

Climate-change journalism in China: opportunities for international cooperation

By Sam Geall

Foreword by Hu Shuli

中国气候变化报道： 国际合作中的机遇

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中外对话
chinadialogue

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Foreword by Hu Shuli²

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1. Sam Geall is deputy editor of chinadialogue. The author acknowledges generous contributions to the research and analysis in this report from Li Hujun, Wang Haotong, Eliot Gao and Lisa Lin. Essential input and support were also provided by Martin Breum, Martin Gottske, Isabel Hilton, Tan Copsey, Li Dawei, Ma Ling, Hu Shuli, Bruce Lewenstein and Jia Hepeng.

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中国气候变化报道： 国际合作中的机遇

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1, 山姆·吉尔为“中外对话”副总编。本报告所做的研究和分析得到了来自李虎军、王童、高文欢、及林绮慈等人的大力帮助，作者对此表示由衷的感谢。此外，本文还获得了马丁·布里乌姆、马丁·哥特斯科、伊莎贝尔·希尔顿、谭·科普塞、李大伟（音）、马玲、胡舒立、布鲁斯·赖温斯坦、及贾鹤鹏等人的大力支持和帮助。

2, 胡舒立，财新传媒总编辑（财新传媒总部位于北京，旗下刊物包括《新世纪周刊》和《中国改革》），前《财经》杂志创始人之一，知名新闻记者。

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Foreword

By Hu Shuli

In Denmark, the United Kingdom and other countries, how to combat climate change has become a social and political issue of great importance. Against this background, more and more Chinese journalists, either out of active interest or in order to move with the times, are reporting climate-change issues.

However one looks at it, reporting on climate change represents a golden opportunity for the media. But grasping this opportunity isn't always easy.

Reporting on climate change crosses the boundaries between science, the environment, economics, politics and several other disciplines. That's why Caixin Media has chosen to work with International Media Support to create an international climate-change fellowship scheme. We hope the scheme will give our colleagues from every section of the Chinese media increased motivation and resources to tackle climate-change issues.



In conjunction with the 2010 Caixin-IMS course, *chinadialogue* deputy editor Sam Geall interviewed the 10 fellows and carried out a survey, the results of which are contained in this report.

The report describes several aspects of climate-change reporting in China, the training of journalists, their values and attitudes towards important topics, as well as problems the media faces. I think the report is of great value to both our colleagues in the media, and to both foreign and domestic organisations concerned

with improving the quality of climate-change reporting in China.

In the fight against climate change, China is coming under ever greater pressure, and is becoming increasingly open. As media, we not only have a responsibility to encourage society to pay more attention to climate change, but also have a duty to remind the public how to fight climate change effectively.

I sometimes like to compare media workers to woodpeckers, pecking not in order to knock our tree over, but to ensure it grows slightly straighter. With respect to climate change, the media also has this woodpecker role to play.

I deeply hope that research and training in this area can help the Chinese media to grasp the opportunity represented by climate-change reporting, and to keep pecking away at this crucial topic.

Introduction

How do Chinese journalists cover climate-change stories – and what opportunities for international cooperation in the field of climate-change reporting exist for funders, NGOs and governments? These are the two related questions that this report attempts to address.

The report – produced jointly by *chinadialogue*, Caixin media and International Media Support (IMS) – is based on research carried out in June 2010. The author distributed questionnaires and conducted in-depth, semi-structured interviews of participants at a climate-change fellowship for 10 journalists and editors from around China, organised by Caixin media and IMS (henceforth referred to as the Caixin-IMS course). These journalists have all been anonymised and some identifying details have been altered.

Climate-change reporting in China has significantly increased in quantity, originality and detail over the past few years. In 2010 a number of prominent newspapers, such as

Southern Weekend and *21st Century Business Herald*, introduced regular environment, climate-change or “low-carbon” sections. A wider range of opinions and angles about climate change is represented by these publications than ever before: from nationalistic denial of the science to advocacy of strong, unilateral action; from discussion of local impacts on communities facing desertification to the economic challenges facing the renewable energy sector.

But despite the growth in coverage of these issues, this report finds that obstacles remain to the publication of high quality climate-change journalism, some of which have increased in the aftermath of the United Nations Climate Conference in Copenhagen in 2009, as well the events of “Climategate” and “Glaciergate”. These include: confusion about the science of climate change; limits on access to information; and a sense that climate-change stories should reflect the “national interest”.

International cooperation has helped to create a number of opportunities for climate-change journalists, including training programmes, salons, online resources, award schemes and handbooks, but the author has identified areas for improvement – and made specific recommendations to aid the further development of projects and programmes that could encourage deeper, more relevant, creative and compelling journalism about climate change.

The report takes as its starting point that accurate and objective reporting of China's climate-change risks, impacts and policy choices is not only necessary, but also increasingly urgent. There exists a consensus among the world's scientists that the climate is changing and this is likely to have negative impacts on food, water and energy systems. These impacts include, for example, diminished crop yields in northern China, where freshwater resources are predicted to shrink due to temperature rise; and potentially catastrophic hazards in the Hindu-Kush Himalaya, the source of 10 major river

systems providing irrigation, power and drinking water for 1.3 billion people. Effective communication of such issues, therefore, is an important task: climate change is not simply a techno-scientific problem that can be solved by experts – its impacts are likely to have considerable social effects and public understanding of the issues is needed for the transition towards a carbon-constrained world.

To understand how this crucial task of climate-change communication has fared in China's changing political and media climate, the first chapter of this report focuses on the experiences of Chinese environmental journalists and their reporting of the major climate-change stories of 2009/2010, as well as wider Chinese coverage of these events. The second part of the report reviews existing international cooperation in the field of climate-change reporting. Based on these analyses, the third chapter of the publication makes recommendations for international cooperation. The fourth chapter features interviews with three experts – a veteran

environmental journalist, a science magazine editor and a professor of science communication – who give their advice on the future development of climate-change reporting in China.

NOTES

1. This report builds on a prior study by Hugo de Burgh and Zeng Rong (2010), New opportunities for climate-change and environmental journalism in China, produced by IMS and the China Media Centre. This provides a background to the development of Chinese environmental journalism and surveyed the prospects and challenges for Chinese environmental journalists in 2009, based on interviews with reporters. It found that increasing concerns about the environment had led some parts of the Chinese government to indulge, or to encourage, the kind of investigative reporting to which it was in the past hostile. Another significant earlier report by Sandy Tolan (2007) found that Chinese coverage of climate change could be divided into two distinct phases: before and after the publication of the 2007 report from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change Fourth Assessment Working Group I on climate change and its physical science basis. After the release of the report, Tolan found the emergence of China's first articles that linked global warming and greenhouse-gas emissions, but with a strong emphasis on China's inability to address the problem without sacrificing its economic development. According to James Painter's 2007 study of television coverage of the IPCC AR4 reports (cited in Shanahan 2009), China's CCTV-1 news bulletin covered the report on the science basis, but not the subsequent reports on mitigation and adaptation.



*Environmental journalist Liu Jianqiang. Photo by
Hossam el-Hamalawy.*

I. Reporting in a changing climate

BEGINNINGS

Many of the interviews with journalists on the Caixin-IMS course started with a discussion of what had motivated their initial engagements with climate change. Aside from their exposure to internationally supported climate-change training sessions – these were often cited as introductions to the topic – many journalists had more personal narratives that helped to define their different approaches to the issue.

A number of journalists had started in business and financial reporting. One reporter with a business-journalism background described a visit to Japan that impressed her: the country was clean, people recycled their trash and the landscape around Mount Fuji was still forested, she said. Another journalist had started in finance reporting and was particularly interested in the potential – and the problems – of new energy, saying:

"I report about new energy, climate change and low-carbon. When reporting about finance, we often explore the

underside of things [such as financial scandals] – and I hope I can keep this kind of style."

Others started out in beats more closely related to climate change: one reporter came from environmental reporting and slowly learned about the links between the climate and other green topics while covering a drought in the Three Gorges region. Another journalist had more an interest in reporting social problems and rights issues and was interested in the links between the environment and human rights, saying:

"[The environment and human rights] are certainly related. Environmental degradation problems exist in both east and west China, but to different degrees. Because of the backward economy, the local governments of west China would rather pursue GDP at the expense of the environment [...] I think, if health and the right to life cannot be guaranteed, how can we talk about human rights?"

SCIENTIFIC OBSTACLES

A common theme among almost all of the journalists' initial narratives of themselves was their perceived lack of scientific education. Among the participants in the course, only one had any university-level scientific training, the rest had studied journalism or disciplines in the humanities, such as sociology or philosophy. One said:

"Many journalists like me don't have a scientific background, so we can only get information from scientists, NGOs and the government. I think our biggest obstacle is that we don't have good training on climate-change issues and scientific topics."

Participants on the Caixin-IMS course frequently repeated this sentiment. Another, related opinion was that science-reporting training did not necessarily include environmental topics. One said:

"There are few professional environmental reporters in China. Most environmental reporters are science reporters."

Another reporter not only traced this problem to reporters' backgrounds, but also said that Chinese science was itself undeveloped, claiming:

"In China, environmental science has only started in recent years, so the scientific discussions and research among Chinese scientists are limited – and still lagging behind western countries."

APPROACHING SCIENTISTS

Journalists not only had differing and complex relationships to science, but also to scientists. One reporter described meeting Chinese and non-Chinese scientists at the United Nations Climate-Change Conference in Copenhagen, Denmark, in December 2009 (COP15) and having had many informative discussions with them. (A small minority of journalists on the Caixin-IMS course had attended the COP15 conference). Another journalist had used scientists not only as on-the-record sources, but also as deeper, background contacts – to help her distinguish reliable information from rumours and to explain complex scientific questions. Her perhaps exemplary journalistic relationship with scientists is worth quoting in full:

“[I interview scientists] frequently, because I need to make sure if [the story] is worthwhile or a rumour, then decide to spend time to investigate. I make contact with some top scientists – this is a relationship we build through interviews. If they think you are responsible and your media is reliable,

they will be willing to talk with you and teach you – since you are not very professional and do not know the issue very well. In my last report, I interviewed a leading scientist in climate change in China. He is very responsible and carefully chose words, and he gave me many materials, journals and even reports and magazines to help me to do an accurate report. After the interview, I sent him emails to ask some questions to make sure of some information, and he gave me brief answers.”

However, many other participants had never interviewed scientists, nor used them as background sources. All of the participants on the Caixin-IMS course had written about the climate in terms of its policy implications and often its regional impacts, but only one had written about it from a global scientific perspective, in an article about the El Niño/La Niña phenomenon (a climate pattern that occurs across the tropical Pacific Ocean, which can cause extreme weather). None had ever written about, for instance, sea-level rise, temperature tipping points or melting ice-sheets.

One reporter said: “I have not interviewed any scientists,” though she explained that she had interviewed professors – from other, non-scientific disciplines – about climate-change topics. Asked how she developed those contacts, the reporter said that her media organisation keeps a database of relevant contacts, but she has no personal contacts for background on either scientific or non-scientific topics. She said:

“I don’t do this work [building relationships with contacts]. We have staff working on this, and they organise all the information and the people we contact – just like a file.”

APPROACHING OTHER INTERVIEWS

Every participant on the course cited interviews – of experts, officials or people affected by climate change – as sources for their climate-change reporting, but relationships with their interviewees differed.

As mentioned above, one reporter had only a database of contacts maintained by the news organisation and rarely called people to check stories. On the other end of the scale, another said that for an environmental pollution investigation (not directly related to climate change), he had interviewed more than 100 people – including experts, officials and locals. Another had interviewed rural Chinese “climate-change migrants” displaced from their villages by a prolonged drought, a story that was facilitated by an international NGO: the journalist visited the site for one and a half days in the context of a group visit, with several reporters from different media outlets.

Others had large numbers of close contacts in official and expert circles. For instance, one said:

"I have a good personal relationship with China's climate-change negotiators and experts in the field of climate change, so I can call them to ask what they and their peers have done recently. I also maintain a good relationship with some think-tanks and research institutes whose many suggestions are accepted by government, such as the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the National Development and Reform Commission and Tsinghua University – and experts in these institutions are willing to use the media to expand their influence."

However, in most cases relationships with scientists and other experts were said to be easier to develop and maintain than relationships with officials. One journalist explained these different types of relationships, saying:

"It is easy to make contact with scholars and get some information from them, but dealing with officials is quite different. When the information is beneficial to the government, officials are willing to offer it to journalists, but

when things are negative, it's hard to get information from officials. Nowadays China has economic development as its central task – so everything has to make way for economic development."

Consequently, one tactic for gauging official opinions is to consult government-linked members of the academy. The same reporter said:

"I use a method from investigative reporting to do climate-change reporting: I find a scholar who has a good relationship with an official [who has refused an interview]. In China, sometimes the government lets some scientists help them with research projects, so I contact the scholars in charge of the project and get information from them. Also in China, many things involve several departments in their operations, if one of these doesn't offer me any information, I will ask another."

He also suggested a few supplementary tactics for maintaining good relationships with scientists. These are worth quoting in full:

"First, I show a lot of respect to scientists and scholars. Second, I ask for permission before I publish the research or opinions of scientists – which has the advantage that they can point to any faults in my reporting of their work. Third, I try to report better than other journalists, so the scientists will be more likely to accept future interview requests from me. Finally, I like to send cards or messages to them during festivals [such as Chinese New Year]."

Along similar lines, another reporter suggested building relationships with scientists at conferences and seminars. But regarding contact with officials, almost everyone agreed that they were more difficult to interview than scientists, and some were thought to be more difficult than others. One reporter claimed that the most important officials in China's climate-change policy-making were the most difficult to approach, saying:

"Officials from the National Development and Reform Commission – the most important force in climate-change policy in China – are the most difficult

to interview. When they are interviewed, they will express their opinions, but they won't talk about numbers and specific measures. Moreover, the information is not transparent enough. In China, a journalist needs to build personal relationships with experts and research institutes [instead]."

This reporter and others felt the lack of official transparency was the greatest obstacle facing climate-change reporting in China. On this topic, one journalist said:

"Information is not transparent enough. The government contacts the media only when the government needs to express something in the media, but the government rarely grants interview requests and officials often just speak in official language."

Others made similar remarks, saying interviews with high officials were difficult to arrange because "there are many things they cannot say" or because "they don't like to show their faces in public". Evidence for such statements came from one journalist's

account of the Copenhagen climate-change conference: she found that that outside of official press conferences it was “difficult to stop the officials”, although, the reporter added, “you can try your luck”. She said:

“When [lead negotiator] Xie Zhenhua was walking to the press room, I stopped him, but I couldn't get satisfying answers. I tried a couple of times to stop [negotiator] Su Wei, but I couldn't get much information from him either.”

Interestingly, this situation seems to be changing: since this interview was conducted, this same reporter and others found that at the UN climate conference in Tianjin, northeast China, in October 2010, Xie Zhenhua and the Chinese delegation were more accessible to press and NGOs than before, organising occasional group interviews and discussions with NGO representatives. This also seemed to be true at the COP16 meeting in Cancun, Mexico, in December 2010.

INFORMATION SOURCES

As for the other sources that inform climate-change reporting, all of the participants said they used information from the official Chinese news agencies, such as Xinhua and China News Service. All had cited reports or releases from environmental NGOs. Only a few said that they used reports from international news agencies, such as Reuters or the Associated Press. One reporter who used international news agency reports said the most useful types of information were polls or surveys about ordinary people's opinions on environmental topics in other countries.

Most said they had referred to scientific reports that collect together or condense peer-reviewed research, but only a few said they had read individual peer-reviewed scientific papers. One remarked that such reports were more objective than the domestic news coverage that reported them, saying:

“[I use] research reports and papers from national and international

scientists. I don't believe domestic news reports, and prefer to seek the original source of the information, because some domestic media neglect objectivity and balance in reporting in order to attract people's attention."

Another quite typical description of the sources for climate-change reporting included a wide range of international sources, from NGOs to scientific institutions:

"In every article, there are many different news sources. I get sources from research institutions in China and the US – they do a good job and send me emails very quickly. Also Greenpeace, Oxfam and other NGOs, some scientists from China or other countries and some organisations, such as the IPCC."

Other sources that journalists had cited included blogs, other Chinese newspapers, government ministry information websites – and even, in the case of one reporter, the apocalyptic Hollywood movie *2012*. One journalist interested in the

business side of climate change said that internet bulletin board systems (BBSs) that focus on particular industries or sectors can be useful for tips and leads:

"If you want to find some secret stories or 'dirty things' [such as financial irregularities], you can go to some BBSs, where people publish information – and then confirm the stories with others in the company. It is very powerful, because now in China there are many solar and wind energy companies and I can find many deep stories in their BBSs."

The prevalence as a source – and perceived trustworthiness – of environmental NGO materials was one notable feature of the interviews. One reporter described NGOs as "very kind" to journalists. Another journalist – who was relatively new to environmental reporting – describing her experience at the Copenhagen climate conference, said that NGOs were useful in shaping her analysis:

"I got quite good analysis from NGOs, such as Greenpeace, WWF and Oxfam and others. They gave me daily comments so I could write analysis."

The reporter noted that NGOs were particularly helpful for newcomers to the field, since they have media teams working in Chinese. This was evident at the Tianjin climate-change talks also, where environmental NGOs coming from various standpoints – from the more technically focused World Resources Institute to the strongly pro-developing-world Third World Network – had developed links with Chinese journalists and arranged press briefings and group interviews in Chinese. But this same journalist noted that it was not enough to simply use information from such organisations, without incorporating other sources, saying:

"I need to be more objective and complete – so their analysis is a starting point, you can't just rely on it."

EDITORS' ATTITUDES

Asked about their editors' support for climate-change reporting, some writers seemed to have very helpful and environmentally inclined editors. One journalist from a state-owned media outlet cited the influence of government attitudes on editors, saying:

"My [media organisation] follows the orders of the government, and the government now lets the media report about new energy – so [the media organisation] cares about this kind of news very much."

Similarly, another participant said that her newspaper had developed a strong editorial interest in the impact of climate-change policy on business:

"After receiving the [carbon intensity] reduction goals [from the government], my newspaper became very concerned with how enterprises will perform. My newspaper is a financial newspaper, so most of our readers are officials or people working in enterprises."

Some editors who participated in the training course clearly had made climate-change reporting a priority for their media outlets. One editor said that he had established an award for climate-change reporting within his newspaper:

“Every year we choose the most outstanding journalist in our newspaper – and I set up a new award called “best low-carbon person” – for someone who knows a lot about low-carbon lifestyles and pays more attention to eco-friendly issues and writes about that issue.”

However, others mentioned divisions between editors, or between editors and journalists. In one case, a reporter discussed how to cover the complicated world of climate-change policy-making, which understandably appeared to some editors as jargon-heavy and detached from ordinary readers' lives. She said:

“There is always a struggle in our editorial department: on one side, we try to be more professional, sensitive

and accurate, but on the other hand, we need to tell stories to our readers, and connect climate change to their daily lives. For example, recently we did a report about the Bonn [climate change] conference [in Germany], [but] it did not sell well. People were not concerned about what happened in Bonn – but it attracted professional readers [...] So in my subsequent reporting, I covered the same stories, but the language was clearer so that ordinary readers had no obstacles to understanding.”

The same journalist added that she had to work hard to convince her editors of the social relevance of climate-change reporting, which some of them saw as little more than a trend – or even a financial bubble. There was a sense that environmental issues other than climate change were more readable and more directly relevant to ordinary people, a point one participant returns to below.

