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Media Coverage on Climate Change: An Analysis of the Relationship between Newspaper and Government Frames

A thesis submitted to the University of Kent

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Journalism

Julia Sandbrand-Nisipeanu

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ABSTRACT

Climate change is one of the most urgent issues of our times. Most people receive information on climate change from the mainstream newspapers and broadcast media and it is important that this information be as accurate and complete as possible. As for many other topics, governments are an important point of reference for media coverage on climate change, as they are the main actors regarding international climate negotiations and national climate policy.

In this thesis, I set out to compare newspaper and government frames in four countries: the UK, Germany, the US, and India. Using qualitative content analysis, I examined government communication and two quality and one mid-market or popular newspaper in each country in two time frames. The first time frame was the month around the 2011 Durban Conference, the second in June 2012. The countries' newspaper regimes were categorised following Hallin and Mancini's (2004) model of media systems, which correspond with different political systems. Frames have become a popular tool to structure media content. This thesis makes a point of using a clear and narrow definition of framing by drawing from strong elements of existing definitions.

I established government frames and checked newspaper articles for frame congruence. The independent variable originally was political parallelism, which, in Hallin and Mancini's model plays a key role in determining the relationship between media and political system. After a first evaluation, political parallelism showed to have less explanatory value for the relationship between newspaper and government frames than expected. As a second explanatory variable, I then established national loyalty, a concept, on which I elaborate in this thesis. This new element gave the thesis a more exploratory character.

This study shows that it is possible to apply Hallin and Mancini's framework beyond countries that are included in their original study without trying to fit them into one of the existing models. However, the study also indicates that for climate change coverage, political parallelism seems to play a role less important than described by Hallin and Mancini. The newspapers rather seem to follow national loyalty, when covering international climate negotiations in particular. This national focus stays in contrast with the global character of the issue of climate change and raises questions for future research.

This study contributes to the field through its comparative and longitudinal design. While there exists a good body of research on media coverage on climate change, particularly for US and UK media, most studies are cross-sectional and focus on one country. Future research can widen the scope of media included and further explore the notion of national loyalty in media coverage.

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1. INTRODUCTION

In December 2015, after another round of negotiations¹ that went into overtime, world leaders presented the Paris Climate Agreement. The German Federal Environment Minister Barbara Hendricks praised the document: "Today all of us here have together made history. Billions of people have waited for a long time for the global community to take action. Today I can say – things are moving at last" (The Federal Government, 2015). The Paris Agreement is the result of a process, which started in 2011 in Durban. After the disappointment of the 2009 Copenhagen conference, Durban marked a turning point and provided a roadmap to conclude negotiations for a global agreement in 2015, which is to take effect in 2020 (Bodansky, 2012)². Of course, climate change did not first appear on the radar in 2009, but made it prominently to the news agenda in the 1980s. The first years can be described as the discovery of a field that had not yet been politicised (Carvalho, 2007, p. 227f.). By the end of the 1980s and at the latest with the Rio Earth Summit in 1992, this came to an end (Boykoff, 2011, p.112). With the establishment of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) at this summit in Rio, the foundations were laid for later treaties, most famously the Kyoto Protocol in 1997 (UNFCCCb; Boykoff, 2011, p.114).

Climate change is the most pressing issue of our time because it affects all areas of life. While often still perceived as "far away", sooner or later consequences of climate change will concern everyone. Most information about climate change is received through the media. Therefore, it is important to look at the environment in which the media act and how they interact with politicians. As climate change is of global concern it is important that there is constant, accurate and complete information for citizens. There is a good body of research on

¹ The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) entered into force in 1994, after being adopted at the Rio Earth Summit in 1992. It is an international treaty. Its aim is "Preventing "dangerous" human interference with the climate system" (UNFCCCa). All parties to the Convention (196 in 2016) are part of the main decision making body, the Conference of the Parties (COP) (UNFCCCc). The COP usually meets every year (UNFCCCd). In 1997, the COP adopted the Kyoto Protocol, which legally bound developed countries to reduce greenhouse gas emissions in the timeframe of 2008 to 2012 (UNFCCCb). In 2009, COP15 was meant to establish a new global treaty with a bigger scope, but failed to do so. In 2012, the Parties adopted an amendment to the Kyoto Protocol, before finally agreeing on a new treaty, the Paris Agreement, in December 2015 at COP21 (UNFCCCe).

