond the lack of training, the main problems they reported were:

- A lack of local research and news and of local experts who are prepared to talk to journalists (35 percent);

- Difficulties accessing information and understanding the subject (35 percent);
- Difficulty persuading editors that climate change stories matter (29 percent);
- Insufficient resources for travel to remote areas or to relevant conferences (21 percent).

These findings tally with those reported by Jia (2008), who described a survey of 155 journalists in China (see below). He concluded that: "Climate change reporting is on the rise in China, but many barriers remain, including information sources, the availability of experts and relevant officials, the difficulty in understanding science behind climate change, the trouble in finding human interest stories, and the [struggle] to communicate with editors. Meanwhile, journalists' knowledge and skills in reporting climate change-related issues are to be improved." (Wu analyses in the following chapter how the Chinese media cover climate change.)

Country Studies

Brazil

Fioravanti (2007) reported a fourfold increase in climate change coverage in the *Folha de São Paulo* newspaper between the second half of 2006 and the first half of 2007. He added that Brazilian newspapers depend heavily on material from international news agencies and that the dominant voices are those of foreign rather than local scientists. Comments from groups other than scientists were virtually absent.

More recently, the British Embassy in Brazil funded a review of climate change coverage in 50 Brazilian newspapers (44 regional, 6 national) from July 2005 to June 2007 (ANDI, 2008). It found that coverage had increased markedly since late 2006. The rise in reporting followed the release of the *Stern Review on the Economics of Climate Change* (2006), Al Gore's film *An Inconvenient Truth* (Guggenheim, 2006), and the reports published in 2007 by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c).

According to the study, climate change is reported most often as an environmental story (35.8 percent) or from an economic-impact angle (19.7 percent) (ANDI, 2008). Media reports focused more on mitigation (41.7 percent) than on adaptation (2.7 percent). Fewer than 15 percent of articles related climate change to broader development issues and just 2 percent highlighted impacts of climate change on low-income populations. Less than one-quarter (24 percent) of articles reported on government policies relating to climate change.

Fioravanti (2007) pointed out that while press coverage has increased greatly, the reach of this medium is very limited compared to that of television. *Folha de São Paulo* is the main newspaper in Brazil and has a readership of just 300,000, while the main evening news programme on TV Globo reaches 31 million viewers. TV Globo was

the only one of the television stations in the countries studied by Painter (2007) to report on both the "impacts" and "mitigation and adaptation" reports that the IPCC published in April and May 2007, respectively (IPCC, 2007a, 2007b).

China

Tolan (2007) reported that 90 percent of climate change coverage published online in China recently (especially in 2006) was "recycled" from Western media or scientific reports without any local comment. These reports had a heavy focus on climate change impacts in remote areas, such as on polar bears in the Arctic, rather than on people in China. The remaining 10 percent of articles were more relevant, describing impacts such as melting glaciers in Tibet or risks to the port of Shanghai from a rise in sea level.

Until November 2006 the media made little connection between China's large, growing emissions and climate change problems. Only rarely did the media mention local research on, or official concern about, the issue. Coverage rose sharply in 2007, including more reports on impacts in China and the country's need to cut emissions. Tolan (2007) says this suggests that a national policy shift followed the release of influential reports by the IPCC and the Chinese Academy of Sciences, as well as extreme weather events.

Overall, however, Tolan (2007) notes that there is still little discussion of China's emissions, with the media portraying responsibility for climate change, and actions to address it, elsewhere. According to Painter's (2007) study of television coverage of the IPCC reports, China's CCTV-1 news bulletin, which has an audience of 140 million people, covered the report on impacts but not the one on mitigation and adaptation.

More recently, Jia (2008) described the findings of a nationwide survey of 155 journalists who report on climate change. They said what they needed most were regular news clues (60 percent), contact details of experts (56 percent), and information about international negotiations and mechanisms to address climate change (52 percent). The survey revealed patchy knowledge of climate science and policy. Only 14.8 percent knew that China currently has no obligation under the Kyoto Protocol to reduce its emissions. They also had little familiarity with carbon markets and the Kyoto Protocol's Clean Development Mechanism.

Journalists said their main sources of information were government departments (80 percent) and state news agencies (Xinhua 64 percent and China News Service 41 percent) (Jia, 2008). Only 13 percent used press releases from international scientific journals. Jia notes that few Chinese research institutions and journals produce press releases, and concludes that little information about climate change from the local scientific community reaches the media.