SEMINARS AND SALONS

Further evidence of many publishers' and editors' interest in climate-change topics is that some newspapers, including at least one Beijing-based newspaper and one newspaper with a large Beijing office, organise and encourage regular seminars or “salons” with environmental experts – some of which are semi-public events, others “closed-door” sessions – for the benefit of their journalists' education on climate-change topics and in order to burnish the newspaper's credibility on climate-change issues in the eyes of relevant experts. One reporter described her newspaper's salons:

“[Our newspaper] has a salon for journalists, experts and officials – and it is not open to journalists from other newspapers. The [experts and officials] can tell us some stories and it is helpful. [...] We have organised four salons on different topics: the first was about clean technology, the second about emissions reductions. We invite about 10 experts and officials for each salon.”

Many of the participants on the training course had attended such

seminars and salons, some organised by their media organisations, some by international and domestic NGOs, some by foreign governments and related institutions. For many, the Caixin-IMS course was not their first climate-change training event or fellowship. For example, one reporter had recently been to an internationally funded training course in Thailand. She said:

“I joined a course in Thailand [organised by an international NGO]. It taught us how to train our colleagues. In this course, I communicated with many foreign environmental reporters and we shared our views. There were three or four reporters working for the BBC. At that time, I was writing a story about the IPCC – and the trainers and some of the reporters gave me suggestions.”

Seminars and training sessions are key sites where environmental journalists interact and share experiences. Other venues include email lists and other online discussion groups for environmental journalists. A few of the participants belonged to professional

organisations, such as the Chinese Environmental Journalists Association, but they were in the minority, and some said they had few opportunities to meet their peers.

This was even more the case for journalists from outside Beijing, who found a much smaller range of environmental educational activities available to them. Reporters from outside the capital could cite seminars or talks that had happened in their area – usually organised by international environmental NGOs – but these were far less frequent and less focused on environmental reporting skills.

REPORTING THE NATIONAL INTEREST

As in a number of examples above, government policy was often cited as having given positive encouragement to climate-change reporting. For example, one reporter said:

“With help from the media and the government, we can try to deliver all our stories in clear language.”

However, when reporting the sensitive and sometimes controversial arena of international climate-change politics – which has become an important part of China's image on the world stage – journalists often described a sense of divided loyalties: at once upholding objectivity, while defending the national interest.

One state media reporter said her role was to juggle, on the one hand, acting as a government mouthpiece, on the other, working as a journalist. For others, the conflict was more subtle. A journalist from a local newspaper said that an awareness of the Chinese national interest was naturalised or internalised by Chinese reporters and thus inevitable, adding that reporters

from western countries display similar predispositions. She said:

"The national interests are deep in my mind, so I naturally think for the nation, but it doesn't mean I will tell lies or ignore some negative information. I try to talk with American or European experts and write in a non-biased way."

A similar opinion was expressed by another journalist, who said that the national interest was an inescapable consideration for a reporter:

"We need to consider the position of our country. We try our best to write in terms of universal values and with a global perspective, but sometimes it is inevitable to think about the national interest."

However, some reporters understood the national interest in different ways. One editor from a state publication said that he agreed with the Chinese government's stance on climate change, but added that he still had a responsibility: being motivated by the national interest could drive the

media's desire to shape government policy in positive ways, as well as to defend it. He said:

"I think we should push the government to do more, such as to adopt certain policies – and encourage companies to do more environmental protection."

CONTROVERSY AND “BALANCE”

Participants at the Caixin-IMS course had a wide range of views about the purposes and values of climate-change journalism, particularly when confronted with controversy. Asked about the science of climate change – which has become increasingly controversial in the light of “Climategate” and “Glaciergate” (see below for further discussion of these events and how they were reported in China) – all of the participants said they believed that climate change is now occurring, but none of them believed that the science of human-caused global warming was “settled”.

Perhaps surprisingly, some expressed scepticism about the human causes of climate change, while others tended to support the scientific consensus expressed by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC): the international body that reviews and assesses recent scientific, technical and socio-economic information about climate change. However, as discussed above, almost all of the reporters felt they were unqualified to make scientific judgements. Therefore many

felt that they were compelled to continue covering “both sides” of any controversies around climate-change science. On this point, many expressed a commitment to journalistic “balance” and presenting two sides to such stories.

One newspaper reporter discussed the difficulties she discovered in covering such scientific controversies, concluding that her only option was to cover the political nature of the controversy, rather than assessing the scientific accuracy or validity of the claims being made. She said:

“The IPCC made several mistakes, such as ‘Climategate’ and ‘Glaciergate’ [...] You should put all the scandals together and find out what is behind them, rather than writing about the scandal itself [...] It’s hard for me to talk about scientific uncertainty. I avoid discussing science, but write about the ways that scientific reports depend on political power. Foreign and Chinese scientists admit that political power influences science. So we try to explore this nature, beyond the IPCC’s scientific scandal [...] Global

warming is in dispute in the science world, and as a journalist I cannot say either yes or no – journalists shouldn't engage themselves in it.”

Another journalist said that his lack of confidence in assessing the scientific merit of controversial stories led him to report such situations from two sides:

“I don't discuss science in the newspaper, because I don't have enough scientific knowledge to make a judgement. I reported things like 'Glaciergate' and 'Climategate' and I remained neutral: I reported opinions from both sides and I was not partial to either side.”

A reporter from a state-owned newspaper had a different, though related, standpoint: that balance was necessary for reporters to maintain, even if they had come to a conclusion. He said:

“Personally, I believe in climate change and it is related to everyone, so I pay attention to people who believe it, and most of my information sources are

scientists who believe in climate change. But we also should pay attention to those who don't believe it – to maintain balance.”

But significantly, everyone interviewed on the Caixin-IMS course agreed that individuals have a responsibility to reduce their reliance on fossil fuels, and that the media have a responsibility to encourage this change. For example, one reporter said:

“[One expert] told me that climate change is like the 'butterfly effect': your personal lifestyle can affect the global climate – and I agree with this. I often quote this in my articles, because my readers are ordinary people and I use my articles to let them know that their lifestyles can affect the climate – and it is about them, not only a big topic.”

LOW-CARBON DEVELOPMENT

This apparent contradiction – between disagreement about the causes of climate change and agreement on the need to encourage low-carbon lifestyles – can be explained: every participant on the course thought that China had economic advantages to grasp in energy efficiency, clean technology and carbon trading – and that carbon emissions reduction can bring environmental and health co-benefits.

In other words, there was unanimous support for “win-win” low-carbon policies, even if not all of the reporters were convinced of the urgency of greenhouse-gas mitigation to address global warming. On the questionnaire circulated to participants, one reporter responded to a question about the certainty of global warming: “No comment. But I think that we need to reduce the use of fossil fuels and carry out economic restructuring anyway”. This opinion came through strongly in most of the journalists' enthusiasm for low-carbon development topics, regardless

of their views about climate-change science. For example, one editor said:

“The climate-change issue is not just an argument between politicians: it's good for the boss whose company can reduce costs, and it helps every person to live a better lifestyle [...] [A friend of mine] went to the United States, and was surprised that there is so often a blue sky – this is the other reason I report climate change: protecting the environment is good for your children and your parents.”

The only dissent from this view came from journalists who feared that the climate-change agenda could distract from other environmental issues that might have a more direct impact on ordinary people's lives. For example, one said:

“I think the most urgent problem is not climate change but water pollution. However, the media do not pay enough attention to those problems. It's persistent organic pollutants (POPs), heavy metal pollution and air pollution that really kill people. But climate

change is a political issue and it's about the face of the country – so I must try my best [as a reporter]. But I object to the fact that every conference is talking about climate change – it's too much. Water pollution and climate change should both be noticed.”

This reporter's main interest in low-carbon development was how it could directly help China's vulnerable populations. She explained:

“I hope in future the CDM [Clean Development Mechanism] will be able to help more poor areas. For example, I know it supports biomass generation in some areas, and in one case there is a company providing free solar power to peasants.”

THE COPENHAGEN CLIMATE CONFERENCE

According to the participants of the Caixin-IMS course, the three most significant climate-change stories in China in 2009/2010 were: the Copenhagen climate-change conference in December 2009; the so-called “Climategate” and “Glaciergate” climate-science scandals that emerged around the same time; and the drought in southwest China in late 2009 and early 2010.

As readers of this report will no doubt recall, COP15 was held in Copenhagen in December 2009. After two weeks of difficult, heated talks involving negotiators and many heads of state including the Chinese premier, 188 countries reached a limited agreement – known as the Copenhagen Accord – to continue global efforts to reduce greenhouse-gas emissions. The deal restated many of the goals of the Bali Action Plan of 2007 and recognised that average global temperatures should not rise more than two degrees Celsius, but it fell short of the legally binding deal most had hoped for.

自北京

腰站在起跑
只可惜枪声

本月初进行
特许权招标
上风电特许
。此前的延
“一些工作

是中国自
度，以来
上风电特
国家即将

枪响之前，
电力企业之
草拟了数十
海上风电

电产业招商
未记者，虽
但江苏盐
得或者即
与投资的
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则成为中
力控股有
德国索拉
的对象。
很多，但
自己想要

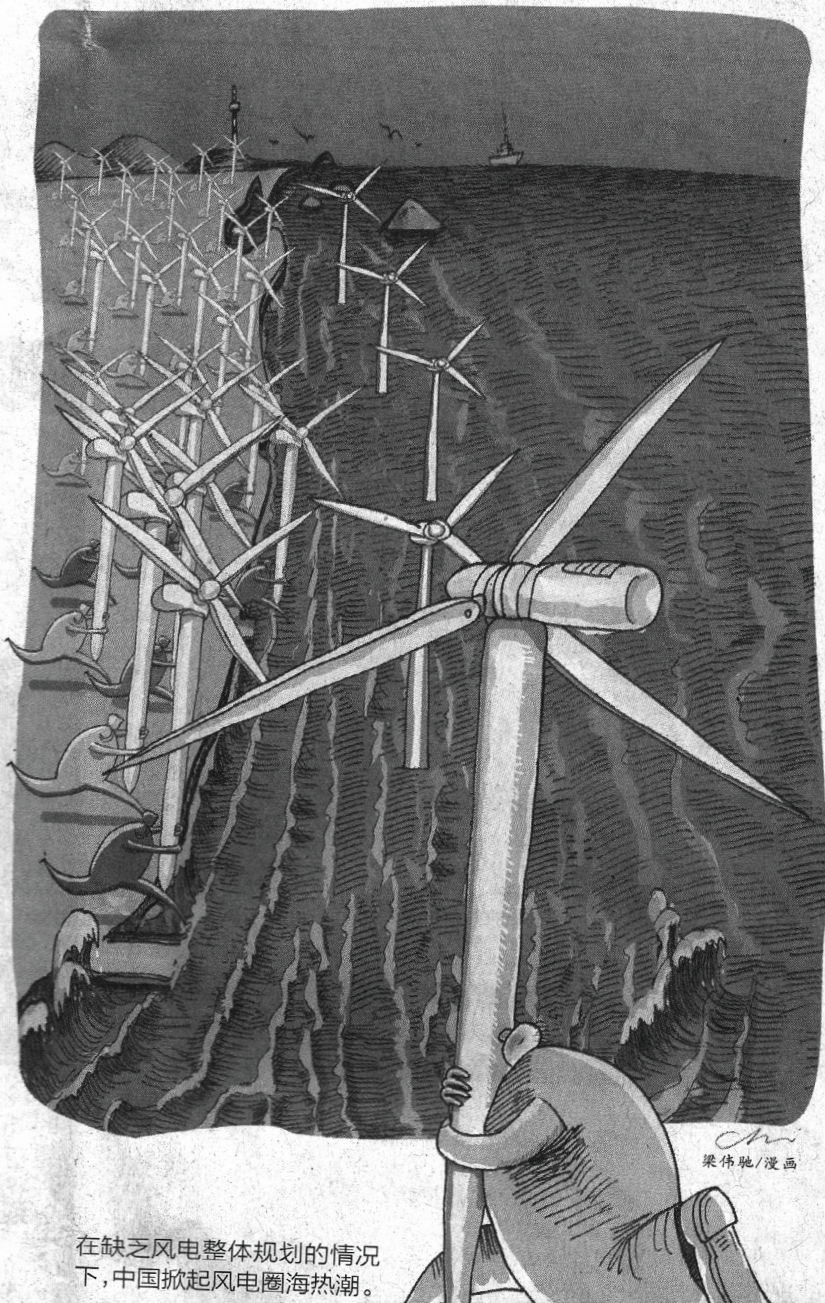
市风电场
总容量的

海”的一

市，也拥
根据规
电资源
编号为
权招标。
到了当
标其中
本确定

海上风电是个早产儿

风电圈海隐忧重重



在缺乏风电整体规划的情况下，中国掀起风电圈海热潮。

A cartoon illustrates an article about offshore wind energy in Southern Weekend newspaper.

正因为如此，从年初开始，电力企业和风机设备企业纷纷布局江苏。以至江苏发改委宏观经济研究院院长顾卫东感慨“江苏沿海适合发展海上风电的海域基本已经

等国家发改委的批准。”

不差钱，很差钱？

“这些协议基本都是上千亿的

乎也只有央企拿得出来。

作为占据全球总装机容量比例不超过 1.3% 的海上风电，缘何受到电力巨头们的青睐？事实上，海上风

Prior to the conference, China announced a domestically binding target to reduce the carbon intensity of its economy – that is, the carbon dioxide emitted per unit of GDP – by 40% to 45% by 2020 compared to 2005 levels. However, a major sticking point of negotiations became how to monitor such emissions targets from developing countries. China's role in the talks and their outcome – including the country's standoff with the US and other developed countries, and its increasingly close relationship with India and other emerging economies – became a controversial element of the media narrative that emerged, in China and the rest of the world.

At least one participant in the Caxin-IMS course reported the “Danish text”: a leaked draft agreement that was published in *The Guardian* newspaper, which developing nations interpreted as giving more power to rich countries and sidelining the UN's role in future negotiations. The journalist said: “Because we did not have many things to report in the first

week [of the conference], this was the first big story we covered.”

One reporter covered the NGO protests and other civil-society activity outside the Copenhagen summit: an “interesting, not serious” article, she said. She also reported on the daily routine of the Chinese negotiating team: “where they lived, their daily work and what kinds of difficulties they confronted.” One interviewed the key members of the negotiating team, Xie Zhenhua and Su Wei, and wrote a story based on interviews with climate-change sceptics at – or more likely, outside – the conference.

On the whole, the Chinese media saw the Copenhagen conference as a significant event from the outset: one business newspaper saw fit to employ the popular film actress Li Bingbing as a celebrity correspondent at Copenhagen. Reporters at the Caxin-IMS course who had not attended the Copenhagen conference, but reported about it from China, tended to have covered COP15 in terms of its likely impact on low-carbon

economic development. One reporter interviewed the CEOs of Chinese renewable energy companies to ask their views of the conference.

In the immediate aftermath of the conference, some Chinese articles started to analyse why the talks had apparently failed, generally blaming the breakdown on western countries' unwillingness to cooperate or share technological information, or on the growing divide between developed and developing countries at the talks (for example, see European Council on Foreign Relations 2010).

However, most state-media reporting took a strong defensive line about China's role at Copenhagen. Two widely read articles in *The Guardian* newspaper – one by then UK climate secretary Ed Miliband and the other by the journalist Mark Lynas – seemed to accuse China and its allies of “hijacking” the conference to prevent a substantive deal being made. In direct response, state news agency Xinhua reported that: “China showed the greatest sincerity, tried

its best and played a constructive role” at Copenhagen. Many articles asserted that Copenhagen had not been a failure at all, citing successes such as commitments from developed countries on financial assistance. A series of articles in the state media tried to put the record straight regarding various allegations that emerged, such as that the Chinese premier had “snubbed” the US president during the talks.

“CLIMATEGATE” AND “GLACIERGATE”

Around a month before the Copenhagen conference, hackers revealed they had obtained thousands of emails and other documents from the Climatic Research Unit at the University of East Anglia, in the UK. Global-warming sceptics immediately claimed that the emails revealed misconduct among scientists – allegations that received widespread media coverage around the world at the time of the Copenhagen climate conference, but were later rejected by three official inquiries.

Shortly after COP15, it emerged that researchers for the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) had overestimated the rate at which the Himalayan glaciers could melt as a result of global warming: they had cited an environmental NGO study that quoted inaccurate remarks from a scientist to a journalist. Frequently presented together as “Climategate” and “Glaciergate”, these two stories apparently struck a blow to public confidence in climate-change science (for an example of the effects

on public opinion in the US, see Leiserowitz et al 2010).

Many journalists on the Caixin-IMS course found these two stories newsworthy since they seemed to point to the underlying politics of an otherwise dry scientific debate. One reporter suggested: “You should put all the scandals together and find out what is behind them, rather than writing about the scandal itself.” Others covered the “Climategate” story as part of their Copenhagen coverage, in the interests of maintaining “balance”. However, the “Glaciergate” story was covered more in China than the email leak, according to some journalists, because the issue of the melting glaciers more directly concerns China's water security and thus has obvious relevance.

On the whole, Chinese reports about “Climategate” and “Glaciergate” during Copenhagen did not differ greatly from international news agency coverage, but in late January, shortly after the “Glaciergate” story

低碳阴谋

LOW-CARBON PLOT

中国与欧美的生死之战

低碳，是人类未来的生存之路，还是欧美打压中国的利器？

黑天鹅品牌旗下本土财经作家 勾红杨 著

Cover image of Low-carbon Plot by
Gou Hongyang

had emerged, international and Chinese news agencies reported that Xie Zhenhua, then China's top climate-change envoy, had said he was "keeping an open mind on whether global warming was man-made or the result of natural cycles". The comment was later defended in the state media by Lü Xuedu, deputy director of the National Climate Center, who said at least 10% of the world's climate scientists in the world do not believe in anthropogenic climate change. "Their views have pushed forward the progress of climatic science," Lü reportedly said.

Scepticism of the climate-change consensus also appeared in some

media outlets around that time, particularly in contributions from – or interviews with – Chinese climate-change-sceptic authors like Bai Haijun, author of *Carbon Empire* (Bai 2010), and Gou Hongyang, whose book *Low-carbon Plot* (Gou 2010) mainly recycles a number of popular sceptical arguments from the west, as well as suggesting climate-change science is part of a western plot to contain China. For example, Gou writes:

"Humanity's actions — industrialisation — is it really the primary source of carbon dioxide? It evidently is not. [...] Behind the back of the demonising of 'carbon', we must recognise that it is the sinister intention of the developed

countries to attempt to use 'carbon' to block the living space of the developing countries."

However, some of the media attention given to the book has been critical. Magazines like *Science News Bi-weekly* have provided counter-arguments to the sceptics, while a state media editorial (Zhu 2010) specifically took issue with Bai's *Carbon Empire*, suggesting mitigation was still a worthwhile goal, despite the short-term economic consequences:

"It will not help to merely interpret whatever the developed countries do to us as a conspiracy [...] True, by cutting the emissions of carbon dioxide by a large margin, our economic growth will undoubtedly drop and as a result, we will not be able to create enough jobs. [...] Yet, that does not mean we have enough reason to slacken our efforts in raising energy efficiency and reducing the pollutants our industries discharge."

THE DROUGHT

From late 2009 through early 2010, the worst drought in a century affected more than 50 million people across southwest China. Rivers shrunk to between 30% and 80% of their usual volume and some dried up completely. Yunnan province was hit the hardest, with the drought reportedly affecting 85% of the province's land. Amid worries about impacts on food security and hydroelectric output, Chinese premier Wen Jiabao toured the region in February and urged local authorities to make drought relief their top priority. Some countries in the Mekong River basin, which were also hit by drought, suggested China had failed to release enough water from dams upstream, a claim that China denied.