² The Durban Platform consists of a roadmap with a timeframe that exceeds the one commonly used in the negotiations. Among its goals are a second commitment period of the Kyoto Protocol and the launch of negotiations for a new treaty entering into force in 2020 (UNFCCf).

media coverage on climate change, particularly on the quantity and, for the US, on the dimensions of balanced coverage, i.e. the attribution of equal relevance to climate sceptics and mainstream scientific consensus. Billett's work on India (2010), Boykoff's vast research on the US and the UK (e.g. 2007a, 2007b, 2008), or Carvalho's studies on the UK (e.g. 2005, 2007) are only few of many examples, which I will discuss in Chapters 2, 3, and 4. Very little research exists comparing government communication and media coverage on climate change, yet it has been shown that official sources are very important when it comes to this issue (Painter, 2010). This thesis aims to answer the overarching research question: **What is the relationship between newspaper and government frames on climate change?** I have further formulated three subquestions in order to answer the main research question:

1. Does political parallelism influence the relationship between newspaper and government frames on climate change, i.e. can it be confirmed that the lower political parallelism the greater the difference between government and newspaper frames?
2. In which instances does national loyalty supersede political parallelism in the context of climate change? How do the two variables interact³?
3. Which aspects of national loyalty (national interest, comparison, focus on national coverage) are evoked most often in the context of climate change?

I intend to take a first step in filling the gap in research of this important relationship. I will compare newspaper and government frames in four different countries: the UK, the US, Germany, and India. This approach will also address the lack of comparative studies in the field. It will further be a longitudinal study over two time frames. In the following sections I will introduce the topic of climate change, climate change policy and media coverage in the four countries of my study, before giving a brief overview of the thesis chapters.

1.1 WHAT IS CLIMATE CHANGE?

To introduce the topic of climate change it is helpful to briefly explain the definition of climate change used in this thesis. Many businesses and think tanks, particularly those involved in activities with high carbon emissions, have made it their mission to always speak of climate change and never of global warming. Climate change, according to this view, sounds less dangerous and definite. Environmental organisations, on the other hand, have devoted themselves to doing the exact opposite (Boykoff, 2011, p.6ff.). Climate change, when used as a

³ This means, which of the two is the stronger variable in which instances? Can they coexist?

sound scientific term and not as “lobbying language”, predominantly defines the process of global warming and increase in temperature will give rise to other changes. Nevertheless, it includes other phenomena, which equally play an important role, such as changes in precipitation, increasing occurrence of extreme weather events and sea level rise (Houghton, 2009, p.15). Climate change is also a natural process due to, for example tectonic processes or solar variability (Dessler and Parson, 2010, p.83). These natural influences, however, have been proven too slow in order to plausibly explain the dramatic increase in temperature since the last century (Dessler and Parson, 2010, p.89). Climate change in this thesis therefore directly refers to anthropogenic climate change, mainly caused by the emission of greenhouse gases⁴ (Dessler and Parson, 2010, p.88).⁵

1.2 CLIMATE CHANGE POLICY IN THE FOUR COUNTRIES OF THE STUDY

The relationship between the media and political system in different countries will be discussed in Chapter 4, but at this point I want to give a short account of the situation of climate policy in the respective countries of this case study. In Germany where, without much ado governments started introducing policies, committees and research institutes in the (relatively) early years of the debate (Weingart et al., 2000, p.270ff.), discussions focus on detailed policy issues and not on the question whether there is need for action or not. Since the 1980s, there have been no partisan debates on whether climate change is real or not or whether alternatives to fossil fuel energy are necessary⁶ (Mez, 2012, p.23; see also Gavin, 2009). By contrast, in the United States where, after the Clinton administration signed the Kyoto Protocol⁷, a decade passed until President Obama proposed a significant plan to reduce domestic emissions. The Clean Power Plan was presented in August 2015 (Doninger, 2015), shortly before the Paris conference. It gave some momentum to the negotiation process

⁴ The most important greenhouse gases emitted through human activities are carbon dioxide (CO₂, emitted through the burning of fossil fuels), methane (CH₄, mostly emitted through a range of farming activities) and nitrous oxide (N₂O, mostly emitted through the use of fertiliser). Further there are a range of emissions indirectly caused by human activity, such as the release of methane through melting ice sheets. (Houghton, 2009, p.35ff.)

⁵ The International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) refers exclusively to anthropogenic climate change, while the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change refers to both natural and human induced climate change.

⁶ Certainly there are debates about specific issues like nuclear energy on a national level and in particular also on the European Union level.