Honduras

Panos London interviewed 14 Honduran journalists, who said there was very little local or national media coverage of—or public interest in—climate change (Harbinson, 2006). Most coverage was from international sources, such as the CNN cable television channel (in Spanish). The journalists felt that national coverage was poor because media outlets did not treat climate change as a priority and reporters lacked access to information (particularly as most of it was in English and tended to reflect Western perspectives).

India

Billett (in review) analysed the content of India's English-language daily newspapers—*The Times of India*, *The Hindu*, *Hindustan Times*, and the *Indian Express*—from 1 January 2002 to 1 June 2007, and interviewed 15 of the country's leading environment journalists in 2007. In contrast to trends in the United States and United Kingdom during these years (Boykoff, 2007a), the Indian press gave no space to contrarian viewpoints, and presented climate change as a scientific reality (100 percent) caused by human activity (98 percent).

There was a heavy focus on threats such as glacial melting and disrupted monsoons, with many articles pointing to evidence of impacts (Billett, in review). Overall the dominant narrative was one of India being at risk because of historic and ongoing emissions from industrialised nations that bear the biggest responsibility for addressing the problem. Coverage was generally negative towards the Kyoto Protocol and said that efforts to include emissions cuts for nations such as India would be a bad idea, with some going as far as to say the Kyoto Protocol was intended to block India's development. Although the United States also opposes mandatory emissions cuts—and the Kyoto Protocol—the Indian press coverage of climate change was highly negative towards that country (while being somewhat positive overall towards UK, EU, Japan, China, and Brazil).

Billett (in review) points out that the English-language papers he studied are the only ones with a national circulation, and that the narrative they construct is presented as national yet masks subnational divides within India. He concludes that this "silences the question of domestic emissions" and so excludes debate about responsibilities of the elite classes that make up the majority of the readership of these newspapers (Billet, in review). Meanwhile, the popular Hindi-language TV channel—Aaj Tak—made no mention on its main evening news programme of the reports the IPCC published in April and May 2007 on climate change impacts, mitigation, and adaptation (Painter, 2007).

Jamaica

Panos London interviewed 11 Jamaican journalists, who rated the level of coverage of climate change issues in local and national print and broadcast media as low,

and noted that there were no newspaper columns or radio or TV programmes with a focus on the environment (Harbinson, 2006). Climate change coverage tended to be from international news agencies, or linked to hurricanes. Journalists felt that the problem was a lack of quantity rather than quality, and that media outlets were not interested in investing in covering climate change. They added that they lacked access to quality information (the Internet and government agencies were their main sources). Since Panos London conducted its research, coverage of climate change has increased in Jamaica. In 2008, for instance, the *Jamaica Observer* newspaper began publishing a weekly pullout section called Environment Watch that included in-depth coverage of climate change.

Mexico

Canales (2007) reported that climate change coverage has increased steadily in Mexico's *Reforma* and *El Universal* newspapers since 2005. She noted that in 2005 the media was accurately reporting scientific uncertainty about links between climate change and the intensity and frequency of hurricanes, but that by 2007, the media had switched to reporting a definitive link, contrary to the scientific evidence (Canales, 2007). Painter (2007) reported that the evening news bulletin on Mexico's most viewed TV channel—Televisa—did not report on either of the IPCC reports published in February and April 2007. It is noteworthy that the latter report was released on Good Friday, a major public holiday in Catholic nations such as Mexico. By contrast, the TV Globo channel in Brazil (also largely Catholic), considered the IPCC report the most important news after the Good Friday celebrations.

Mozambique

Journalists in Mozambique rarely cover climate change, according to de Salema, Salvador and Nobre (2007) of the Panos Institute Southern Africa. They concluded that the 12 journalists they interviewed had a "high level" of knowledge about climate change, although 5 had never heard about adaptation. As few editors considered climate change stories to be marketable, only 3 of the journalists had been covering the subject. Other barriers included a lack of local information sources and of funds for travelling to report from areas facing climate change.

de Salema, Salvador and Nobre (2007) also interviewed 60 rural community members, 18 small-scale farmers, and 12 environmental experts and advocates. None of these experts had provided journalists with information on climate change, in part because journalists had not asked them. Farmers and community members had various ideas about the cause of climate change, from it being a natural phenomenon or being caused by pollution and deforestation to it being a consequence of the civil war that ended in 1992, punishment from God or because "we lost our traditional values." Overall, the concept of climate change seemed "alien to most people" in the communities. Farmers had very limited ideas about adaptation strategies, but other commu-

nity members pointed to the construction of sea walls, reservoirs, and flood/cyclone-resistant housing as examples.