None of the reporters on the Caixin-IMS course were based in southwest China. However, some had briefly reported the story or used it as a background to wider reports about climate-change impacts. One said: "I asked why the drought happened. I had a personal talk with the leader of the China Meteorological Administration,

and he told me one of the reasons for the drought was climate change.” Asked about the effects of the drought on Mekong countries, he said: “I am interested in this topic, but I didn't write about it. [...] There are some international rivers in China, and we should pay attention to people living along the rivers.”

By contrast, another reporter said: “We write stories about the lives of ordinary people, such as those affected by the drought in southwest China, or by flooding or other extreme weather. But because there is still no hard evidence supporting climate change – and weather systems are very complex – I cannot say that extreme weather is the consequence of climate change, but only describe people's lives.”

As for coverage in the wider Chinese media, poor rainfall and unseasonably high temperatures were responsible for the drought, the official news agency Xinhua said. State media reports played an important role in suggesting that climatic changes were

to blame for drought in downstream Mekong countries, rather than Chinese dam projects. One state media report quoted a hydropower official saying that on the contrary, Chinese dams had helped drought-stricken downstream countries, since they “helped to manage water flow by storing water in the rainy season and releasing water in the dry season.”

However, the *Economic Observer* newspaper and *Phoenix Weekly* magazine both published commentaries by the historian and public intellectual Qin Hui that suggested China's strategy on the Mekong River had been misjudged – and that greater transparency was needed to understand the positive and negative downstream impacts of hydropower projects.

CONCLUSIONS

For many on the Caixin-IMS course, international cooperation had provided the initial introduction to climate-change reporting. For others, internationally supported projects had offered help in their professional development as environmental reporters. International funding had enabled some to attend international events such as the Copenhagen climate conference, contributing significantly to the reporters' understanding of climate change – and hopefully that of their readers, too.

Many reporters, though disproportionately those from Beijing, had attended internationally funded courses and fellowships, many of these organised by environmental NGOs, others by media development NGOs or governments. Such seminars and salons were described as providing important opportunities for environmental journalists: to meet other reporters; to discuss reporting tactics and strategies; to develop deeper background knowledge about key issues; and to cultivate contacts and sources for stories.

Salons were repeatedly referred to as sites for learning and interaction regarding environmental topics. However, the interviews also exposed certain obstacles and weaknesses in Chinese climate-change journalism, which could be better addressed by international cooperation and offer important opportunities or areas for future exploration for funders. The obstacles to better reporting, as they currently stand, are set out below; specific recommendations are detailed in chapter 3.

Most journalists and editors on the Caixin-IMS course viewed climate change as a technical issue – of concern to scientists, bureaucrats, business owners and professionals in industries like carbon trading – but removed from ordinary lives. For some, it seemed obvious that farmers or urban workers would not be concerned about climate change, despite the fact that scarce water and rising food prices, to name only two potential social impacts, are issues of great relevance to many people's lives.

This led to the opinion that since climate change is a scientific issue, Chinese journalists are impeded by a lack of scientific training. Indeed, many journalists seemed unclear about certain scientific issues: for example, some confused climate-change mitigation with other sorts of pollution reduction. But it was also clear that few journalists had established contact with scientists, who can help provide the deep background and fact-checking needed for such stories, even when a journalist does not have scientific training.

Journalists on the Caixin-IMS course also made few distinctions between different groups of scientists and their specialised knowledges, giving the impression that experts represented an undifferentiated group. Some, though not all, reporters viewed this group as naturally allied with government or business. This lack of differentiation between scientists – and a lack of clear understanding of their role in society – helps those scientists that make unreliable public statements about fields other than

their own, such as climate science. It also means journalists are sometimes too reliant on environmental NGOs for their analysis. The events of “Glaciergate”, in particular, should warn journalists against single-sourced stories on scientific topics, especially if they have neither read the peer-reviewed literature nor conducted background interviews with scientists.

The sense that journalists were unqualified to make assessments of scientific issues often encouraged participants on the Caixin-IMS course to strive for “balance” on issues of climate-change science, specifically by contrasting “believers” with “sceptics”. This represents the debate about climate change as being unsettled by scientists and comprising two sides. However, this can be misleading: the IPCC consensus¹ is an updated assessment of peer-reviewed scientific research, whereas climate-change “scepticism” rarely has the same scientific pedigree. (To read more about this topic, see Oreskes and Conway 2010).

Many reporters cited the lack of official transparency as the most significant obstacle facing Chinese journalists. Few participants on the Caixin-IMS course were aware of China's open government information law, introduced in May 2008, which should provide an avenue for journalists and environmental advocates to request environmental information disclosure from companies and government agencies. A recent survey of the law's implementation in its first two years found environmental protection bureaus routinely reject disclosure requests, often because bureaus are failing to collect data; because information has been classified as confidential under state secrets laws; or because bureaus do not have the staff capacity or training to respond to requests (Zhang et al 2010).

Finally, many reporters on the Caixin-IMS course felt that climate-change reporting after Copenhagen had become an issue of significance regarding China's standing the world: giving it not only increased importance as a news topic, but also

putting journalists under greater pressure to defend or at least consider the "national interest" in climate-change negotiations. This presents a potential challenge for international support: some Chinese environmentalists speculate, for example, that international funding for climate-change journalism is intended to promote rich countries' interests at climate talks. This underscores the need for careful, open and constructive approaches to international cooperation that encourage a discussion and a plurality of views about the divisive aspects of climate politics, rather than providing simple answers.

NOTES

1. Two of the IPCC's notable conclusions are: "Warming of the climate system is unequivocal, as is now evident from observations of increases in global average air and ocean temperatures, widespread melting of snow and ice, and rising global average sea level." And: "Most of the observed increase in globally averaged temperatures since the mid-20th century is very likely due to the observed increase in anthropogenic greenhouse gas concentrations." Here "very likely" specifically denotes 90% or more certainty.

2. The role of international bodies in climate journalism

COOPERATION

How have international actors supported climate-change journalism in China? To answer this question, the report here looks at some existing examples of international cooperation in this field. Rather than being an exhaustive survey, this section is intended to highlight some key examples, in order to suggest possible pathways for cooperation and areas for future development.

One international body supporting and training climate-change journalism in China is the British Council, an organisation supported “at arm’s length” by the UK government, which promotes educational and cultural opportunities outside Britain. These include climate-reporting training sessions in Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Chongqing and other cities, which the British Council claims have so far trained around 1,600 journalists. The British Council has also organised an award for climate change reporting; put online two training modules for media – an introduction to climate change and to international negotiations; and sent

journalists to the Copenhagen climate change conference.

The British Council also supports a web-based organisation, the Climate Change Journalists Club (CCJC), which aims to improve Chinese journalism about climate change. The CCJC has organised field-trips for journalists, including a trip in 2008 for environmental reporters to look at the effects of climate change on the Tibetan plateau. The week-long trip, funded by the Heinrich Boell Foundation of Germany, led to the publication of a bilingual book, *Warming Tibet*, which collected together the journalists’ articles. The CCJC, this time supported by the British Council, also produced a book for use by Chinese climate-change reporters, called *Handbook on Reporting Climate Change*, written in Chinese by veteran science journalists and published with the China Science and Technology Exchange Center, a legally independent organisation affiliated to the Ministry of Science and Technology. This collected together information about climate

change, including the science of global warming, the low-carbon economy and international climate diplomacy, with suggested angles and methods for reporting the issue. An electronic version of the handbook can be downloaded for free from the CCJC website.

Another internationally supported professional organisation is the China Science Reporting Network (CSRN), founded with sponsorship from DuPont, an American chemical company that has also supported environmental awards schemes in China as part of its corporate social responsibility portfolio. CSRN is an online platform for Chinese science reporters to communicate with scientists, academics and public information officials. According to its website, CSRN has organised online and offline activities to help encourage responsible science reporting. The website features a number of articles in Chinese exploring these issues in depth. The government-supported Chinese Society for Science and Technology Journalism does not seem

to receive international support, but it is a member of the World Federation of Science Journalists.

A number of other organisations have supported climate-change journalism training workshops in China, including the International Center for Communication Development. For example, the Caixin-IMS course in 2009 and 2010 supported groups of 10 Chinese reporters, training them in climate-change reporting in Beijing and Copenhagen. The Global Campaign for Climate Change Action also recently supported a one-day climate-change journalism training workshop before the UN climate-change talks in Tianjin, hosted by Greenpeace and *chinadialogue*.

It is worth noting that some of these internationally supported trainings, seminars and salons are similar to events organised by domestic Chinese NGOs, such as the Green Reporters' Salon, founded by Chinese environmental journalist Wang Yongchen, which runs monthly Beijing-based seminars

on green topics, from climate justice to environmental anthropology and earthquakes, as well as excursions for journalists along rivers and canals around Beijing and longer reporting trips to rivers and dams in southwest China. The group has long history of encouraging the development of Chinese environmental journalists and green advocates. A younger organisation, Green Beagle, founded by Chinese environmental journalist Feng Yongfeng, also organises salons in Beijing and reporting trips to local rivers, recycling projects and organic farms, but has more of a focus on encouraging “citizen journalism” and public engagement in environmental issues, rather than on improving professional reporting.

A number of other international fellowships also exist for climate-change reporting, including those that have helped Chinese journalists travel to environmental conferences. These include those opportunities provided by the Climate Change Media Partnership, co-organised by Internews, Panos and the International

Institute for Environment and Development. This partnership provides an online roster of experts available for interviews on climate change topics. The Earth Journalism Network, founded by Internews Network and Internews Europe, frequently organises fellowships for developing-world journalists to report from major environmental summits and organised an international award for climate-change journalists in 2009. They also recently supported a training workshop for Asian journalists covering forest management in the context of climate-change negotiations and Reduced Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation (REDD), which included two Chinese reporters.

Other related opportunities include the AAAS Fellowships for Science Reporters, provided by the American Association for the Advancement of Science, which supports science writers from around the world to attend their annual meeting. This scheme has in the past supported Chinese environmental and science

journalists, as have the Knight Science Journalism Fellowships at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, supported by the Knight Foundation, which offer experienced journalists the opportunity to increase their understanding of science, technology, medicine and the environment through nine-month fellowships, as well as shorter “boot camps” and workshops.

As well as the aforementioned British Council and Earth Journalism Network prizes for climate-change reporting, chinadialogue, in cooperation with *The Guardian* newspaper and Tencent Inc. (the company behind the popular online service QQ.com), awards annual prizes for Chinese environmental reporting. chinadialogue inaugurated these awards in April 2010. Lu Zhenhua, of the *21st Century Business Herald*, won the “biggest impact” category for an article covering the investment frenzy in China's wind-energy market.

CONCLUSIONS

As can be seen from this brief survey, a number of international actors in China have chosen to create local organisations, websites or professional bodies – sometimes at the risk of replication of each other or pre-existing domestic initiatives – rather than directly supporting local organisations, such as domestic Chinese NGOs. This may reflect a degree of disconnect between the worlds of Chinese NGOs and international actors, as well as the sensitivity of international cooperation in this field in China. However, international actors in this field still maintain important working relationships with local partners, such as universities and branches of government.

One's choice of local partner or hosting organisation can be of vital importance to the success or failure of a project: local knowledge of the changing political climate is a necessary element to any climate-change reporting project in China. Moreover, Chinese journalists tend to have strong and nuanced opinions

about the strengths and failings of previous projects supported by international actors – and their opinions should be sought about any potential future project. In general, Chinese journalists tend to favour the more interactive, skills-development-oriented sessions.

However, one notable feature of most such projects – and a possible disadvantage to working with local partners, who may favour their existing contacts – is that often they attract the same group of journalists. These participants are typically from prominent Chinese publications and tend to be knowledgeable about environmental issues, which has the advantage of helping to build strong networks among influential reporters – who can then support each others' development – but has the potential drawback of discouraging younger or less experienced journalists, those from less prestigious publications, or those who have less prior knowledge about environmental reporting.

西南苦旱

截至3月23日，云南、贵州、广西、重庆、四川耕地受旱面积9654万亩，1805万人因旱饮水困难



云南，几位老乡背着装满的水桶，穿过荒凉的田地回家。CFP

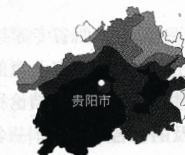
云南

截至3月25日，2405万人受灾，828万人饮水困难，农作物受灾4730.6万亩。



贵州

截至3月22日，1742万人受灾，其中312.9万人需要口粮救济。



广西

截至3月25日，908.1万人受灾，235.25万人饮水困难。



重庆

截至3月25日，降雨已使旱情有效缓解，仅巫溪、渝南有轻度干旱。



Images of the bitter drought in China's southwest, from Century Weekly magazine.

■ 特旱 ■ 重旱 ■ 中旱 ■ 轻旱 □ 正常

3. Recommendations for international cooperation

INTRODUCTION

Based on the questionnaires, interviews and other research that informed the analysis of Chinese climate-change reporting and international cooperation in chapters 1 and 2, the author here presents – in the order they were discussed in the earlier analysis, rather than in terms of priority – a set of tentative recommendations for international and domestic partners seeking to support better climate-change reporting in China.

1.

There is little depth of scientific understanding in Chinese climate-change reporting – a problem by no means unique to China (for example, see Painter 2010). Chinese environmental reporters are very aware of their limitations in terms of scientific understanding, but improving science education and communication needs to move beyond mere slogans. Few climate-change journalists on the Caixin-IMS course had interacted with scientists and many had little idea about the work scientists do. Therefore, funders could encourage better science and climate-change reporting through small workshops aimed at encouraging greater understanding between scientists and journalists.

These workshops could involve small groups of both scientists and journalists, and could include field visits to laboratories (for the benefit of journalists) and newsrooms (for the benefit of scientists). Such workshops should facilitate open discussion about the limits of Chinese scientific reporting; encourage deeper, more

regular contact between scientists and journalists; encourage better distinction between different types of scientists and experts; and improve the long-term quality of Chinese scientific reporting.

2.

The topics for such scientist-journalist exchanges could reach beyond climate-change science to deeper scientific and social scientific concepts relevant to climate change, such as risk assessment, risk perception, demographic vulnerability and the links between science and policy. Considering the nature of the projects in recommendations 1 and 2, suitable domestic partners could be universities or scientific research institutes that see a positive benefit to their scientists learning more about communication and the media.

3.

Aside from more carefully developed training workshops, there are other possible approaches to increasing the depth of scientific understanding in China, such as Chinese-language online platforms that link scientists and journalists.

Two potential models are the relatively social and open-ended model of the Climate Change Media Partnership's online roster of experts, an English-language website that allows experts to create social network-style profiles that journalists can browse and use to ask longer questions and have deeper conversations; or the rapid-response model used by the American Geophysical Union and the Climate Science Rapid Response Team – both of these organisations host English-language websites – which allow journalists or government officials to submit climate-science-related questions and receive quick and reliable responses from scientists.

4.

Many internationally funded journalism-training workshops in China proceed in a didactic, rather than a participatory, fashion. Some involve long, off-the-record briefings from government officials and sometimes from NGOs, rather than from journalists, editors, scientists or other experts – and journalists rarely ask questions. In many workshops there is little emphasis on sharing reporting experiences, skills or tactics, or learning new reporting techniques.

This means workshops help to shape the narrative and analysis in Chinese climate-change journalism, but not its accuracy or its healthy development. International actors could instead encourage the development of smaller, more interactive and participatory sessions or retreats that put greater emphasis on sharing experiences and strategies; asking questions; learning new skills; and building up more complex stories based on multiple sources. Considering the nature of these types of sessions, suitable local partners could be Chinese publications or other media outlets

5.

that see the benefit of international cooperation to improve the quality of reporting.

Many journalists on the Caixin-IMS course had a limited understanding about how to relate climate-change stories to everyday lives in China, often seeing the subject as a removed, techno-scientific or business story, rather than a socially meaningful one. International actors therefore could encourage more relevant, creative and compelling reporting about the social impacts of climate change.

Some journalists on the Caixin-IMS course had taken part in internationally funded reporting trips, which provided almost “ready-made” stories about such social impacts, such as climate-related migration. But to help develop better journalism about social impacts, the emphasis for international actors could instead shift to using training workshops to encourage the necessary background understanding, investigative and critical skills and strategies – including online, audio and video skills – to increase the appeal and quality of these kinds of stories.

6.

The need to develop such reporting on social impacts also could suggest other internationally supported projects beyond training sessions, such as funding individual reports on these issues, setting up awards schemes or bursaries – or even “crowd-sourcing” ideas for articles using an online platform that encourage members of the public to submit story ideas about the social impacts of climate change.

One model could be the US non-profit website Spot.us (supporters include the Knight Foundation), which allows concerned citizens to commission and fund stories they want to see journalists cover. However, a similar website based in China could probably not legally solicit donations from citizens and would have to be used for sourcing story ideas from the public, rather than funds.

7.

Of the participants on the Caixin-IMS course, those from Beijing and Shanghai had far better access to climate-change journalism training resources. International cooperation should continue to focus on expanding the reach of projects, including training workshops, to lower-tier cities in poorer provinces and autonomous regions suffering under-reported climate-change impacts – such as Inner Mongolia, Gansu or Qinghai – in order to better understand the obstacles to climate-change reporting in those areas and address them.

8.

Many of the journalists on the Caixin-IMS course cited the lack of official transparency as a major obstacle to climate-change reporting. But few were aware of Chinese open government information laws, or how they could be used by journalists. International actors could conduct research into the legal tools and strategies currently available to journalists seeking information, and make this – and the sharing of experiences by reporters, researchers or advocates who have used such tools – a part of the skills-development aspect of climate-change and environmental journalism training sessions, handbooks and online resources.

4. Better climate-change reporting

INTRODUCTION

In this section, the report aims to provide advice for Chinese journalists, editors and media managers and for international actors wanting a better understanding of the routes, opportunities and strategies to better climate-change reporting. To this end, the author conducted three interviews, with a veteran climate-change journalist; a professor of science communication; and an editor from a Chinese science publication.



*Su Wei, deputy head of the Chinese delegation
at the 2010 United Nations Climate Change
Conference in Cancun, Mexico. Photo by
Angel Hsu*

THE JOURNALIST: LI HUN

Li Hujun is science and environment editor at Caixin Media. He obtained a masters degree in polymer science from Sichuan University in 1997, and worked briefly as a building materials engineer. Li was a Knight Science Journalism Fellow at MIT in 2003/2004. He received an AAAS Fellowship for Reporters in Developing Regions in 2004 and the UK-China Science Journalism Prize in 2005. He is co-founder of the China Science Reporting Network (CSRN).



What advice would you give to climate-change journalists just starting out?

Li Hujun: First, it is better for a climate-change journalist to know the key scientific evidence and facts of climate change, as well as the “rules of the game” in the scientific community, such as peer-review publication. Just as the IPCC report is the base of international climate-change negotiations, the scientific background is also the starting point for climate-change journalism.

Second, climate change is not only a scientific issue. It has strong connection with politics, business and so on. Therefore, it is helpful if a journalist not only learns to digest the scientific jargon, but also learns about the interest conflicts among stakeholders.

How should reporters approach the topics of risk and uncertainty?

LH: We absolutely should produce balanced stories. However, if we put too much emphasis on so-called “balance”, we might misguide policy-makers and the general public.

In other words, we need to quote words or opinions from both sides, but we also need to examine if their words are based on strong scientific evidence or not, and do not necessarily regard different voices too “equally”.

What role should climate-change journalists aim to play in society?