⁷ The Bush administration did not send the Kyoto Protocol to the Senate for ratification (Adelle and Withana, 2010, p.309).

where a step forward by the world's second biggest emitter⁸ was desperately needed in order to trigger commitment by other countries, particularly emerging nations with rapidly growing emissions (Dessler and Parson, 2009, p.289). In the case of the UK, ever since Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher publicly addressed the topic of climate change in 1988, British governments have been vowing action to mitigate climate change, with different degrees of commitment (Carvalho, 2005). The Blair government has been particularly successful in promoting international climate negotiations, but has not done enough for domestic climate policies⁹, while David Cameron's Conservative-led coalition government has been more devoted to show domestic climate efforts (Carter, 2008). Most recently, since the Conservative Party won the elections in May 2015, putting an end to the coalition government, they have been criticised for abandoning certain environmental and climate measures (Vaughan and Macalister, 2015). Media coverage in Britain closely follows policy agendas, with different interpretations of the respective policies (Carvalho and Burgess, 2005). This indicates that it is very important for climate change to remain on the policy agenda in order to get media coverage. India, as said already, differs from the other three cases as it is still considered a developing country. When considering or negotiating climate mitigation, it not only has to take economic factors into account but also any implications on development. It has one of the lowest per capita emissions but is the fourth highest total emitter, after China, the United States and the EU (see e.g. Ge et al., 2014). It is also one of the countries most vulnerable to climate change. Being a developing country, India has long refused binding reductions under the argument of equity, which was understood as the equal distribution of atmospheric space among the world's population and has later been reframed in India as equal access to sustainable development. Equity is the main focus of most Indian actors concerning climate change (Atteridge et al., 2012, p.70).

Corporate interests have always been influential on climate policy, with the degree varying from country to country. Great Britain and Germany deal with lobbies on the national and the EU level. While the European Union is generally considered to be leading the way for climate policy, industry lobbies, such as the chemical industry, have still managed to water down

⁸ China is the biggest emitter when taken per country (see e.g. Ge et al., 2014)

⁹ Interestingly, Carter (2008, p.197) attributes this lack of powerful policies to an absence of partisan rivalry. This, however, is not in the sense US partisanship, where it is almost a situation of believer vs. denier, but rather in the sense of who is the "environment champion".

policies such as the EU Emission Trading System (ETS) (Skærseth and Wettestad, 2010, p.81)¹⁰. The creation of think tanks which endorse climate scepticism, often funded by carbon-intensive industry has played a major part in slowing down climate policy, particularly in the United States (Anderson, 2009, p.170f.; Boykoff and Boykoff, 2004, p.133f.; Cohen and Miller, 2012, p.41). Research by such think tanks has focused on pointing out scientific uncertainties, which, according to them, do not allow for rigorous climate action (Burney et al., 2013, p.55). This has fuelled the partisan divide in the United States, which seems to grow further every year, while on the other hand the scientific consensus gets stronger and stronger¹¹. Without a substantial national climate policy, the United States was obviously not well equipped for international climate negotiations (Cohen and Miller, 2012, p.47). With the Clean Power Plan, the US arrived as a more credible actor at the 2015 Paris conference. In Britain, efforts by, for example, the Confederation of British Industry (CBI) have also contributed to the advancement of less climate friendly policies (Carter, 2008, p.200; see also Gavin, 2009, p.771). Nevertheless, the situation is not comparable to the one in the United States. British newspapers, when citing climate sceptics, often refer to American “experts”, who seem to have gained a monopoly on scepticism (Carvalho, 2007, p.232). In general, climate scepticism in Britain seems to be expressed by the media themselves rather than by political, academic or industry actors.¹² Research on lobbying efforts in India is scarce. While insisting on the right to development, climate change is generally not questioned as scientific fact and danger. Lobbying, in this case, might resemble the situation in the EU rather than the US.

Consequently, the four countries therefore have different policy situations, with Germany and the UK being more similar to each other than to the US. India differs from the three others with its specific situation as a developing country, but the existence of climate change is not disputed. The media in all four countries face different challenges but share one problem: the complexity of the issue.

1.3 MEDIA COVERAGE ON CLIMATE CHANGE

Climate change as a news topic faces a range of challenges. First of all, it is a complex, long-term issue that requires a certain level of scientific knowledge of both the reporter and the

¹⁰ See also the past and current debates on (the reform of) ETS, for example EurActiv (2008, 2013).

¹¹ However, the divide seems to be much stronger on the federal level than on the municipal level.

Examples like New York City show that many cities have started their own climate plans, but a national plan would be needed in order to advance research, technology development and generally a structured implementation (Cohen and Miller, 2012, p.40ff.).