South Africa

Cramer (2008) studied media coverage of climate change during 2005 in three newspapers from South Africa's Western Cape region—the *Cape Times* (229 articles), the *Cape Argus* (148), and *Die Burger* (135). In the case of the *Cape Times*, this amounted to more than one mention of climate change per day. Across the three papers, "there was a surprisingly low amount of coverage of climate sceptics and, of this, hardly any gave room for the sceptics to explain their scepticism" (Cramer, 2008: p. 23). Coverage was most commonly framed in terms of environmental impacts such as rising seas, melting ice caps, and effects on wild species. The second most common frame was political (e.g., in relation to the G8 Summit). Human interest stories were very rare, accounting for less than 10 percent of the total articles and just 4 percent of those in *Die Burger*. In addition, 45 percent of all articles had no African, South African, or Western Cape context, though one-third were relevant to South Africa and one-quarter relevant to the Western Cape region. According to Painter's (2007) research, the national television station SABC-3's evening news did cover the IPCC's April 2007 report on climate change impacts, but not on its May 2007 report on mitigation and adaptation.

Sri Lanka

Panos London (Harbinson, 2006) reported that climate change coverage varied between different media outlets in Sri Lanka, with more reports in the English-language press than in local languages. The main obstacle, according to journalists Panos interviewed, was the lack of both public and media understanding of climate change, which was linked to the lack of information, particularly experts. While some environmental journalists were frequently active, most media outlets were described as giving environmental topics low priority. The main sources journalists used when covering climate change were international news agencies and science magazines, and nongovernmental organisations.

Swaziland

Panos Institute Southern Africa interviewed climate change experts, journalists, and farmers and analysed climate change coverage in the local media (Manyatsi, 2007). The journalists interviewed were said to have a fair understanding of climate change, and said they had a role to play in informing the public about it. However, only 27 percent had reported on climate change and only 28 percent said they knew about adaptation. Others incorrectly defined adaptation as including practices that minimise depletion of the ozone layer. The journalists said editors did not consider climate

change to be a priority—unless related to disasters or when significant events were taking place.

The farmers had "very limited" knowledge of climate change (Manyatsi, 2007). While community members were noting signs of a changing climate, they were less familiar with adaptation. Some said the climatic changes they had observed were acts of God or because people were not upholding traditions. They said they received information on the climate largely from the radio in the form of weather forecasts but said this was inadequate and too short-term. The local experts said the media made a "very minimal" contribution to raising the profile of climate change, reporting on the topic mainly at times such as the annual World Environment Day.

Newspaper reports tended to focus on natural disasters such as floods and droughts, with little detail about their possible links to climate change (Manyatsi, 2007). Coverage increased from 2004 to 2007, with more articles addressing climate change directly. Manyatsi suggests this is due in part to a media training run by the Swaziland Environment Authority and articles written by the Renewable Energy Association of Swaziland.

Vietnam

Research by the Institute of Health, Environment and Development in Vietnam showed that coverage of climate change was exceptionally low in 2006 but showed signs of an increase in 2007 (Pham, 2007). Of 172 reports on environmental topics produced by 30 media outlets in September and October 2006, not one covered climate change. For the same months in 2007, the institute analysed content in five newspapers, on Voice of Vietnam radio, and on Hanoi TV's Urban Issues programme. The newspapers covered climate change 2–3 times a month (in total 24 of 653 environment stories). Only 3 of the 79 radio reports were directly related to climate change, while none of the 11 environment stories on Urban Issues was. The climate change coverage was largely reporting of international news or of what national leaders had said about the issue. According to the study, there was no investigative reporting and no mention of vulnerability or adaptation. The reports did not relate climate change to local settings or the everyday lives of Vietnamese people and they explained the science poorly.

Zambia

Panos Institute Southern Africa analysed three newspapers, a weekly TV programme on agriculture, and a radio show on environment (Maseko & Mayembe, 2007). They found that journalists were ill informed about climate change, and adaptation in particular, and that there was little community awareness of these subjects. The country's journalism schools did not include climate change in their curricula. Climate change coverage focused on effects not causes (e.g., reports on floods or droughts after they have happened) and provided little context. Journalists said that climate change was a hard topic to sell to editors. Most (90 percent) of the articles on

climate change in *The Post, Times of Zambia*, and *Zambia Daily Mail* were from international news agencies such as Reuters and AP. Very few articles covered impacts on people or on ways they can adapt to changes, yet 90 percent of community members interviewed said they wanted more information in local languages on these topics.