LH: I went to a workshop before the United Nations Climate Change Conference in Tianjin, China, and an NGO representative said that media should also join NGOs to be a part of the climate campaign. As a journalist, I couldn't agree with her.

There is no doubt that media can actively urge both policy-makers and the general public to act. However, we journalists first need to be objective when we cover stories. Definitely a media organisation is not an NGO, each has its own role to play.

How do you cope with the pressure to create a simple narrative?pressure to create a simple narrative?

LH: News articles with people, conflicts and details always sell well. So I'll try my hardest to find out those interesting elements.

For example, when I covered China's carbon intensity and energy-saving challenge, I would choose a place – like Li County, in Hebei province – and then describe what people at a grass-roots level were doing and what kinds of obstacles they were facing.

How can we better train reporters in climate-change journalism?

LH: It would be better to have more participants in training sessions from areas outside big cities like Beijing and Shanghai; to gather more editors to training sessions; and to do more case studies. We can also encourage in-depth and online training.

THE PROFESSOR: BRUCE LEWENSTEIN

Bruce Lewenstein is professor of Science Communication in the Departments of Communication and of Science & Technology Studies at Cornell University, USA. He is co-author of *The Establishment of American Science: 150 Years of the AAAS* (Rutgers Univ. Press, 1999, with Sally Gregory Kohlstedt and Michael M. Sokal), editor of *When Science Meets the Public* (Washington, DC: AAAS, 1992) and co-editor of *Creating Connections: Museums and the Public Understanding of Research* (Altamira Press, 2004, with David Chittenden and Graham Farmelo). From 1998 to 2003, he was editor of the journal *Public Understanding of Science*.



What advice would you give to climate-change journalists just starting out?

Bruce Lewenstein: There are two levels of science journalism. On the first level, there is a sense in which you need to explain the science. But it can be difficult to get beyond that level to the second, deeper level, which is: what exactly is the dispute about? And why is it that in conflicts about science, it begins to look like people are being petty or selective, or that scientists can never agree?

A science story can briefly discuss the findings, but the better story is the backgrounder, or the feature, that asks: how are scientists going about their work? What are the arguments about? What kinds of evidence are different communities using? What is the basis of the challenge?

In these stories you are not trying to explain the details of the science, because it will get too complicated, and you will get buried in the minutiae. You need to be able to back out, just as you would as a political reporter, and say: there is a dispute here, which has

to do with different philosophies of how to approach data, or how to weigh risks, or whether we should allow individuals freedom of action, or whether society should be making collective decisions for individuals. If you consider those sorts of stories: first, they may be easier to cover; second, you will be helping the readers (or viewers, or listeners) understand what is at stake, and why it's worth listening to some people – and maybe not worth listening to other people. Now you are helping people get beyond the surface: even if they don't understand the science, they understand the forces that are at work.

How should reporters approach the topic of risk?

BL: First, acknowledge the uncertainty: that there are things where we don't know what the risks are. Second, be clear that sometimes we are talking about risks that are uncertain in the near term; other times we are talking about risks that are more certain, but in the long term.

People are often making choices about these kinds of questions. Are we gambling that we will find a solution in the future? What values are people using to make those decisions? Are these values technologically optimistic? For example, do you look at the past 150 years and say: 'the world has changed so much technologically that we can solve our future problems based on our past record of finding solutions'? Or, do you look at last 150 years and say: 'it seems to me that technologies solve one problem and create another'? We should understand the risk in terms of the values that we are using to weigh those risks: if you get caught up trying to find the quantitative risk, it often doesn't get you an answer.

Reporters also need to help people understand, for example, if we are talking about the kinds of choices that transfer risks from one group to another. For example, if we say that nuclear power is not a good energy option – and we are going to use coal power instead – then it is because we don't want to take that small, long-term risk that nuclear radiation might escape.

But then we have to recognise that then we are taking a short-term risk about coal-mining accidents. You can't directly compare these risks, but you can help people understand how the nature of these risks are different. The real question is: who is going to bear the risks?

What role should climate-change journalists aim to play in society?

BL: In the western media, there are two philosophical positions about how the media should operate: one is that your job in the media is to get as much information out as possible – and to trust your readers to interpret that information. This philosophy comes very much out of the political journalism ideal, which says: 'we know that all the politicians are lying to us, so let's at least get all their lies out in public so then we can check them against each other'. The trouble is that this doesn't work as well in science, because all sides are not equal.

So this leads to another philosophy, which is that it is part of the media's

job to say: which of these sources is believable? Which of these sources should I quote? Which should I just ignore? Climate change is one of the areas where this argument gets made the most, because scientists have so clearly come a consensus – and while a reporter should ask probing questions, they should probably also accept scientific conclusions.

There are some prominent science journalists and science-journalism analysts who would very much agree with that. I'm a little bit less comfortable with it. I believe as a journalist you do need to be a bit selective about your sources – and you do need to tell your readers why this source is saying something that everybody else isn't saying, or saying something different – but ultimately I want to have faith in my readers to make decisions themselves.

What about the pressure to create a simple narrative?

BL: People ask me: 'how can I write more complex stories, when my editors are asking me to write more

sensationalist stories'? This is partly a process of educating editors, that this is not a story where one can say: 'today scientists discovered that the climate is/isn't warming'. But it is a story that guarantees a steady flow of conflict – and conflict makes for good stories, too.

You can also tell interesting narrative stories about how people come to this knowledge: polar expeditions, or desert expeditions, or a family in Mongolia who have recorded rainfall for the past 100 years. You can generate stories that will bring readers in – which is what editors and publishers want – but which will also help demonstrate those deeper social issues and social values that are at stake.

How can we better train reporters in science journalism?

BL: The first step is to have a session where scientists and journalists can get together – and start venting. Scientists can say: here's what I find frustrating about science journalists. The journalists will sit there stewing while that happens. Then the science journalists can

say: here's the problems I have with scientists. Once you have all that on the table, then you can have discussions about how they are both searching for how to tell real stories about how the world really is – not the way people want it to be. And that those stories are necessary for us to move forward to a world that could be. They then can then begin to find out what their common values are.

Once that has happened, it is useful for journalists to get some hands-on experience: to go behind the scenes into a laboratory, see how difficult the work is and talk with scientists over a few days. It is also useful for scientists to try to write a news story, and have it edited – or, more likely, to have an editor say: 'I can't use that', and then tell them why it would not work. This way both sides begin to understand some of the problems the other faces.

It depends on the amount of time and effort we can put in. But if a journalist can afford to go on a research trip to a laboratory far away, or if a scientist can afford to do a month as a journalist with

a mentor in a media organisation, not only do they go back with an enhanced understanding, but also they can say to their colleagues: 'let me tell you what it's like to have a piece of science land on your desk and need to write a story about it in an hour'.

What if, as is often the case in climate-change journalism, you end up writing more about science policy than science itself? How do you suggest training journalists for these sorts of stories?

BL: Journalists need to understand exactly what the policy process is: that might involve a seminar where people from the relevant ministries are there – and you have to select those people carefully, because you need those people who are more open, who can tell you about what is likely to happen. This is useful for the scientists to hear too – because many scientists don't understand this either. Bringing together policymakers, scientists and journalists could be a very positive model.

There is a certain type of person, who is trained in science early in their career,

and then realises that he or she likes to be in the middle: they are able to talk to the scientists, but are interested in policy; they are able to talk to policy people, but are interested in science. These people have set of skills that lets them talk in both directions. Those people sometimes go into science policy or become science journalists, but they often don't know that there are others like them – and quite often they have been tracked into science since high school. If you discover that is what you want to do – that you are not really excited by the laboratory, but are excited by the prospect of shaping the policy – you don't necessarily know that there are positions for you. So one potential outcome of bringing together climate journalists and scientists is that these people discover there are other people like them, that prefer to be in this middle position.

These kinds of processes also help with a necessary part of any journalism: the cultivation of sources. So a journalist has people to go to for a story, or for background when they are not going to be quoting them, but need someone to

help them figure out what is going on. Eventually the journalist develops some sources that he or she can use regularly in a very deep background way, where the journalist can say: 'I'm not going to quote you at all, but I need help understanding who these characters are'. Any forum or salon that can get people together, including socially, can be important because it seeds this possibility.

THE EDITOR: JIA HEPENG

Jia Hepeng is the founder and editor-in-chief of *Science News Bi-weekly*. He also writes for *Science* magazine and *Chemistry World*. Jia is an executive board member of the World Federation of Science Journalists, a member of the Chinese Society of Science and Technology Journalism and the founding director of China Science Reporting Network. He is the author of *Science Communication in an Era of Globalisation* (China Popular Science Press 2007).



What advice would you give to climate-change journalists just starting out?

Jia Hepeng: Climate change is complicated and often seems removed from daily life. Therefore, new journalists in this field should try to understand more about its relevance to our daily lives and business activities. In addition, reporters should learn more and try to talk with scientists, often those with their own independent views, even if they may not be right. Further, new journalists should try to read more scientific papers and scientific reports. They can be difficult to grasp, but it's worth trying to understand the key elements – 'what's new in this paper?' – by reading the abstract and conclusions, instead of the technical details.

How should reporters approach the topics of risk and uncertainty?

JH: They need to give a complete analysis. They should try to ask what are the risks – and how these risks can be avoided. They can first stress the risks, but then analyse the uncertain aspects.

What role should climate-change journalists aim to play in society?

JH: They play a very important role. They can engage the public to act, and they can raise policy-makers' awareness in order to fight climate change.

How do you cope with the pressure to create a simple narrative?

JH: For me, the first thing is try to tell the reader what the new aspects are in a piece of research or a report. And then to try to relate this to a local perspective.

How can we better train reporters in climate-change journalism?

JH: First, read scientific papers. Then try to talk to scientists with questions that are raised by these papers. There should be small training workshops, but these are better when they are not so formal – so that journalists can have enough time to ask questions.

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Annex 2: Resources for Chinese climate-change reporters

Not an exhaustive list, this annex is intended to provide a set of useful resources – some government- or business-supported, some supported by international cooperation – for Chinese journalists looking to improve their climate-change reporting.

Advances in Climate Change Research

<http://www.climatechange.cn/>

A bilingual, bi-monthly magazine about the latest climate-change science.

Agriculture and Climate Change Research Center

<http://www.climag.com/>

Hosted by Nanjing Agriculture University, this Chinese-language information platform presents research into climate-change impact and adaptation technologies and strategies.

China Cleaner Production

<http://www.cncpn.org.cn/>

Institution promoting research on cleaner production. Bilingual website

includes information on policies and regulations, training, technology and products.

China Climate Change Info-Net

<http://www.ccchina.gov.cn/cn/index.asp>

Official, Chinese-language website of the Department of Climate Change at the National Development and Reform Commission. Provides news and updates on national and international climate-change policy and related laws and regulations.

chinadialogue

<http://www.chinadialogue.cn/>

(and <http://www.chinadialogue.net/>)

Founded by international journalist Isabel Hilton, *chinadialogue* is a bilingual source of high-quality news, analysis and discussion on all environmental issues, including climate change, with a special focus on China.

Chinese Climate Change Network

<http://www.ipcc.cma.gov.cn/cn/>

Hosted by the IPCC China Office and the National Climate Centre of the China Meteorological Administration, the bilingual website carries updated information on climate science and international conventions concerning climate change.

Climate Change and Media Partnership
– Roster of Experts Available for Interviews

<http://climatechangemedia.ning.com/>

Set up by Panos, Internews and the International Institute for Environment and Development, the roster is an English-language directory of experts who are able to talk to journalists about various aspects of climate change.

Environmental Monitoring of China

<http://www.cnemc.cn/>

Daily Chinese-language updates on national and local environmental quality monitoring reports.

First General Survey into National Pollution Sources

<http://cpsc.mep.gov.cn/>

Conducted by the Ministry of Environmental Protection, this Chinese-language survey was the first to comprehensively chart China's major domestic pollution sources.

Green Beagle

<http://www.bjep.org.cn/>

Founded by Chinese environmental journalist Feng Yongfeng, this small domestic NGO organises seminars, excursions and other environmental events in Beijing, many of them focused on environmental reporting and citizen journalism. (Chinese-language website).

Green Reporters' Salon

<http://tinyurl.com/6l3kgxz>

Founded by Chinese environmental journalist Wang Yongchen, this long-running series of Beijing-based seminars and excursions for journalists focuses on a range of environmental

and civil society issues. (Chinese language website. English website here: <http://eng.greensos.cn/default.aspx>)

Greenlaw

<http://www.greenlaw.org.cn/blog/>

Hosted by the Natural Resources Defense Council, this regularly updated bilingual blog discusses developments in Chinese environmental law.

Greenpeace China

<http://www.greenpeace.org/china/zh/>

Large international NGO focusing on issues including climate change, renewable energy, food safety and sustainable agriculture. Bilingual website includes informational resources in Chinese about climate-change impacts, glacier melt, extreme weather events, declining harvests, rising sea levels, species extinction, climate change and poverty, China's response to climate change and more.

Handbook on Reporting Climate Change <http://tinyurl.com/6hypl3b>

Written by veteran science journalists and published by the British Council and the China Science and Technology Exchange Center, this Chinese-language book, downloadable from the website, collects together information about climate change, including the science of global warming, the low-carbon economy and international climate diplomacy, with suggested angles and methods for reporting the issue.

Institute of Public & Environment Affairs <http://www.ipe.org.cn/>

NGO founded by environmentalist Ma Jun, publisher of the bilingual Water Pollution Map and Air Pollution Map. Particular focus on corporate disclosure and open government information.

Poynter News University – Covering

Climate Change

<http://www.newsu.org/courses/covering-climate-change>

An innovative online journalism training programme in English, the course aims to give journalists, non-expert reporters and citizen journalists a firm grounding in climate change, starting with the science and moving on to policy debates and the principles of good coverage.

The National Climate Center

<http://ncc.cma.gov.cn/cn/>

Bilingual website providing monthly, quarterly and annual reports, analysis and forecasts, including information on extreme temperatures, flooding and other severe weather and climate events.

WWF China

<http://tinyurl.com/63xzugb>

Large international NGO with a strong climate-change focus. Bilingual

website includes information on the Copenhagen Accord, China's national climate-change policies and the science of global warming.

Annex 3: About this publication

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Sam Geall is Deputy Editor of *chinadialogue*. He has a BA in Chinese from Leeds University, an MA in Anthropological Research from Manchester University and is a PhD candidate in Social Anthropology at Manchester University. After his undergraduate degree, he was awarded a one-year scholarship to Harvard University by the Kennedy Memorial Trust. He is the recipient of a British Inter-university China Centre studentship and was previously awarded a British Association of Chinese Studies scholarship to study at Taipei Normal University. He has chaired sessions, presented papers and acted as discussant at a number of international conferences, including the American Anthropological Association in 2009, where he presented the paper: “Researching environmental journalism in China”. His writing on Chinese affairs has appeared in a number of international publications including, the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, *Foreign Policy*, *New Internationalist*, *New Humanist*, *Green Futures* and *The Ecologist*.

ABOUT CAIXIN MEDIA

<http://www.caing.com/>

English version:

<http://english.caing.com/>

Founded by Hu Shuli, former founding editor of *Caijing* magazine and a prominent investigative journalist and commentator, Caixin media is a Beijing-based media group that publishes two influential titles *Century Weekly* and *China Reform*.

ABOUT INTERNATIONAL MEDIA SUPPORT

<http://www.i-m-s.dk/>

International Media Support (IMS) is a non-profit organisation working to support local media in countries affected by armed conflict, human insecurity and political transition. In more than 30 countries worldwide, IMS helps to strengthen professional journalism and ensure that media can operate in challenging circumstances.

ABOUT CHINADIALOGUE

<http://www.chinadialogue.net>

Founded by international journalist Isabel Hilton in 2006, *chinadialogue.net* is a bilingual source of high quality news, analysis and discussion on all environmental issues, with a special focus on China. Half of *chinadialogue*'s readers are in China and they include members of Chinese NGOs, journalists, key government officials, policy-makers and radical thinkers.

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序

胡舒立

和丹麦、英国等很多国家一样，应对气候变化在中国已经成为社会生活的重要议题，以及新的商业挑战和机会。在这种背景下，越来越多的中国记者也主动或被动地涉足气候变化报道。

从某种意义上讲，气候变化是一个新闻报道的“富矿”。但是，要想从这个富矿中有所收益并不容易。

毕竟，气候变化报道需要横跨科学、环境、经济、政治等多个领域的专业背景。这也是财新传媒为何选择与IMS共同主办气候变化国际奖学金班的原因。我们希望来自中国各地的媒体同仁，在这个奖学金项目中获得投身气候变化报道的更多动力和“装备”。

联合财新传媒与IMS共同主办的气候变化国际奖学金班，中外对话副总编Sam Geall采访了十位学员，同时进行了相关调研，完成了这份报告。

报告阐述了中国气候变化报道的多个方面：媒体记者的素养、态



度，在重要话题中的表现，存在的问题，媒体培训的现状等。我想，无论对从事气候变化报道的媒体同仁，以及志在帮助提高气候变化报道水平的国内外机构而言，这份报告都极具参考价值。

在应对气候变化的战争中，中国正面临越来越大的压力，也变得越来越开放。作为媒体，不仅有责任让社会各界人士关注气候变化话题，也有义务提醒人们在这场战争中少犯错误。

我其实愿意将媒体人比作啄木鸟：永远在敲打一棵树，不是为了把树击倒，而是为了让它长得更直。就

气候变化报道而言，媒体人同样需要做一只啄木鸟。

衷心希望这方面的调研和培训，能够帮助中国媒体人更好地开采气候变化报道的富矿，扮演啄木鸟的角色。

简介

中国记者如何报道气候变化方面的新闻，对于资助者、NGO组织、各国政府来说，在气候变化报道领域又有哪些可以加强国际合作的机会？本报告将对这两个相互关联的问题进行讨论。

本报告以2010年6月份开展的研究为基础，并由中外对话、财新传媒、国际媒体支持组织（IMS）共同完成。作者发放了调查问卷，并对来自中国各地、参加由财新传媒和IMS组织的气候变化奖学金项目（以下简称财新-IMS研修班）的10位记者和编辑进行了半结构化的深度访问。受访记者全部做了匿名处理，并修改了某些标志性细节。

过去几年中，中国在气候变化方面的报道从数量、原创性、详细程度等方面都有了显著的进步。

2010年，一些著名报纸，如《南方周末》和《21世纪经济报道》等均定期增加了环境、气候变化、或者“低碳”等内容的栏目。与过去相比，这些刊物上所表达的气候变化观点更加丰富，角度也更加多样：从民族主义者对这门科学的

否定，到对强有力的单边行动的支持；从面临沙漠化侵袭的地区所遭受的区域性影响到可再生能源产业所面临的经济挑战等问题的讨论。

然而，尽管在这些问题上的报道取得了进展，但是，本报告却认为，有关气候变化的高质量报道依然面临着重重阻碍。而在2009年哥本哈根联合国气候变化会议，以及“气候门”和“冰川门”事件之后，障碍还有所增强，其中包括：对气候变化科学的困惑、相关信息接入不畅、以及认为气候变化报道应该反映“国家利益”等。

国际间的合作已经为气候变化记者创造了大量机会，如培训、沙龙、在线资源、奖励方案及手册等。然而，作者依然指出了一些可以改善的领域，并提出了具体的建议，从而帮助项目及方案的进一步发展，使其可以鼓励更具深度、更中肯，更富于创造性、更有说服力的气候变化报道的涌现。

报告的出发点是：准确客观地报道中国所面临的气候变化风险、影响、及政策选择不仅是必须的，同时也是愈加紧迫的。

全世界的科学家一致认为，气候正在发生变化，这种变化很有可能会对粮食、水源、能源等体系产生负面影响。举例来说，这些影响中包括，华北地区的粮食减产，而当地由于气温升高预计淡水资源将会减少；为13亿人口提供灌溉用水、电力、饮用水的10大水系的源头、兴都库什—喜马拉雅地区正面临的灾难性的潜在危险。因此，针对这些问题进行有效传播是一件非常重要的任务：气候变化不仅仅是一个可以靠专家解决的科技问题，其影响很可能会产生相当的社会影响。向一个限制碳排放的世界转型需要公众对这一问题的理解。

学杂志的编辑，还有一位是科学传播教授。这三位专家就中国气候变化报道未来的发展提出了建议。

为了解气候变化问题传播这项重要任务在中国不断变化的政治环境及媒体环境中是如何开展的，报告的第一章重点讨论了中国环境记者的体验，以及2009年和2010年期间，他们对重大环境变化的报道活动。此外，还探讨了中国对这些事件更广泛的报道。报告的第二部分回顾了目前气候变化报道领域的国际合作。基于这些分析，第三章针对国际合作提出了一些建议。第四章主要是与三位专家的访谈。一位是经验丰富的环境记者，一位是科

脚注

1. 本文是以戴雨果和曾荣共同撰写、IMS和中国传媒中心发表的《中国环境和气候变化报道的新机遇》

(2010)一文中所作的研究为基础。

在对记者进行采访的基础上，本文为中国环境报道的发展提供了背景，并对2009年中国环境记者所面临的期望和挑战进行了调查。报告认为，对环境日益增强的关注，促使中国政府的某些部门对调查报道采取宽容、甚至鼓励的态度。而过去，对这种报道则是抵制的态度。之前由杉迪·托兰(2007)所著的另外一篇重要报告则认为，中国对气候变化的报道可以分为两个截然不同的阶段：2007年关于气候变化及其物理学基础的政府间气候变化专门委员会第四次评估报告发表之前和发表之后。该报告公布之后，托兰看到，中国第一次涌现出了一批将全球气候变暖与温室气体排放联系起来的文章，然而这些文章却极力强调中国不能以牺牲其经济发展为代价来应对这一问题。据詹姆斯·潘特2007年针对IPCC AR4报告的电视报道情况(沙纳罕2009年曾加以引用)所做的研究显示，中国CCTV-1的新

闻从在科学的基础上对该报告进行了报道。然而，对于有关气候变化减缓和适应的后续报告却没有加以报道。



环境报道记者刘鉴强。照片由Hossam el-Hamalawy摄。

第一章：气候变化下的报道

前言

很多时候，对参加财新—IMS项目记者的访谈都是从讨论他们开始涉足气候变化领域报道的积极性从何而来开始的。除了参与国际支持的气候变化培训课程之外——通常人们称之为题材介入——许多记者都讲述了让他们关注这一题材的不同的个人经历。

不少记者最初是从事商业和金融报道的。一位有商业报道背景对记者讲述了她的访问日本的经历。那次访问给她留下了深刻印象。她说，日本是一个干净的国家，人民会将垃圾进行回收，富士山周围的景观依然郁郁葱葱。而另外一位最初从事金融报道的记者则对新能源的潜力及其面临的问题尤为感兴趣。他表示：

“我报道的内容包括新能源、气候变化、低碳。在报道金融方面的题材时，我们通常会挖掘消息背后的内幕（如金融丑闻）。我希望我能够保持这种风格。”

其他人的背景则与气候变化有更紧密的联系。有一位记者就从事环境报道。在报道三峡地区的一场大旱的过程中，他逐渐了解到气候与其他绿色话题之间的联系。另一位记

者则更关注社会问题及权利问题的报道，并且对环境与人权间的联系很感兴趣。他说：

“（环境和人权）当然有关系。中国的东、西部地区都存在着环境恶化的现象，但是程度却不相同。由于经济的落后，西部地区的当地政府宁可以环境为代价来追求GDP（……）我认为，如果人民的健康和生存权无法得到保障，我们如何讨论人权？”

缺乏科学知识

几乎所有记者最初的自我陈述都有一个共同的主题，那就是他们觉得缺乏这方面的理科教育。项目的参与者中，只有一位曾在大学接受过理科教育。而其他人所接受的教育则是新闻或人文领域的学科，如社会学、哲学等。其中一位说道：

“很多记者跟我一样没有理科背景。所以，我们只能从科研人员、NGO组织、政府方面获得信息。我认为，我们最大的障碍就是，我们在气候变化问题和科技题材上没有接受过很好的培训。”

财新一IMS研修班的参与者们会经常反复地表达出这种想法。然而，另外一种相关的看法却是，科技报道培训不一定非得包括环境题材。其中一位说：

“中国几乎没有专业从事环境报道的记者。大部分环境记者都是科学领域的记者。”

另外一位记者不止将这一问题追溯到记者的背景，还认为中国的科学本身还很落后。他表示：

“中国的环境科学是从最近几年才开始起步的。因此，中国的科研人员的讨论研究还非常有限，仍然落后于西方国家。”

与科学家建立联系

记者不仅与科学有着多样而且复杂的关系，与科学家的关系同样如此。一位记者向我们描述了2009年12月在丹麦哥本哈根召开的联合国气候变化会议上与来自中国及其他国家的科学家会谈的情景。这些对话让他获益良多。（只有一小部分参加财新-IMS研修班的记者参加了在哥本哈根召开的COP15会议。）另外一位记者不仅将科学家当作她的常规信息来源，还将他们当做是更高层次的背景知识联系人，帮助她在各种流言中辨别出可靠的信息，并且解释一些复杂的科学问题。或许，她与科学家之间的关系非常典型，因此值得全文加以引述：

“（我采访科学家）非常频繁，因为我需要弄明白（消息）是否值得报道，或者只是一个谣言。然后，我才能决定是否花时间去调查。我与一些顶级科学家保持着联络。这种关系是通过采访建立的。如果他们认为你有责任感，你的媒体可以信赖，他们会很愿意与你交谈，并且教你，因为你并不是专业人士，对问题的了解也不透彻。在我的上一篇报道中，我采访了一位中国知名的气候变化学家。他的措辞非常

负责而严谨。为了帮助我写出一篇准确的报道，他给了我很多材料、学术刊物、甚至是报告和杂志。采访之后，为了把一些信息搞清楚，我给他发电子邮件，向他请教。他很简洁地回答了我的问题。”

然而，其他的参与者中有很多从未采访过科研人员，也从未将他们当做是参考信息的来源。关于气候，财新-IMS研修班的所有学员都从政策含义及其造成的地区性影响角度撰写过报道。只有一人从全球科学的视角撰写过一篇关于厄尔尼诺/拉尼娜现象（一种发生在热带太平洋平面上，能够引起极端天气的气候现象）的文章。没有人写诸如海平面上升、温度引爆点、或者冰原融化等现象。

一位记者说：“我从来没有采访过任何科研人员。”尽管她解释说，她曾就气候变化的议题采访过其他学科的教授，虽然不是理科教授。当她被问到是如何与那些人保持联络的时，这位记者说她所在的新闻机构有一个相关联系人的数据库。然而，无论是科学题材或是非科学题材，她都从未与任何专家有过私人联系。她说：

“我不干这些工作（与联络人建立关系）。我们有专门的人从事这项工作。他们将所有的信息和我们要联络的人整理起来，就像档案一样。”

其他采访对象

每一位学员都将其采访对象——专家、政府官员、或者受气候变化影响的群众作为他们气候变化报道的资料来源。然而，他们与受访者的关系却各不相同。

正如上文提到的那样，其中一位记者仅有新闻机构掌握的联系人信息数据库，而且很少联系他们核实信息。而在天平的另一端，另外一位记者则表示，为了一项环境污染调查（与气候变化没有直接联系），他曾采访了一百多人，其中包括专家、政府官员、当地群众等。另外一位记者曾在一家国际NGO组织的帮助下采访了长期受干旱影响而举家从他们居住的村子迁离的中国农村“气候变化移民”。这位记者与几位来自不同新闻单位的记者组成参访团，一起在当地访问了一天半的时间。

另外一些人则与官方和专家界有着非常紧密的联系。例如，一位记者说：

“我与中国气候谈判代表和气候变化领域的专家有很好的私交。所以，我可以给他们打电话，询问他们以及他们的同事最近所做的工

作。我还与一些智库机构和研究所保持着良好的关系，他们的很多建议已被政府所采纳。比如说，社会科学院、国家发展和改革委员会、清华大学等。这些研究机构的专家很希望利用媒体来扩大他们的影响。”

然而，在大多数情况下，跟政府官员相比，与科研人员和其他专业人士建立和维持联系更容易。一位记者是这样解释这些不同类型的关系的：

“与学者建立联系，并从他们那里得到一些信息很容易。但是，与政府官员打交道就完全不同。当信息有利于政府的时候，他们就会愿意提供给记者。然而，当消息是负面的时候，要想从他们那里获得信息就会很难。如今，中国将经济发展作为其主要任务。因此，一切都要为经济发展让路。”

所以，揣测官方意见的策略就是向那些有官方背景的学术机构成员请教。这位记者还说道：

“我采用调查性报道的方式来报道气候变化：我会找一位与某位（拒

绝接受采访的）政府官员关系很好的学者。在中国，有时政府会让某些科研人员来帮助他们开展一些研究项目。所以，我就联系那些负责该项目的学者，从他们那里获得信息。而且，中国很多事情在运作过程中会牵扯好几个部门。如果这些部门中有一个不愿给我提供消息，我就会找其他部门。”

他还提出了几个与科研人员保持良好关系的补充策略，值得全文引述：

“首先，我对科学家和学者都非常尊重。其次，在发表他们的研究或观点之前，我会征求他们的同意。这么做的好处是，如果我在报道中出了错，他们可以指出来。第三，我会尽量比其他记者报道的更加出色。这样，科学家们将来就会更愿意接受我的采访。最后，每逢节日（如春节），我会给他们发贺卡或者短信。”

与之相似的是，另外一位记者建议借会议和研讨会之机与科学家建立联系。然而，在提到与政府官员建立联系时，几乎所有人都一致认为，与科研人员相比，采访政府官

员比较困难。而且，某些官员更是难上加难。一位记者表示，中国气候变化决策过程中最举足轻重的官员也是最难接近的。他说：

“国家发展和改革委员会作为影响中国气候变化政策的最重要的力量，其官员是最难采访的。他们在接受采访时会发表他们的观点。但是，他们却不会谈论数字和具体的措施。此外，信息也不够透明。在中国，记者（则）需要与专家和研究机构建立私人关系。”

这位记者和其他记者都认为缺乏官方透明度是中国气候变化报道所面临的障碍。针对这一问题，一位记者这样说道：

“信息透明度不够。只有需要通过媒体表达什么的时候，政府才会联系媒体。但是，政府很少批准采访请求。政府官员通常也只不过是说些官话而已。”

其他人也表达了类似的看法。据他们说，采访高官很难安排，因为“有太多他们不能说的东西”，或者因为“他们不愿意公开露面。”从一位记者对哥本哈根气候会谈的

描述中就能看出端倪。她发现，在官方新闻发布会之外的场合，“很难截住官员，”尽管这位记者补充道：“你可以试试运气。”她说：

“当（首席谈判代表）解振华在走向新闻中心的途中，我拦下了他。但是，我没有得到满意的答复。我几次试着拦住（谈判代表）苏伟。但是，从他那里，我也没能得到多少信息。”

有趣的是，这种情况似乎在发生变化。在这次采访之后，上述同一位记者及其他人都觉察到，在2010年10月在中国天津召开的联合国气候会议上，解振华及中国代表团要比以往对媒体和NGO组织更加坦诚，不仅组织了集体采访，还与NGO代表进行了深入的讨论。而这种态度的转变同样在2010年12月于墨西哥坎昆举行的联合国COP16气候会议上体现出来。

信息来源

在谈到气候变化报道的其他资料来源时，所有参与者都表示，他们曾采用中国官方新闻机构的消息，如新华社和中国新闻社。所有人都曾引用过环境NGO组织的报告或发布的新闻。只有少数几个人表示，他们曾采用过国际新闻机构的报道，如路透社或美联社等。一位采用过国际新闻机构报道的记者说，对其他国家普通民众关于环境问题的观点进行的民意调查或投票是最有用的一类信息。

大多数人表示，他们曾引用经整理或经同行审阅的研究摘要等学术报告。但是，只有少数人表示，他们曾阅读过完整的经同行审阅的论文。有一个人说，这种报告比国内的新闻报道更加客观。他说：

“（我采用）国内和国际科学家的研究报告和论文。我不相信国内的新闻报道，宁愿去寻求消息的源头，因为一些国内媒体在报道的时候，为了吸引眼球而忽视了客观性和公正性。”

另外还有一种非常典型的气候变化报道消息来源，其中包括从NGO组

织到科研机构在内的各种不同的国际渠道：

“每篇文章都有许多不同的消息来源。我从中国和美国的研究机构那里获得资料。他们的工作非常出色，而且会很快给我回电子邮件。此外还有绿色和平组织、乐施会及其他NGO组织、一些中国或其他国家的科学家、政府间气候变化委员会等组织。”

记者们提到的其他渠道还包括博客、其他中国报纸、政府部门信息网站。甚至还有一位记者提到了好莱坞世界末日电影《2012》。一位对气候变化对商业领域的影响感兴趣的记者表示，针对特殊工业或行业的互联网电子公告牌系统（BBS）对获得消息和线索非常有用：

“如果你想发掘内幕消息或‘丑闻’（如金融违规行为），你可以去BBS。人们会在那里发布消息，然后会有公司里的其他人来印证。非常有用。因为现在中国有很多太阳能、风能公司，我可以从他们的BBS上找到很多内幕消息。”

这些访谈中突出的一点就是，将环境NGO组织的材料作为消息渠道，并认为其非常可靠的现象很普遍。一位记者表示，NGO组织对记者都“非常友好”。另外一位从事环境报道时间较短的记者讲述了她在哥本哈根气候会议上的经历。她说，在她进行分析时，NGO组织给予她很大的帮助：

“我从绿色和平、WWF、乐施会等NGO组织那里获得了非常好的分析材料。他们每天给我提供评论，我才得以撰写分析文章。”

这位记者注意到，NGO组织对涉足这一领域的新人来说特别有帮助，因为他们在中国有媒体团队。在天津气候变化会谈上，这一点也非常明显。参加此次会谈的环境NGO组织的立场各不相同，从更注重技术的世界资源研究所，到强力支持发展中国家的第三世界网。这些组织与中国记者之间建立了联系，并且以召集了中文新闻发布会和集体采访。但是，这位记者也注意到，仅用这些机构提供的信息，而不参考其他渠道的信息是不够的。她说：

“我需要做到更加客观和完整。所以，他们的分析只是出发点，你不能仅仅依靠这些。”

编辑的观点

当问及他们的编辑对气候变化报道是否支持时，一些作者的编辑似乎非常支持，并且乐于接受环境理念。一位官方媒体机构的记者提到政府的态度对编辑产生的影响。他说：

“我所在的（媒体）听从政府的指示。如今政府让媒体报道新能源，那么（媒体）就会非常关注这方面的新闻。”

同样，另外一位参与者表示，她所在报社的编辑对气候变化政策在商业领域产生的影响非常感兴趣。

“在接到（政府）的减少（碳强度）目标之后，我所在的报纸就开始特别关注企业的表现。我们是一家金融报纸。所以，大部分的读者都是政府官员或者在企业工作的人。”

一些参加研修班的编辑很明确地表示，气候变化报道已经是他们所在媒体的报道重点。一位编辑表示，他已经在他的报社设立了一项气候变化报道奖。

“每年我们都选出我们报社里最出色的记者。我新设立了一个名为‘最佳低碳个人’的奖项。奖项针对的是那些了解低碳生活方式，关注生态问题，并撰写这方面文章的人。”

然而，其他人还提到编辑之间、或编辑与记者之间的分歧。有一次，一位记者讨论如何报道复杂的气候变化决策领域。可以理解，对某些编辑而言，这一题材太专业，并且脱离了普通读者的生活。她说：

“在我们的编辑部门里总是会有争执。一方面，我们要努力做得更加专业、敏锐、准确。而另一方面，我们需要向我们的读者讲故事，将气候变化与他们的日常生活联系起来。比如，最近，我们做了一篇关于（德国）波恩（气候变化）会议的报道，（然而）却不卖座。人们不关心波恩发生了什么。但是，专业读者却对它很感兴趣。（……）所以，在后续报道时，我报道了同样的消息，但语言更明了。这样，普通读者在理解时就没有障碍了。”

这位记者还补充道，她必须竭力让她的编辑相信气候变化报道与社会戚戚相关。一些编辑认为这只不过是一种潮流、或金融泡沫而已。有人认为，除了气候变化，环境问题更具可读性，并且与普通大众有更直接的联系。一位参与者在下面又重新谈到了这一点。

研讨会及沙龙

还有迹象证明许多出版商和编辑对气候变化题材感兴趣，一些报纸组织并鼓励定期与环境专家举办研讨会或“沙龙”。其中至少包括一家北京报纸和一家设有北京办事处的报纸。这些活动有些是半公开的，还有一些是“闭门”会议。这么做不仅是为了对他们的记者进行环境变化题材的教育，并且还能在相关专家的眼中提高报纸在气候变化问题方面的声誉。一位记者是这样描述她所在报纸举办的沙龙的：

“（我们的报纸）为记者、专家、政府官员举办了沙龙。沙龙对其他报纸的记者是不开放的。（专家和官员）会告诉我们一些消息，很有帮助。（……）我们已经办了四次不同主题的沙龙。第一次是关于清洁技术；第二次是关于减排；每期沙龙我们都会邀请大约10位专家和政府官员参加。”

许多参与培训的人都参加过这种研讨会和沙龙。有些是由他们所在媒体机构组织的，有些是由国际或国内的NGO组织举办的，还有一些是由外国政府或相关机构组织的。对他们中的很多人而言，财新-IMS研修班并不是他们参加的第一个气

候变化培训项目或奖学金项目。例如，一位记者最近曾参加了一个在泰国举办的国际赞助的培训项目。她说：

“我参加过一个（由某国际NGO组织）在泰国举办的项目。项目教我们如何培训我们的同事。在这次项目上，我与很多外国环境记者进行了交流，分享了我们的观点。其中有三四位记者在BBC工作。当时，我正在写一篇关于IPCC的报道。培训的老师和一些记者给了我很多建议。”

研讨会和培训课程是环境记者之间互动和分享经验的主要场合，此外还有电子邮件列表及环境记者间的在线讨论小组等。有几位参与者来自于专业组织，如中国环保记者协会等。但是，他们只占少数。其中一些人表示，他们几乎没有机会与同行会面。

对那些北京之外的记者而言，这种情况更加普遍。他们觉得自己能够参与的环境教育活动太少。京外记者通常只能引用他们所在地区举办的研讨会或会谈的内容。这些活动通常是由国际环境NGO组织举办

的。但是，这些活动举办的次数很少，并且非常专业，通常也不是以环境报道技巧为重点。

报道国家利益

正如上文提到的很多例子那样，人们通常认为，政府的政策是鼓励气候变化报道的。例如，一位记者说道：

“在媒体和政府的帮助下，我们能设法用清晰的语言发送报道。”

然而，当报道涉及国际气候变化政治中时而引发争议的敏感领域时，而这些问题已经成为中国在世界舞台上形象的重要组成部分，记者的忠诚常常会处于一种两难境地：坚守客观性原则，同时又要维护国家利益。