Common Trends

Readers should note that although the studies cited here are the latest of their kind, some of the older findings are already somewhat dated. There has been a massive increase in media attention to climate change worldwide recently, thanks in part to the release of the *Stern Review* in 2006, *An Inconvenient Truth*, also in 2006, and the 2007 IPCC reports, as well as extreme weather events such as Cyclone Nargis, which devastated Myanmar.

A cursory search of online media reports from nonindustrialised countries in the second half of 2008 suggests that climate change is indeed rising up the media agenda. Increasingly, reports are focusing on local issues and articulating strong opinions. Polls suggest that public awareness of climate change is rising fast in these regions (BBC World Service, 2007). Nonetheless, the evidence suggests that in many countries the media is lagging in its ability to tell one of the biggest stories of our times.

The general picture painted by the most recent research is that while coverage of climate change in nonindustrialised countries is increasing, the quantity and quality of reporting do not match the scale of the problem. The studies reveal a reliance on reports from Western news agencies rather than more locally relevant news (although Indian newspapers in particular did include a strong focus on local impacts). This, coupled with sparse coverage of adaptation, has implications for the world's poor, who urgently need information to prepare for the impacts of climate change.

The research by the Panos Institute Southern Africa in some of the world's least developed countries (Mozambique, Swaziland, and Zambia) shows that vulnerable communities are receiving very little information about climate change and adaptation in particular—despite high demand from communities. As Ugandan journalist Patrick Luganda (2007) notes: "Ordinary people have begun observing the dramatic shift in the continent's climate—but they do not know what to do about it."

This deficit is not confined to the poorest of nations. In Painter's (2007) study of TV coverage of the IPCC reports in Brazil, China, India, Mexico, and South Africa there were: "Few if any positive illustrations of the poor in developing countries involved in mitigation or adaptation strategies." Stations in China, India, Mexico, and South Africa did not cover the publication of the IPCC report on mitigation and adaptation.

Other common trends emerged from these studies and the survey of journalists. Reporters lack resources, skills, and access to information and expertise. Editors tend to give climate change a low priority and journalism tends to be event driven, rather

than investigative. Media reports tend to frame climate change as an environmental, rather than a social or political, story.

The lack of resources and editorial support for climate change reporting means that journalists struggle to attend meetings or travel to rural areas where people are facing climate risks or adapting to change already. This contributes to the lack of locally relevant reporting and serves to distance climate change from people's everyday lives.

The existing studies vary greatly in scale and scope—from short interviews with journalists to a detailed content analysis of years of newspaper reporting (Billett, in review). Most of the research to date has been by English speakers and has focused on newspapers. While this gives an indication of what information reaches urban and/or English-reading populations, there has been little study of how much reaches rural or nonliterate people who depend more on radio and television, and on information in local languages.

Plugging the Gaps

In 2008, the executive-secretary of the UNFCCC and the chair of the IPCC independently called for improved media coverage of climate change (Xinhua News Agency, 2008; OneWorld, 2008). Nowhere is this need greater than in the nonindustrialised countries. There is some consensus among journalists, climate experts, and media support organisations about this gap and how to go about plugging it. The main approaches suggested are: training; resources for travel; creating connections between journalists and sources; improving the supply of information to the media; and boosting editorial support for climate change reporting.

Donor agencies are increasingly supporting efforts to train journalists in nonindustrialised countries to get to grips with the scientific and political complexities of climate change, and to improve their ability to pitch stories to editors (Fahn, 2008b; Rowling, 2008). Organisations implementing this work include the Thomson Reuters Foundation, InfoSud (and its Media21 Global Journalism Network), Internews (and its Earth Journalism Network), the Panos Network, SciDev.Net, the BBC World Service Trust, and the Climate Change Media Partnership (see below). Various approaches exist—from workshops to online training courses (e.g., Reuters AlertNet, 2008)—and there is much scope for greater coordination and sharing of best practices.

Equally, the sources that journalists in such nations rely on are often unfamiliar with how the media works—and how to engage with journalists. Media training for this group, which includes researchers, NGO workers, government officials, and community representatives, would help to close the information divide.

Networks and events that bring journalists and their sources together could help to achieve this by strengthening links between the two groups. The Network of Climate Journalists in the Greater Horn of Africa was set up in 2002 to do this. It

holds meetings to bring together journalists and climate scientists from Burundi, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania, and Uganda. In 2008, it created an online social network (www.necjogha.org) to create more opportunities for its members to share information more broadly.

In 2008, the All India Disaster Mitigation Institute announced plans to create a civil society and media network on climate and disaster risk in Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Maldives, Malaysia, and Singapore (AIDMI, 2008). Similarly, the Climate Change Adaptation in Africa programme, a partnership between Canada's International Development Research Centre (IDRC) and the United Kingdom's Department for International Development, plans to bring African researchers and journalists together for joint training to increase flows of information about adaptation to climate change (Saunders, 2008).