一位官方媒体的记者表示，她的角色就是寻求平衡。一方面，她要扮演政府喉舌的角色，另一方面，她又要扮演记者的角色。而对其他人而言，这之间的冲突更加微妙。一位地方报纸的记者表示，作为中国记者，对国家利益的认识是其国籍所决定的，是根植于内心的，因此也是无法避免的。她补充道，西方国家记者也显示出同样的倾向。她说：

“国家利益深植于我的内心。所以，我自然而然的就会为国家考

虑。但是，这并不意味着我会撒谎，或忽视一些负面消息。我会试着与美国或欧洲的专家交谈，从而不带偏见的进行报道。”

另外一位记者也表达了相似的观点。他说，对与记者而言，为国家利益着想是不可避免的。

“我们需要考虑我们国家的立场。我们会尽力从普遍价值观及全球视角来报道。但是，为国家利益考虑有时是很难避免的。”

然而，一些记者对国家利益的理解却有所不同。一位官方出版物的编辑表示，他同意政府在气候变化问题上的立场。然而，他也表示他仍然肩负着责任：国家利益能够使媒体激发起维护政府政策的欲望，同时也能促使其从正面影响政府的决策。他说：

“我认为我们应该推动政府采取更多措施，如采纳某些政策等，并且鼓励企业更多地参与环保。”

争论和“不偏不倚”

财新-IMS研修班的学员对于气候变化报道的目的和价值持多元化的观点，尤其是当面临争议的时候。鉴于“气候门”和“冰川门”事件（下文将对这些事件及其在中国的报道进行深入讨论），气候变化科学已经变得越来越有争议。当被问及有关这一学科的问题时，所有参与者都表示，他们相信气候变化正在发生。但是，他们中没有一人认为，人类导致全球变暖的理论已成“定论”。

或许令人吃惊的是，一些人对人类导致气候变化的论点表示怀疑，而另一些人则倾向于支持政府间气候变化专门委员会（IPCC）所达成的科学共识。IPCC是负责审查和评估近期关于气候变化的科学、技术、及社会经济领域信息的国际组织。然而，正如上文所讨论的那样，几乎所有的记者都觉得由他们并没有资格做出科学判断。因此，很多人觉得，他们不得不继续对任何气候变化科学争论的“双方”进行报道。基于这一点，许多人表示，作为记者会保持“不偏不倚”，将事件的两面展现给读者。

一位报纸记者谈到了她在报道这些科学争论时所面临的困难。其中一点就是，她唯一的选择就是报道争论的政治性，而不是对它的科学严谨性或正确性进行评估。她说：

“IPCC犯了不少错误，例如，‘气候门’和‘冰川门’。（……）你应该把所有的丑闻放在一起，找出背后隐藏的问题，而不只是针对丑闻本身进行报道[……]。谈论科学的不确定性对我来说很难。我会回避讨论科学。然而，关于科学报告如何受政治力量的影响，我却可以大写特写。无论是外国科学家还是中国科学家，他们都承认政治力量影响着科学。所以，我们尽量从这一特点进行挖掘，不止是IPCC的科学丑闻（……）。全球变暖在科学界还有争议。作为记者，我不能说对还是错。记者不应该置身其中。”

另外一位记者则表示，他对判断争议的科学价值没有信心。因此，他会从两个方面对其进行报道。

“我不在报纸上讨论科学，因为我掌握的科学知识不足以作出判断。”

我报道一些诸如‘冰川门’和‘气候门’之类的消息时会保持中立。双方的观点我都会报道，不偏向任何一边。”

通人，我用我的文章让他们明白他们的生活方式会影响气候。气候变化不仅仅是一个庞大的课题，而且还事关他们自身。”

一位官方报纸记者的立场尽管相关，却有所不同：记者必须保持不偏不倚，即便是他们已经得出了结论。他认为：

“就我个人而言，我相信气候变化，这与每个人息息相关。所以我会关注那些相信它的人。我的信息多数来自于相信气候变化的科研人员。但是，为了保证不偏不倚，我们还是应该关注那些不相信它的人。”

然而，值得注意的是，财新-IMS研修班的每位受访人都一致认为，每个人都有责任减少对化石燃料的依赖，而且媒体有责任鼓励这种改变。例如，一位记者这样说道：

“（一位专家）对我说，气候变化就像‘蝴蝶效应’一样：你个人的生活方式会影响全球气候。我同意这个观点。我经常会在我的文章中引用这句话。因为我的读者都是普

低碳发展

一方面围绕导致气候变化的原因争论不休，同时又一致认为需要鼓励低碳的生活方式。这种表面的冲突可以解释为：项目的每一位参与者都认为，在能源效率、清洁技术、碳交易领域，中国能够抓住经济优势。同时，减排能够带来环境和健康共赢。

换句话说，即便是并非所有的记者都确信迫切地需要通过温室气体减排来应对全球变暖，然而“双赢”的低碳政策依然获得了一致的支持。在向参与者发放的问卷中，关于全球变暖必然性的问题，一位记者的回答是：“不予置评。但是我认为我们需要减少化石燃料的使用，并且以各种方式推进经济结构调整。”大多数记者对低碳发展题材的热衷突显了这一观点，不论他们对于气候变化科学持何态度，。例如，一位编辑表示：

“气候变化问题不仅仅是政治家之间的一场争论：对能够降低成本的企业老板而言，它是好事，而且还能够帮助我们每个人以更好的方式生活。（……）（我的一位朋友）去了美国，令他惊异的是，那里常常是一片碧空。这是我报道气候变

化的另外一个原因：保护环境对你的孩子和你的父母都有好处。”

对这一观点唯一的异议来自那些担心气候变化议程会转移对其他环境问题的关注的记者，而这些环境问题有可能对普通群众的生活造成直接影响。例如，一位记者表示：

“我认为最迫切的问题不是气候变化，而是水污染。然而，媒体对这些问题的关注不够。真正夺人性命的是持久性有机污染物（POP）、重金属污染、空气污染。但是，气候变化是个政治问题，关系到国家的脸面。所以，（作为记者，）我必须尽己所能。可是，对于每个会谈都在谈论气候变化的现实，我表示反对。有点太过了。水污染和气候变化都应该得到关注。”

这位记者主要感兴趣的是低碳发展如何让中国的弱势群体直接受益。她解释说：

“我希望将来CDM（清洁发展机制）能够帮助更多的贫困地区。例如，我知道它为某些地区的生物质发电提供了支持。还有一家公司为农民提供免费的太阳能。”

哥本哈根气候会议

财新-IMS研修班的学员认为，2009—2010年度，中国气候变化领域最重大的新闻报道是：2009年12月召开的哥本哈根气候会谈；大约在同一时期发生的两件气候科学丑闻，即所谓的“气候门”和“冰川门”；2009年末到2010年初，中国西南部地区遭受的旱灾。

毫无疑问，本报告的读者一定记得，2009年12月，联合国气候变化会议，即COP15，在丹麦的哥本哈根召开。谈判代表以及包括中国总理在内的众多国家首脑在经过了两周艰难激烈的谈判之后，188个国家最终就共同努力继续降低温室气体排放达成了一份有条件的协议，即《哥本哈根协议》。协议对2007年签订的《巴厘行动计划》中的许多目标进行了重申。同时，协议还认识到，全球平均气温上升不应超过2摄氏度。然而，会议却未能如大多数人所愿达成一份具有法律约束力的协议。

在会议召开之前，中国宣布了国内降低经济碳密度的目标，即到2020年单位GDP二氧化碳排放量比2005年下降40%—45%。然而，

会谈的主要症结却变成了如何对发展中国家的这种排放目标进行监控。中国在会谈中的角色和会谈的成果，其中包括中国与美国和其他发达国家间的僵局，以及中国与印度及其他新兴经济体间愈加紧密的关系等，都成为中国和全世界媒体报道中的争议话题。

至少有一位财新-IMS研修班的学员报道了“丹麦案文”：一份泄露出来的协议草案在《卫报》上发表。该草案中，发展中国家赋予发达国家更多的权利。同时，联合国在未来谈判中的角色也被弱化。这位记者说：“因为（会议召开的）第一周我们没有什么可以报道的，这是我们报道的第一件大事儿。”

一位记者对哥本哈根峰会之外，NGO组织的抗议活动以及其他民间团体举行的活动进行了报道。她认为那是一篇“有趣，但不失严肃的”文章。她还对中国谈判小组的日常工作进行了报道。比如说：“他们住在哪里，他们每天的工作，以及他们都面临着什么困难等。”还有一位记者曾对谈判小组的主要成员——解振华和苏伟进行了采访。这位记者在对参加会议

的，或者也有可能是会议之外的气候变化怀疑论者进行采访后撰写了一篇报道。

总体而言，中国媒体从一开始就将哥本哈根会议看作是一件大事。一份商业报纸还邀请知名影星李冰冰出任哥本哈根特派记者。参加财新-IMS研修班的记者中有些虽然没能参加哥本哈根会议，但在中国对其进行了报道。他们倾向于从对低碳经济发展的影响入手来报道COP15。一位记者曾采访了中国可再生能源企业的老总们，询问他们对会议的看法。

会议闭幕后，就立即有中国报道开始对会谈显然失败的原因进行分析。通常，会将失败的原因归咎于西方国家不愿合作或不愿分享技术信息，或者归咎于会谈中发达国家和发展中国家之间不断扩大的分歧（参见2010年欧洲对外关系委员会报告）。

然而，大多数官方媒体都强力维护中国在哥本哈根的角色。但是，《卫报》却发表了两篇被人广泛阅读的文章。其中一篇是由英国气候变化大臣埃德·米利班德撰写的，而另一篇的作者是马克·莱纳斯。这两篇文章似乎认为是中国及其盟国“劫持”了会议，阻碍了实质性协议的达成。对此，国家新闻机构新华社直接做出了回应，在哥本哈根会议上，“中国表现出了最大的诚意，尽了最大的努力，发挥了重要的建设性作用”。同时，许多文章认为，哥本哈根会议根本就没有失败，并举出一些成功之处，例如，发达国家做出的资金援助承诺等。官方媒体发表了一系列文章，对各种指责予以澄清，例如，中国总理曾在会谈中“冷落”美国总统等。

自北京

腰站在起跑
只可惜枪声

本月初进行
特许权招标
上风电特许
。此前的延
“一些工作

是中国自
度，以来
上风电特
国家即将

枪响之前，
电力企业之
草拟了数十
海上风电

电产业招商
来记者，虽
但江苏盐
得或者即
与投资的
龙源和华
则成为中
力控股有
德国索拉
的对象。
很多，但
自己想要

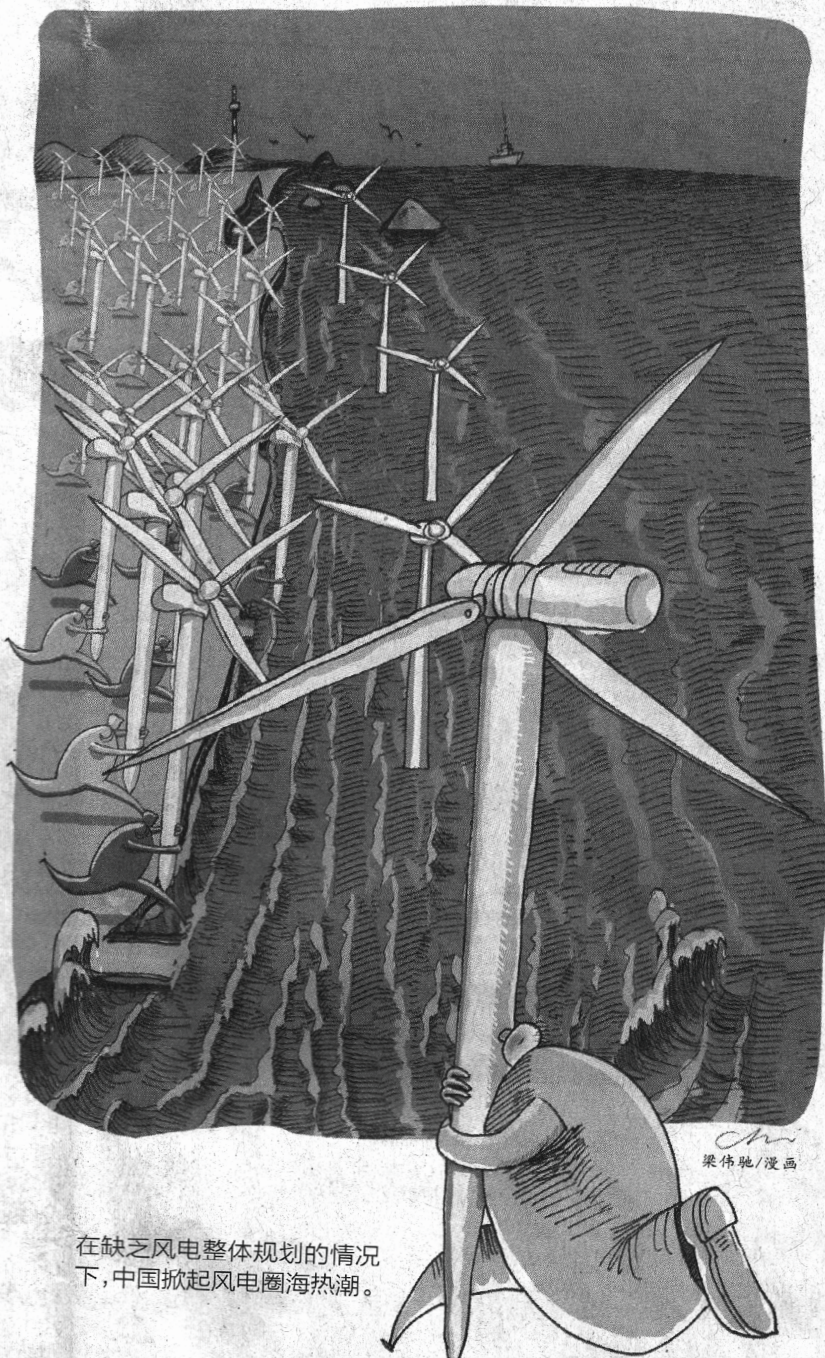
市风电场
总容量的

海”的一

市，也拥
根据规
电资源
编号为
权招标。
到了当
标其中
本确定

海上风电是个早产儿

风电圈海隐忧重重



在缺乏风电整体规划的情况下，中国掀起风电圈海热潮。

海上风电插图，来自《南方周末》。

正因为如此，从年初开始，电力企业和风机设备企业纷纷布局江苏。以至江苏发改委宏观经济研究院院长顾卫东感慨“江苏沿海适合发展海上风电的海域基本已经

等国家发改委的批准。”

不差钱，很差钱？

“这些协议基本都是上千亿的

乎也只有央企拿得出来。

作为占据全球总装机容量比例不超过 1.3% 的海上风电，缘何受到电力巨头们的青睐？事实上，海上风

“气候门”和“冰川门”

哥本哈根会议召开前一个月，有黑客透露，他们从英国东安格利亚大学气候研究中心获取了上千封电子邮件及文件。全球变暖怀疑论者立即声称，电子邮件揭示了科学家中间的不端行为。哥本哈根气候会议期间，这些指控在全世界得到了广泛的报道，但是后来经三次官方调查后被否认。

COP15后不久，又有消息称，政府间气候变化专门委员会（IPCC）的研究人员过高地估计了喜马拉雅冰川因全球变暖而融化的速度。他们采用了一份环境NGO组织的研究报告，而在这份报告中引用了一位科研人员对记者发表的错误言论。这两起事件常常被并称为“气候门”和“冰川门”。显然，它们深深地打击了公众对气候变化科学的信心（其对美国公众舆论造成的影响请参见2010年Leiserowitz等人的文章）。

许多参加财新-IMS研修班的记者都认为，这两起事件非常具有新闻价值，因为它们似乎直指那些本来枯燥乏味的科学争论背后的政治交锋。一位记者认为，“你应该把所有的丑闻放在一起，找出背后隐藏

的问题，而不只是报道丑闻本身”。而其他入为了做到“不偏不倚”则将“气候门”事件作为哥本哈根会议的一部分加以报道。但是，“冰川门”事件在中国的报道要超过电子邮件泄露事件。一些记者认为，这是因为冰川融化与中国的水资源安全问题有着更加直接的联系，因此具有明显的相关性。

整体而言，中国在哥本哈根期间对“气候门”和“冰川门”事件的报道与国际新闻机构的报道并无大的不同。然而，一月下旬，就在“冰川门”事件浮出水面后不久，国内外的新闻机构却报道说，时任中国气候变化谈判首席代表的解振华表示，他对“全球气候变暖是否是人为所导致还是自然循环的结果保持开放态度。”之后，国家气候中心副主任吕学都通过官方媒体对这一席话表示支持。他认为，全世界的气候学家中至少10%并不相信气候变化是由人为导致的。据报道，吕表示：“他们的观点对气候变化科学的进展起到了推动作用。”

在那段时间，一些媒体上也出现了对气候变化共识的怀疑，尤其是出版了一些对气候变化持怀疑态度

低碳阴谋

LOW-CARBON PLOT

中国与欧美的生死之战

低碳，是人类未来的生存之路，还是欧美打压中国的利器？

黑天鹅品牌旗下本土财经作家 勾红洋 著

勾红洋所著《低碳阴谋》一书的封面

的中国作家的作品或访谈，如白海军所著的《碳客帝国》（2010），以及勾红洋的《低碳阴谋》（2010）等。其中，勾红洋的著作主要是重复了一些西方流行的怀疑论观点，并同时认为气候变化不过是西方牵制中国的阴谋的一部分而已。例如，勾在书中写道：

“人类的活动——工业化，真的是二氧化碳的主要来源吗？显然不是。（……）在极度妖魔化‘碳’的背后，我们必须认清发达国家欲借‘碳’来封杀发展中国家生存空间的险恶用心。”

然而，一些媒体对该书的评论却是负面的。《科学新闻》（双周刊）等杂志对这些怀疑论者提出了相反的论点。而官方媒体上发表的一篇

社论（朱，2010）则专门针对白海军的《碳客帝国》提出了异议，认为尽管短期内减缓气候变化会对经济产生影响，但其仍不失为一个值得一试的目标：

“把发达国家对我们所作的一切都简单地看成是阴谋并无多大帮助。

（……）没错，大幅度降低二氧化碳排放无疑会使我们的经济增长放缓，因此使我们无法创造足够的就业。（……）然而，这并不意味着我们就有足够的理由在提高能效及降低工业污染物排放方面有所松懈。”

大旱

2009年末到2010年初这段时间，中国西南部地区遭受了百年以来最严重的旱灾，受灾人口超过5千万。河流的水量减少至平时水量的30%到80%。一些河流甚至彻底干涸。其中云南省受灾情况最为严重。据报道，干旱影响了该省85%的土地。正值举国担心干旱会对粮食安全和水利电力产量产生影响之时，二月，中国总理温家宝视察了这一地区，并督促当地政府将抗旱作为他们的首要任务。一些同样受到旱灾影响的湄公河流域国家却指责中国没能开启上游大坝放出足够的河水。中国方面驳斥了这一指责。

参加财新-IMS研修班的记者中没有一位来自中国西南部地区。然而，有些人曾对其做过简要报道，或者将其用在关于气候变化影响的文章中。一位记者说道：“我提出了为什么会发生干旱这个问题。我曾私下与中国气象局的领导聊过。他告诉我，导致干旱的其中一个原因就是气候变化。”当问及干旱对湄公河流域国家造成的影响时，他说：“我对这个题目很感兴趣，但是我没有写。[……]中国境内有一

些国际河流。我们应该关注这些河流沿岸的人民。”

相反，另外一位记者却说：“我们报道普通人的生活，例如那些中国西南部地区受旱灾影响的人，或者是受洪水或其他极端天气影响的人。但是，因为目前仍然没有证明气候变化的确凿证据，而且天气系统非常复杂，我不能说极端天气就是气候变化的结果，只能描述人们的生活。”

而更多的中国媒体，如官方新闻机构新华社在报道时则认为，降雨量稀少以及反常的高温是导致干旱的原因。同时，官方媒体报道发挥主导作用，认为气候变化是下游湄公河流域国家遭受旱灾的主要原因，而不是中国的大坝项目。一篇在国家媒体上发表的报告引用一位水利官员的话说，相反，中国修建的大坝对下游遭受旱灾的国家是有帮助的，因为它们“通过雨季储水、旱季放水来对水流进行管理。”

而历史学者秦晖则在《经济观察报》和《凤凰周刊》发表的评论中称，中国在湄公河流域的战略受

到下游国家的误解，只有提高透明度，才能让各方了解水电项目对下游积极和消极的影响。

结论

对于许多参加财新-IMS研修班的人来说，国际合作为他们提供了进行气候变化报道的初步介绍。对于另外一些人来说，国际项目为他们作为环境记者的职业发展提供了帮助。一些人还在国际资助下参加了哥本哈根气候会议等的国际活动，这极大地增强了这些记者对气候变化的理解，同时也希望能够藉此来提高他们的读者对气候变化的理解。

许多记者（尽管大部分都来自北京）都参加过国际资助的课程、获得过奖学金，其中许多都是由环保NGO组织的，还有一些则是由媒体发展NGO或政府组织的。这种研讨会和沙龙据称为环境记者提供了重要的机会，让他们有机会去结识其他记者、探讨报道的技巧与策略、加深对核心问题背景知识的了解、建立信息渠道等。

很多人认为沙龙是对环境方面的题材进行了解和互动的地方。然而，通过访问我们发现，中国的气候变化报道中还有着一些阻碍和薄弱环节。这些问题可以通过国际合作来更好地加以解决。同时，这些方面也为投资人今后的工作提供了重

要的机遇和领域。下面列出了目前存在的一些对报道造成阻碍的方面。具体的建议将第三章中加以详细论述。

大多数参加财新-IMS研修班的记者和编辑认为气候变化是个技术问题，是科学家、政府官员、企业家、以及诸如碳交易等行业的专业人士应该关心的，与普通人的生活无关。对一些人来说，似乎显而易见的是，农民或城市里的工人不会关心气候变化，尽管其造成的潜在社会影响，如水资源短缺、粮食价格上涨等与许多人的日常生活休戚相关。

因此就产生了这样一种观点：由于气候变化是一个科学问题，因此中国记者理科教育的匮乏使他们面临着阻碍。事实上，许多记者对一些科学问题似乎并不清楚，例如：有些人分不清气候变化缓解项目与其他污染控制项目。但是，同样清晰的事实是：没有几位记者与科学家建立了联系。当记者不具备理科方面的教育背景时，这些科学家可以为他们提供相关报道的深度背景知识、事实核查等方面的帮助。

参加财新-IMS研修班的记者也几乎分辨不清不同组织的科学家以及他们的专业知识有何区别。因为在他们的印象中，专家们所代表的是一个无差别的团体。尽管并非所有记者都这么认为，但是确实有些记者认为这些专家自然而然地会同政府或者企业站在一起。这种对科学家或者他们在社会中所扮演的角色不加区分的情况，让某些科研人员有机可乘，在公开场合就并非自己专业领域（例如气候科学）的问题发表了不实言论。这同时也意味着记者有时候太过于依赖环境NGO的分析。特别是“冰川门”事件应该为记者敲响警钟，提醒他们特别是在没有查阅经同行审阅的文献，也没有对科学家进行背景消息采访的情况下，应该避免单一消息来源的科学报道。

记者无法对科学问题做出自己的判断，这种看法常使财新-IMS研修班的学员在面对气候变化科学的问题时会竭力采取一种“不偏不倚”的态度。最明显的做法就是将“相信者”与“怀疑者”进行对比。以此来表明，科学家之间关于气候变化的争论还没有定论，而且争论分成两派。然而这种做法却有误导之

嫌：IPCC达成的共识是在专家评审的研究基础上得出的最新评估。而气候变化“怀疑论”却几乎拿不出同样充分的论据。（详情请参阅奥雷斯克斯和康伟2010年发表的合著）

许多记者认为，政府信息公开方面缺乏透明度是摆在中国记者面前最大的障碍。财新-IMS研修班的学员中几乎没有人知道2008年5月颁布实施的中国《政府信息公开条例》。该条例应该能够为记者及环保人士要求企业及政府部门对环境信息进行披露提供一扇方便之门。然而，在该条例实施了两年之后，近期就其实施情况进行的一项调查却显示，环保部门对信息披露的请求照旧采取拒绝的态度。其理由通常是，这些部门无法采集数据；根据国家保密法，信息属于保密的范畴；或者是这些部门没有人手或技能培训来对这些请求作出回应。（张，等人，2010）

总之，很多参加财新-IMS研修班的记者觉得，哥本哈根会议之后，气候变化报道已经成为一个具有重要意义的问题，它关系到中国在世界舞台上的立场：它不仅是一个

日益重要的新闻题材，而且还让记者们背负起了考虑或维护气候变化谈判中‘国家利益’的重担。这让国际支持面临着潜在的挑战。例如，一些中国环保人士推测，为气候变化报道提供国际资金支持就是为了提高富国们在气候会谈中的利益。由此更强调了在进行国际合作时需要采取谨慎、公开、具有建设性的方式，应鼓励以一种探讨的、多元化的观点对待气候政治的不同方面，而不是仅仅给出简单的回答。

第二章：国际机构对气候新闻的作用

简介

国际机构如何支持中国的气候新闻？要回答这个问题，我们先来看几个该领域现成的例子。本章并不是一个详尽的调查，只是要强调一些重要的例子，以便为合作途径和未来发展的领域提供一点参考和启发。

英国文化协会是对中国的气候变化新闻进行支持和培训的国际机构之一，该机构的活动得到英国政府密切但“保持距离”的支持，主要内容是在英国之外的地区提供教育和文化的机会。它在中国气候新闻方面的主要活动包括：在北京、上海、广州、重庆及其他城市进行气候报道培训，据说已经有1600位记者接受培训；组织了一项气候变化报道评奖；在网站上为媒体设立了两个培训模块，介绍气候变化和国际谈判的情况；资助记者参加哥本哈根气候大会。

英国文化协会的还支持成立了一个以网络为基础的组织——气候变化报道俱乐部（简称CCJC），旨在促进中国的气候变化报道。自成立以来，CCJC组织记者进行了多次实地考察活动，其中包括2008年组织环境记者考察气候变化对青藏

高原的影响。这次为期一周的考察由德国伯尔基金会赞助，事后还出版了一本双语图书《变暖的西藏》，书中收录了参加考察的记者们的文章。另外，CCJC还在英国文化协会的资助下出版了一本面向中国气候变化记者的参考书——《气候变化报道手册》，这本书由资深的科技记者以中文撰写，与中国科技部下属的独立组织中国科学技术交流中心联合出版。书中收录了关于气候变化的各种信息，包括全球变暖的科学、低碳经济和国际气候外交，并为这些问题的报道角度和方式提供了参考。该手册的电子版可以在CCJC的网站免费下载。

另外一个得到国际支持的专业组织是中国科学报道网络（简称CSRN），由美国杜邦公司发起建立，该公司还在中国支持环境奖项机制，作为其企业社会责任的一个组成部分。CSRN是一个网络平台，让中国的科学记者们能够与科学家、学术机构以及公共信息官员进行交流。据该组织网站的信息，它还组织了各种网络和线下的活动，以促进负责任的科学报道。该网站刊登了许多对上述问题进行深度报道的中文文章。此外，受中国政府支持

的中国科技新闻学会似乎并没有什么国际背景，但它也是世界科学记者联盟的成员。

在中国进行的气候变化新闻培训也得到了包括国际传媒发展中心在内许多其他组织的支持。比如，2009年和2010年的财新-国际媒体支持组织（简称IMS）课程组织中国记者在北京和哥本哈根接受气候变化报道培训。在天津联合国气候变化会谈之前，气候变化行动全球运动也举办了一次为期一天的气候变化新闻培训，由绿色和平和中外对话主持。

值得注意的是，这些有国际支持的培训、讲座和沙龙和某些中国国内NGO组织的活动很相似。比如由中国环境记者汪永晨创立的环境记者沙龙，以北京为基地每月举行一次绿色主题的讲座，内容从气候公平到环境人类学和地震，还组织记者们在北京周边的河流和运河进行短途考察，有时也到西南部的河流和大坝进行更远的旅行。这个团体从很早以前就致力于促进中国环境记者和绿色拥护者队伍的壮大。“达尔问自然求知社”是一个更年轻的组织，由环境记者冯永锋创办，他

们也在北京组织沙龙，并到外地的河流、垃圾回收项目和有机农场进行报道考察，但他们更关注鼓励“公民新闻”和在环境问题上的公众接触，而非促进专业报道本身。

还有其他许多针对气候变化报道的国际资助项目，其中一些是帮助中国记者参加国际会议，比如气候变化媒体伙伴提供的机会。该组织由Internew, Panos和国际环境与发展研究所共同主办，它提供了一个网上专家名录，可以就气候变化话题对他们进行采访。还有由Internews网络和Inernews欧洲联合建立的地球新闻网络，也经常组织资助项目，帮助发展中国家的记者们到重大环境峰会进行采访报道；2009年它组织了一次气候变化记者评奖；最近还主办了一次针对亚洲记者的培训，内容涵盖了气候变化谈判语境下的森林管理到“减少森林砍伐和森林退化产生的碳排放”（REDD）的广泛领域，两名中国记者参加了培训。

其他的相关机会还包括美国科学促进会提供的AAAS科学记者奖学金，资助来自全世界的科学记者来参加其年会。曾有不少中国环境和

科学记者得到该机制的支持。此外还有麻省理工大学的骑士科技新闻项目，由骑士基金会出资，为资深的记者提供机会，加深对科学、技术、医学和环境的认识，学习方式包括九个月的访学，和时间更短的“训练营”和讲习班。

中国的气候变化报道奖项除了经常被提到英国文化协会和地球新闻网络所设立的之外，还有中外对话、《卫报》及腾讯公司共同颁发的年度中国最佳环境报道奖。2010年4月10日，中外对话举行了颁奖典礼，《21世纪经济报道》的陆振华以一篇关于中国风能市场投资狂热的报道获得了“影响力最大”奖。

结论

从上面的简单调查中可以看出，许多在中国的国际行为体都选择建立本地组织、网站或者专业机构（有时是冒着相互之间或者与业已存在的国内行动重复的风险），而非直接与中国国内NGO等当地组织直接合作。这或许就反映了中国NGO界与国际行为体的脱节程度，也反映了中国在这一领域进行国际合作的敏感性。该领域的大多数国际行为体仍然维持与本地伙伴的重要工作关系，比如与大学和政府机构。

本地合作伙伴或者主办组织的选择对一个项目的成败至关重要，对在中国的任何气候变化项目来说，关于不断变化的政治气候的本地知识都是不可或缺的要害。此外，中国记者对于之前由国际行为体支持的项目的长处和短处的看法强烈而微妙，因此在考虑任何未来可能的项目时，都应该征求他们的意见。总的来说，中国记者倾向于互动性更强、技能发展导向型的培训。

但是，大多数项目都有一个值得注意的特点，就是经常吸引到同一群记者，这可能也是一个与本地伙伴合作的缺点——它们都喜欢维持老关系。这些参加培训的常客通常都

来自著名的中国报刊，对环境问题很熟悉，这当然有助于在有影响的记者（这些人可以支持彼此的发展）中建立强有力的网络，但是在鼓励更年轻的、资历较浅的、非著名报刊或者对环境报道缺乏认识的记者方面，则可能存在缺陷。

第三章：国际合作建议

简介

基于第一、二章对中国气候变化报道和国际合作情况的分析的相关问卷、采访和其他研究，笔者在这里提出一系列尝试性的建议（按照前面分析中的讨论顺序而非重要性），供支持中国气候变化报道进步的国际国内伙伴参考。

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中国的气候变化报道几乎没有什么科学认识深度，这个问题绝对是中国所独有的（请参阅佩恩特 2010 年文章）。中国环境记者非常清楚他们在科学认识上的局限，但改善科学教育和传播不能只停留在口号上。参加财新-IMS 研修班的气候变化记者中，只有个别人和科学家互动过，很多人对自己所做的工作几乎一无所知。因此，资助者们要鼓励更好的科学和气候变化报道，应该采取小型讲习班等方式，加深科学家和记者的相互理解。这些讲习班的学员可以同时包括科学家和记者，内容则包括到实验室（针对记者）和编辑部（针对科学家）的实地考察。这样的讲习班有助于对中国科学报道局限性的讨论，鼓励科学家和记者之间建立更深更经常性的联系，鼓励不同类型的科学家和专家之间更鲜明的区别，并且从长远上提高中国科学报道的质量。

这类科学家-记者交流的主题可以超越气候变化科学的范畴，对于气候变化相关的更深层的科学和社会科学概念进行讨论，比如风险评估、风险认知、人口脆弱性，以及科学和政策的联系等。考虑到建议1和2中这些项目的性质，合适的国内合作伙伴应该是大学或者科研机构，它们可以从这类合作中看到积极的收益，即可以令其科学家获得有关传播和媒体的知识。

除了精心安排的讲习班之外，还有其他深化中国科学认识的方式，比如连接科学家和记者的中文网上平台。这一方式有两种可能模式：一种是气候变化媒体伙伴的相对社会化和开放的模式，就是提供一个网上专家名录，在这个英文网站上，专家们可以创建社会网络式的文档，记者们可以随便翻阅，还可以提出更长的问题，与专家进行更深入的对话。另一种是快速反应模式，主要采用者包括美国地球物理协会和气候科学快速反应小组（这两个组织都有英文网站），记者或者政府官员们可以在网站上提交气候科学的相关问题，然后从科学家那里得到快捷而可靠的回答。

四

许多有国际资助的中国新闻培训班都是教导式的，而非参与式的。培训内容有时就是一些很长的非正式情况介绍，作介绍的人多数是政府官员，有时来自NGO，而非记者、编辑、科学家或者其他专家，而且受培训的记者们也很少提问。很多培训几乎从不强调报道经验、技能或者技巧的分享，也不学习新的报道技术。这意味着培训帮助塑造的是中国气候变化新闻的叙述和分析，而非其准确性或健康发展。国际行为体应该鼓励发展规模较小的、互动性和参与性更强的培训，或者再次强调受训者要分享经验和策略、多提问题、学习新的技巧以及在多元新闻来源的基础上构建更丰富的报道内容。考虑到这些类型培训的性质，合适的当地合作伙伴应该是中国的报刊和其他媒体，它们要能看到国际合作带来的报道质量提高。

五

如何将气候变化报道与中国的日常生活联系起来，许多参加财新-IMS研修班的记者对此认识都很有限，他们经常把气候变化看作一个远离生活的科技或者财经题目，而不是具有深刻的社会意义。因此国际行为体可以鼓励对气候变化的社会影响进行更切近的、更富创造性和更有魄力的报道。财新-IMS研修班的一些参与者还参加了国际资助的采访考察，实际上这些考察已经为他们提供了几乎是“现成”的社会影响报道，比如与气候有关的移民。但为了做出更好的社会影响报道，国际行为体强调的重点，应该从利用讲习班形式转移到鼓励必需的背景知识、调查和批评技巧和策略（包括上网、录音和录像技能）上来，以提高这类报道的吸引力和质量。

六

要满足进行此类社会影响的报道的需要，也可以设置一些培训之外的国际支持项目，比如资助针对这些问题的独立报道，设立评奖机制或者奖学金，甚至是利用一个网上平台来为报道进行“群众外包”，鼓励公众提供关于气候变化社会影响的新闻线索。美国非营利网站Spot.us也提供了一个模式，该网站受到包括骑士基金会等团体的支持，关心环境问题的公民可以对那些他们希望记者报道的问题进行委托和资助。但是，类似的网站在中国不能合法地从民众那里收取捐助，而且新闻线索的来源也只能是公众，而非基金会。

七

在财新-IMS研修班中，那些来自北京、上海的学员在气候变化新闻培训资源获取方面的优势要大得多。因此，国际合作应该继续扩大包括培训在内的项目的覆盖范围，把触角伸向更贫困省份的二三线甚至四五线城市，也伸向那些已经见报的气候变化影响严重的地区，比如内蒙古、甘肃和青海，以便更好地了解在这些地区改进气候变化报道中的障碍，并予以解决。

八

参加财新-IMS研修班的许多记者都把政府透明度的缺乏作为气候变化报道的一个主要障碍。但对于中国的政府信息公开法律，以及记者该如何使用它们，知道的人却寥寥无几。国际行为体应该对目前可以被记者用来获取信息的法律工具和策略展开研究，并将其（以及那些使用过这些工具的记者、研究者和拥护者们的经验分享）作为气候变化和环境培训、手册及网上资源中技能培养方面的一部分。

西南苦旱

截至3月23日，云南、贵州、广西、重庆、四川耕地受旱面积9654万亩，1805万人因旱饮水困难



云南，几位老乡背着装满的水桶，穿过荒凉的田地回家。CFP

云南

截至3月25日，2405万人受灾，828万人饮水困难，农作物受灾4730.6万亩。



贵州

截至3月22日，1742万人受灾，其中312.9万人需要口粮救济。



广西

截至3月25日，908.1万人受灾，235.25万人饮水困难。



重庆

截至3月25日，降雨已使旱情有效缓解，仅巫溪、涪南有轻度干旱。



中国西南部严重干旱的情景，来自《世纪周刊》。

■ 特旱 ■ 重旱 ■ 中旱 ■ 轻旱 □ 正常

第四章：走向更好的气候变化报道

简介

在本章中，报告希望能够提供一些建议，供中国的记者、编辑和媒体经理人以及希望对改善气候变化报道的途径、机会和策略有一个更好认识的国际行为体参考。为此，笔者进行了三场访谈，对象分别是一位资深气候变化记者、一位科学传播教授和一位中国科学杂志的编辑。



苏伟，2010年墨西哥坎昆联合国气候变化大会中方代表团副团长。摄影：徐安琪。

记者：李虎军

李虎军，财新传媒科学与环境编辑，1997年毕业于四川大学，获高分子材料硕士学位，经过短暂的建材工程师生涯后，投身媒体行业。麻省理工2003/2004年度骑士科技新闻项目学者，并获得2004年度AAAS发展中国家科学记者奖和2005年度的中英科学新闻奖。他也是科学报道沙龙的联合创始人。



山姆·吉尔（以下简称吉）：你对新入行的气候变化记者有什么建议？

李虎军（以下简称李）：首先，气候变化记者如果能对气候变化的关键科学依据和事实，以及科学界的“游戏规则”（比如同行评审的发表）有个了解会更好一些。正如IPCC报告是国际气候变化谈判的基础，科学背景知识也是气候变化新闻的起点。