In various countries, journalists who report on climate change are coming together to share information and experiences. The Climate Change Journalist Club in China produces newsletters that reach more than 1,000 journalists nationwide. It has a dedicated Web site (www.climatereporting.cn) and has published a short book to help journalists with their reporting of climate change (Climate Change Journalist Club, 2008). Similarly, the Association of Caribbean Media Workers is working with regional NGOs to develop a Caribbean Journalist's Handbook on Climate Change (Caribbean Media Network, 2008).

Other forms of information that would help journalists to report on climate change include: databases of experts willing to speak to the media; glossaries that explain the complex jargon; and fact sheets and media briefings on emerging topics. In each case, the translation of information into local languages will be key to ensuring that climate change news does not only reach urban elites.

Freely available photograph and film clips would help journalists to overcome problems of illiteracy and the vast number of local languages in which people need information. Gunawardene (2008) argues that films and television programmes about climate change should be made copyright-free after their initial broadcast to maximise their reach and promote secondary uses, such as in schools and training centres.

Another gap to fill is journalist attendance at the UN climate change negotiations. In 2007, Panos, Internews, and my organisation, the International Institute for Environment and Development, created the Climate Change Media Partnership (CCMP) to help address this. The CCMP funded nearly 40 journalists from Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean to attend the UNFCCC negotiations in Bali, Indonesia. Many of these journalists were the only reporters from their nations (e.g., Jamaica, Kenya, Laos, Myanmar, the Philippines, and Uganda) at the summit.

The CCMP provided daily briefings on the negotiations and a matchmaking service that linked journalists with negotiators, scientists, and activists to interview. The CCMP also published a roster of experts who were at the summit and happy to talk to journalists, and organised a day-long Media Clinic where 18 experts provided information and took questions on topics such as biofuels, avoided deforestation, and adap-

tation. The journalists produced more than 600 reports during the summit, including many that quoted their national negotiators. This meant that millions of people in their home countries received locally relevant information about what was going on in Bali, instead of having to rely on reports from Western news agencies.

For many journalists trying to cover climate change, the greatest barrier they face is in their own newsroom, where editors tend to consider the topic a lower priority than issues such as politics and crime. Building editorial support for climate change reporting is therefore critical. Ways of doing this include convening meetings between senior editors and climate experts (see Luis, 2008) or creating awards for media outlets that provide quality coverage of the topic. Jia (2008) suggests that media outlets form climate change "task forces" that bring together political, business, science, and environment reporters to work together for in-depth reports on climate change.

Such steps could help to shift climate change coverage from environmental stories to the more marketable political, economic, and human interest stories that currently are less often told. This sort of shift could help to attract the advertising revenue that is needed to sustain many media operations. For as the following examples show, many promising ways of improving climate change coverage, which could be replicated elsewhere, risk faltering without financial support.

- In Nigeria, the African Radio Drama Association is using funding from international donors to make climate change issues locally relevant and understandable to a rural radio audience of 200,000. In October 2008, it began broadcasting a 26-part drama serial that includes practical information about ways people can adapt to climate change (Saunders, 2008). After each episode, listeners can join a call-in discussion programme and put their questions to a local expert.
- In Bangladesh, one of the countries most at risk from climate change because of its low altitude, the *New Age* newspaper is taking a lead. It has published two major climate change supplements recently, which included detailed coverage of topics such as vulnerability, adaptation, and the ongoing climate change negotiations (*New Age*, 2007, 2008). Journalists there are now planning a twice monthly page devoted to climate change issues, with material translated into the local Bangla language, but a lack of funding is a barrier.
- In Cambodia, the first television show to bring information about climate change to rural people risks being cancelled because it is not profitable (Romero, 2008). The show was set up with funding from the UN Development Programme and the International Monetary Fund and has three paying advertisers but still needs more money to cover its US$10,000 per month production costs.

As the United Nations Development Programme's 2007 Human Development Report (UNDP, 2007: p 67) on climate change states: "The media have a critical role to play in informing and changing public opinion. Apart from their role in scrutinis-

ing government actions and holding policymakers to account, the media are the main source of information for the general public on climate change science."

It is a great irony that the countries, communities, and citizens that have contributed least to climate change will suffer most from its impacts. It is in these settings that the media is least prepared for the challenge. For people there, for the media they rely on for information, and for the sources of funding and news on which they in turn depend, it is time to adapt.