其次，气候变化不仅是一个科学问题，与政治、产业等也有密切的关系。因此，记者不仅要掌握科学术语，还要了解利益相关者之间的利益冲突。

吉：记者们应该如何触及有风险和不确定性的话题？

李：我们首先当然应该进行平衡的报道。但是，如果我们太过于强调所谓的“平衡”，就可能对决策者和公众产生误导。

换句话说，对双方的话和观点我们都必须引用，但也要检验他们的话是否有可靠的科学依据，我们不

需要对不同的声音处理得过于“平等”。

吉：气候变化记者要在社会中扮演什么样的角色？

李：在联合国气候大会天津会议前，我参加了一次研讨会，一位NGO代表说媒体也应该加入NGO，参与气候运动。作为一名记者，我不能认同她的这个观点。

媒体对决策者和公众的行动能够起到积极的促进作用，这是毫无疑问的。但是，在进行报道时，我们记者首先要做到的是客观。因此，一个媒体组织绝对不是一个NGO，它们各有各的角色。

吉：你如何避免写出平淡的文章？

李：对人们来说，新闻报道中的冲突和细节总是很有吸引力的。所以我会尽力去寻找那些有趣的要素。

比如，当我对中国的碳密集度和节能挑战进行报道的时候，我会选择一个地方——河北的蠡县，然后再描述当地草根阶层人们在做什么、面临着哪些困难等等。

吉：我们如何在气候变化新闻领域对记者进行更好的培训？

李：应该吸收更多来自北京、上海等大城市以外地区的人，以及更多的编辑来参加培训，进行更多的个案研究，我们还应该鼓励深度培训和在线培训。

教授：布鲁斯·赖温斯坦

布鲁斯·赖温斯坦是康奈尔大学传播学系及科技研究系教授。出版作品包括《美国科学的建立：AAAS150年》（与萨利·乔治·科尔斯特德、迈克尔·索卡尔合著，罗格斯大学出版社1999年），《当科学遇到公众》（编辑，华盛顿：AAAS，1992年）和《创立联系：博物馆与公众理解科学》（与戴维·奇特登、格兰汉姆·法莫罗合编，Altamira出版公司2004年）。1998年到2003年担任《公众理解科学》杂志主编。



山姆·吉尔（以下简称吉）：你对新入行的气候变化记者有什么建议？

布鲁斯·赖温斯坦（以下简称赖）：科学新闻有两个层次。在第一个层次上，你必须把科学解释清楚。但要超越这个层次达到第二个更深的层次，其实并不容易。第二个层次就是：争论的确切内容是什么？争论的焦点到底是什么？为什么在涉及到科学的争论中，人们会表现出狭隘或选择性？或者说，为什么科学家之间就是难以统一意见？

一篇科学报道可以简短地讨论发现本身，但更好的报道则要挖掘背景，或者总结特征。这些报道会问：科学家们是怎样工作的？他们的观点是什么？不同的学派用的是哪种论据？挑战的基础又是什么？

在这些报道中，你并不是要解释科学的细节，因为那样就太繁复了，你会被细节埋葬。你必须能够从细节中抽身出来。用政治报道来打个比方：这里有一个争论，是关于不同的哲学理论的，像如何掌握数据、如何评估风险、是否应该允许个人的行动自由，以及社会是否应

该为个人作出共同的决定。如果你要写这方面的报道，请考虑以下几点：首先，它们可能更容易写；其次，你将帮助读者（或者观众和听众）理解什么是存亡攸关的东西，为什么有的人的话值得听，而其他人的不值得听。这样你就能帮助人们超越表面的东西，即使他们并不理解科学，也能理解那些正在发挥作用的力量。

吉：记者们应该如何触及有风险的话题？

赖：首先，要承认不确定性：有些事情的风险是我们不知道的。其次，要清楚有时候我们讨论的风险在近期是不确定的，而其它情况下我们讨论的风险更加确定，但是从长远角度来看的。

人们常常就下面这类问题做出选择：我们是不是在赌未来能找到一个解决方案？人们靠什么价值观来作出这些决定？这些价值观在技术上是是不是乐观主义的？比如，你会不会看着过去150年的历史说：“世界在技术上的变化如此巨大，按照过去的经验，我们一定会解决未来的问题”，还是会说：“技术似

乎是解决了一个问题，又产生另外一个”？我们必须从衡量这些风险的价值观的角度来理解这个风险，也就是说：如果你一定要找到量化的风险，反而常常无法找到答案。

记者们也必须帮助人们理解这一点，比如，当我们讨论把风险从一个集团转嫁给另一个集团这类的选择时。再比如，如果我们说核能不是一个好的能源选择，于是选择用煤炭，是因为我们不想承担核辐射可能泄露这样一个长期的小风险，但接下来我们必须认识到还有采煤事故这样的近期风险。你不能把这些风险进行直接比较，但你必须帮助人们了解这些风险的性质有怎样的区别。真正的问题是：谁将承担这些风险？

吉：气候变化记者要在社会中扮演什么样的角色？

赖：在西方媒体中，关于媒体的作用有两种哲学定位：一个是媒体的工作就是尽可能多地传递信息，然后相信你的读者可以对它们作出解读。这种哲学主要来自政治新闻的理念，也就是说：“我们知道所有的政客都在撒谎，所以我们至少要

把他们所有的谎言都公之于众，然后进行相互质证。”但问题在于这种哲学在科学新闻中并不管用，因为各方并不对等。

于是这就引出了另外一种哲学：媒体工作的一部分就是要说明白这些来源中哪个是可信的，哪个是我应该引用的，哪个是该忽略的。气候变化是最符合这一理论的领域之一，因为科学家们非常明确地达成了共识，尽管记者应该提一些探索性的问题，但他们也应该接受科学结论。

有一些著名的科学记者和科学新闻分析家们应该非常赞同这种说法，但我对此却稍有微词。我认为作为一个记者，你对自己的来源当然要有点选择性，你也必须告诉读者为什么这个来源说了一些别人都没有说的话，或者说了一些不同的话，但归根结底我希望相信读者们能自己作出判断。

吉：你如何避免写出平淡的文章？

赖：人们问我：“当我的编辑们要我写更具有轰动性的报道的时候，怎样才能写出更跌宕起伏的故

事？”这是编辑培训的一部分，这样的报道并不是要你写：“今天科学家们发现气候并没有（或者是的确）在变暖。”而是要保证报道中有一条稳定的冲突线，冲突也能带来好的报道。

你也可以写一些有趣的叙述性报道，描述一下人们的认识是如何形成的：如极地扩张、沙漠扩张，或者蒙古的一家人如何面对百年一遇的强降水。你可以写出吸引读者的报道，这是编辑和发行人所希望的，但这个报道也应该能够展现那些更深层的社会问题和存亡攸关的社会价值。

吉：我们如何在科学新闻领域对记者进行更好的培训？

赖：第一步是要举行一个会议，让科学家和记者能够坐在一起，开始发泄情绪。科学家们会说：我发现科学记者让人失望透顶。记者们听到这些话会焦躁不安，然后他们也会说：我对科学家也是同感。一旦这些话都被摆上了桌面，就可以对双方就如何反映世界的真实状态（注意，并非人们希望的样子）的探索展开讨论。这些对于我们走向一

个理想世界来说是必要的，然后就可以开始发掘双方的共同价值。

一旦这些都做到了，就可以帮助记者获得一些实用的经验。可以让记者亲自走进一个实验室，看看工作何等困难，再和科学家聊上几天。也可以让科学家们尝试着写一篇新闻报道给编辑，很可能编辑会说：“这稿子我没法用”，然后告诉科学家为什么没法用。通过这种方式，双方都可以对另一方面面临的问题有所了解。

这种办法的效果要看我们能投入多少时间和努力。但如果一个记者能够到遥远的实验室亲自参与一下研究，或者让一位科学家在一家新闻机构跟着师傅当上一个月的记者，他们回去的时候不仅会加深相互的理解，还会对同事说：“你不知道接触一个全新的领域，然后必需在一个小时里写出一篇关于这个领域的报道到底有多难。”

吉：在气候变化新闻中，是不是经常会写着写着就发现科学政策的内容比科学本身还要多？关于这类报道的记者培训，你有什么建议？

赖：记者们必须正确地理解政策过程是什么：这一过程中可能会有一个研讨会，相关部委的人都参加了，对于这些人，你必须很小心地选择，因为你需要的是那些更开放的人，可以告诉你未来情况的人。这些话科学家们也应该听一听，因为他们很多人也不明白这一点。如果能把决策者、科学家和记者们聚在一起，将是一个很积极的模式。

有特定的一类人，他们在早期生涯中接受科学训练，然后意识到自己喜欢站在中间的状态：既可以和科学家对话，但又对政策感兴趣；可以和政策人士说上话，但又对科学有兴趣。这些人有一套技巧，让他们在两个方面都可以沟通。这些人有时候会进入科学政策界，或者成为科学记者，但他们常常不知道还有其他与其相似的人，这些人从高中时代就与科学界挂上了钩。如果你发现这正是你想做的（并非真的想往实验室生活，但是对能够塑造政策的前景深感兴趣），就不用考虑是否能有一席之地。因此，如果让气候记者和科学家汇聚一堂，一个可能的结果就是这些人会发现他们还有很多同类，这里指的是那些站在中间的人。

此类过程也能帮助记者培养资源，这对任何新闻都是必不可少的一部分。记者写报道的时候要找一些人，即使不引用他们的话，也要有人来帮助他们理清问题的现状。最终记者会开发出一些资源，能够让他们经常作为非常深刻的背景来利用。关于这种方式记者们可以说：“我并不打算引用你的话，但我需要你帮我弄清楚这些人物都是谁。”任何能够把人们聚集在一起的论坛或者沙龙，包括社会活动性质的，都非常重要，因为它们都是形成这种资源的机会。

编辑：贾鹤鹏

贾鹤鹏，《科学新闻》杂志（半月刊）创办人兼主编，并为《科学》杂志和《化学世界》撰稿。他还是世界科学记者联盟执行理事，中国科技新闻学会成员，科学报道沙龙创始人。著有《全球化时代有效的科学传播》（科学普及出版社，2007年）。



山姆·吉尔（以下简称吉）：你对新入行的气候变化记者有什么建议？

贾鹤鹏（以下简称贾）：气候变化非常复杂，经常看起来和日常生活毫不相关。因此，这一领域的新记者应该努力了解更多它与我们日常生活和产业活动的联系。另外，记者们应该了解更多科学家的情况，和他们多交流，而且是那些有自己独立观点的科学家，即使这些观点可能并不正确。还有，新记者应该努力读更多的科学论文和科学报告，或许很难懂，但要通过读摘要和结论，而非技术细节，努力掌握其中的关键——“这篇论文有什么新东西？”。

吉：记者们应该如何触及有风险和不确定性的话题？

贾：他们必须进行完整的分析，必须问风险是什么，如何能够避免。可以首先强调这些风险，但接着要分析不确定的方面。

吉：气候变化记者要在社会中扮演什么样的角色？

贾：他们发挥着非常重要的作用，可以鼓励公众采取行动，也可以提高政策制定者的意识，来抵抗气候变化。

吉：你如何避免写出平淡的文章？

贾：对我来说，首要的事情是告诉读者一项研究或一份报告中的新东西是什么，然后努力将其与地方问题联系起来。

吉：我们如何在科学新闻领域对记者进行更好的培训？

贾：首先，要读科学论文，然后要带着论文中产生的问题和科学家对话。应该举办一些小型培训班，不要那么正式的话效果会更好，因为这样记者们可以有充分的时间来提问题。

附录一：参考书目

白海军：《碳客帝国》，北京：中国友谊出版公司，2010年

戴雨果、曾荣：《中国气候变化和环境报道的新机遇》，2010年。

在此获取：

<http://tinyurl.com/6fup8ze>

欧洲对外关系委员会：《哥本哈根后的气候政策》，2010年。在此获取：

<http://tinyurl.com/6dhv3gu>

勾红洋：《低碳阴谋》，太原：山西经济出版社，2010年

贾鹤鹏：《气候变化、科学传播与公众接触》，2006年，在第九次公众科技传媒国际会议上提交的论文

A·雷瑟洛维茨、E·麦巴克、C·罗瑟尔-勒诺夫、N·史密斯及E·道森：《气候门、公众意见和信任的丧失》，2010年，耶鲁大学工作底稿

纳奥米·欧勒斯克斯、埃里克·M.康维：《商人的疑惑：一小撮科学家如何掩盖从香烟到全球变暖的真相》，纽约：Bloomsbury出版公司，2010年

詹姆斯·潘特：《科学的召唤：根本哈根大会及其后的气候变化报道》，2010年。在此获取：

<http://tinyurl.com/2au7tr4>

迈克尔·沙纳罕：《适应时刻：非工业化国家的气候变化媒体覆盖》，2009年。本文是路易斯·博伊斯（编辑）的《气候变化与媒体》中的一章。在此获取：

<http://tinyurl.com/6cxcm5r>

杉迪·托兰：《中国媒体中的气候变化报道率：Occasional Paper 2007年人类发展报告》。在此获取：

<http://tinyurl.com/yscm7v>

张磊、阿瑟·莫尔、贺桂珍、陆永龙：《中国环境信息披露法规的执行评估》，《环境科学学报》，第22卷（2010年），第1649-1656页

朱 媛（音）：《低碳符合我们的
长远利益吗？》，《中国日
报》2010年4月21日

附录二： 中国气候变化记者参考资源

这并不是一个详尽的名单，附录二的目的是为中国记者提供一套有用的资源（有些是政府或者企业背景的，有些是受到国际合作支持的），以写出更好的气候变化报道。

《气候变化研究进展》

<http://www.climatechange.cn/>

这是一份关于气候变化科学最新进展的双月刊双语杂志。

农业与气候变化研究中心

<http://www.climag.com/>

由南京农业大学主办，这个中文信息平台汇集了关于气候变化影响及适应技术和策略的研究。

中国清洁生产网

<http://www.cncpn.org.cn/>

促进清洁生产研究的机构，其双语网站包括政策与法规、培训、技术和产品等内容。

中国气候变化信息网

<http://www.ccchina.gov.cn/cn/index.asp>

中国国家发改委气候司的官方中文网站，提供国内国际气候变化政策及相关法律法规的新闻和最新情况。

中外对话

<http://www.chinadialogue.cn> 及
<http://www.chinadialogue.net>

由著名国际记者伊莎贝尔·希尔顿创立的中英双语网站，向读者提供高质量的新闻、分析和讨论等资源，内容涉及包括气候变化在内的所有环境问题，尤其关注中国。

中国气候变化网

<http://www.ipcc.cma.gov.cn/cn/>

由IPCC中国办公室和中国国家气象局气候中心主办的双语网站，登载气候科学和关于气候变化的国际会议的最新信息。

气候变化与媒体伙伴——可采访专家名录

<http://climatechangemedia.ning.com/>

由Panos、Internews和国际环境与发展研究所共同建立，在这个英文

名录上的专家，可以就气候变化的各个方面接受记者采访。

中国环境监测总站

<http://www.cnemc.cn/>

每日更新全国和地方环境质量检测报告的中文网站。

全国污染源普查

<http://cpsc.mep.gov.cn/>

由环保部建立的中文网站，是第一次对中国主要国内污染源的全面调查。

达尔问自然求知社

<http://www.bjep.org.cn/>

由中国环境记者冯永锋创建（网站为中文），这个小型的国内NGO经常在北京组织讨论会、短途考察和其他环保活动，许多活动的主题是环境报道和公民新闻。

环境记者沙龙

<http://tinyurl.com/6dnywgp>

由中国环境记者王永晨创建，长期在北京举行记者的讨论会和短

途考察，主题涉及一系列环境和市民社会问题。（上述网址为中文，英文网址为：<http://eng.greensos.cn/default.aspx>）

环境法公众研究网

<http://www.greenlaw.org.cn/blog/>

由美国自然资源保护委员会主办的双语博客，主要讨论中国环境法的发展，定期更新。

绿色和平（中国）

<http://www.greenpeace.org/china/zh/>

绿色和平组织是一个致力于气候变化、可再生能源、食品安全和可持续农业等领域的大型国际NGO。其在中国地区的中英文双语网站，包括大量的中文国际资源，涉及气候变化影响、冰川融化、极端天气事件、粮食减收、海平面上升、物种灭绝、气候变化与贫困、中国对气候变化的反应等内容。

《气候变化报道手册》

<http://tinyurl.com/6yzoznq>

这本书由资深的科技记者以中文撰写，由英国文化协会和中国科学技术交流中心联合出版。书中收录了关于气候变化的各种信息，包括全球变暖的科学、低碳经济和国际气候外交，并为这些问题的报道角度和方式提供了参考。该手册的电子版可以在上述网址免费下载。

公众环境研究中心

<http://www.ipe.org.cn/>

由环保人士马军创立，发布双语的水污染地图和空气污染地图，尤其关注企业信息披露和政府信息公开。

伯恩特网上新闻大学——气候变化在线培训

<http://www.newsu.org/courses/covering-climate-change>

一个创新性的新闻在线培训项目（英文），旨在为记者、非专家的通讯员和公民记者打下一个坚实的气候变化知识基础，从科学入手，逐

渐走向政策争论和广泛覆盖的原则。

国家气候中心

<http://ncc.cma.gov.cn/cn/>

中国国家气象局气候中心的官方双语网站，提供月度、季度和年度的报告、分析和预测，内容涉及极端温度、洪水及其它严重天气和气候事件的信息。

世界自然基金会（中国）

<http://tinyurl.com/63xzugb>

世界自然基金会（WWF）是一个非常关注气候变化的大型国际NGO，这个双语网站的内容包括哥本哈根协议、中国的国家气候变化政策和全球变暖科学等信息。

附录三：关于本报告

关于作者

山姆·吉尔，中外对话副主编。获利兹大学中文学士、曼彻斯特大学人类学硕士学位，现为曼彻斯特大学社会人类学博士候选人，专攻当代中国的环境新闻发展研究。本科毕业后，他获得由肯尼迪纪念基金会提供的奖学金到哈佛大学学习一年，另外还获得英国大学中国研究中心奖学金，并获得英国汉学协会的奖学金到台湾师范大学学习。他曾经在多次国际会议上担任主席、提交论文并参与讨论，其中包括在2009年美国人类学协会上提交论文《中国环境报道的研究》。他还在《远东经济评论》、《外交政策》、《新国际主义者》、《新人道主义》、《绿色未来》和《生态学家》等杂志上发表多篇关于中国问题的文章。

关于财新传媒

<http://www.caing.com/>

英文版：

<http://english.caing.com/>

财新传媒由《财经》杂志的创刊人及原主编胡舒立女士建立，其本人也是卓越的新闻调查记者和评论员。财新传媒总部设于北京，致力于通过期刊、网站、会议、书籍和电视视频节目，提供高品质权威的财经和商业新闻信息。财新网寄望通过这些尝试，让传统媒体在新媒体时代重新繁荣，并将全面、深度、准确的新闻和信息在不同的多媒体平台上传播给大众。财新旗下出版包括《新世纪》周刊和《中国改革》两本极具影响力的杂志。财新传媒同时负责运营财新网，其以高端金融经济报道和分析而闻名，为更广大的读者群提供高质量的原创内容。

关于国际媒体 支持组织（IMS）

<http://www.i-m-s.dk/>

国际媒体支持组织（IMS）是一家非营利机构，致力于为那些身处军事冲突、不安全地带以及政治变革中的本土媒体提供支援。IMS旨在帮助加强专业的新闻报道，确保媒体在极具挑战的环境下正常工作，业务范围遍及全球30多个国家。

关于中外对话

<http://www.chinadialogue.net>

中外对话是一个由著名国际记者伊莎贝尔·希尔顿于2006年创立的中英双语网站，向读者提供高质量的新闻、分析和讨论等资源，内容涉及包括气候变化在内的所有环境问题，尤其关注中国。中外对话的读者有一半在中国，包括许多中国NGO，重要的政府官员、决策者和激进的思想者。