¹² Cf. Gavin, 2009, p.772.

audience. Secondly, the task is rendered more or less difficult by the political and cultural environment in which the respective media are embedded. Germany and the United States represent a big contrast: a general consensus among political actors about the necessity to act upon climate change versus a huge partisan divide and ideological battles. This, obviously, is reflected in the media coverage. Great Britain has also been active in promoting climate change mitigation for many years; nevertheless, the media often challenge the government, for example by reporting on uncertainties and scepticism (Carvalho and Burgess, 2005, p.1467). Alarmist and sensationalist coverage can be found all over the world, and yet there is no evidence that the media manage to communicate climate change as an issue that concerns everyone. A focus on international events and natural disasters contributes to the “distanciation” (McManus, 2000)¹³ and misunderstanding of facts. Authoritative figures, mostly from the political scene, are attributed great importance by the media, which is not surprising when considering the news values that will be outlined in Chapter 2. This, however, seems to happen at the expense of scientists and experts who may be better suited to evaluate scientific information and policy measures. It must also be said that scientists seem to lack (interest in) involvement in communication processes (Fagin, 2005; Kahan, 2012; Smith, 2005). The current situation of media coverage seems to have led to a state of limited knowledge and confusion among the public. Even in countries like Germany, where there is virtually no coverage of climate change uncertainty, coverage does not necessarily enhance understanding of relevant concerns regarding the issue. The focus on a “climate catastrophe” (Weingart et al., 2000) may lead people to feel helpless and unable to change the situation. Also very alarming are the results for countries like India and Australia, which are particularly vulnerable to climate change but where the media coverage still shows a high degree of “distanciation”.

These few examples already indicate that media coverage differs from country to country and that there is a direct relationship between the media system and the political system, which reflects different cultures of reporting. As this thesis will also show, despite climate change being a truly global issue, so far it has not led to the creation of a global public sphere where media all over the world align in their reporting on climate change. This further points to a strong influence of culture, which will be an important part of this thesis. This thesis responds to a research gap of the comparison of media and government frames, or more specifically

¹³Distanciation, in the case of climate change, means that the media fail to relate the issue to the realities of their audience (McManus, 2000, see Chapter 2).

newspaper and government frames. While there is research on media coverage on climate change, little research exists comparing media and government frames, both in general as well as on climate change. It also points out the important role that the nation state plays in media coverage, even in a topic as global as climate change and to what extent this can even overrule the prevailing political affiliations of newspapers.

1.4 THESIS OVERVIEW

The relationship between media and politics plays an important role in the coverage of climate change. Therefore, Chapter 2 is dedicated to explaining this basic relationship. Our society nowadays is largely mediated. Most people do not actively participate in politics and are informed about politics and any other issue beyond their personal realm via the media. For people to make informed choices, it is important that they are able to receive accurate and relevant information on issues that affect their lives. With the establishment of mass media in general, and most recently with the Internet and a range of new, mobile technologies news is easily available everywhere and the offer of news seems infinite. But what kind of news do people consume and who provides the most interesting stories? Despite the large amount of entertainment news, politics remains one of the most important topics and politicians one of the most important sources for journalists. How much power lies with the politician and how much with the journalist is the focus of Chapter 2. Hall et al.'s (1978) concept of primary definers grants much power to politicians as the defining actors when framing issues. Critics have pointed out that actors that are less established can also become primary definers, while the media can also act as primary definers themselves. The increasing mediation of society, including politics, has rendered the exchange of information faster and has led to the increased professionalization of the field of political communication. This might give the impression that politicians and institutions have gained the upper hand in the interplay with the media, but, as Chapter 2 argues, this is not always perceived that way, neither by politicians or by journalists. The relationship never remains definitively at the advantage of one side and this is why it is interesting to look at the relationship between media and government frames. Journalists generally follow news values, and climate change is by its nature a difficult news story. It is a long-term, complex, and difficult topic, important every day but often only rendered interesting for the media through extreme weather events or international conferences. As pointed out by Painter (2010) and Boykoff (2011), authority remains an important source for the reporting of climate change and this certainly often corresponds with such events, as also indicated by the differences in government communication in the two different phases of this thesis. A brief overview of existing research shows that media in

different countries deal with climate change differently and that ideology can play an important role, for example in the UK (Carvalho, 2007) and in Australia (McKewon, 2012). In addition, journalists are not always as well informed about climate change as they should be (Wilson, 2000), and of course, journalists in different countries are trained in different environments with different values. All these factors lead to a certain style of reporting, which varies from country to country and to a different relationship with the sources used for the issues being reported on.

Hallin and Mancini (2004) in their categorisation of media systems show the interdependence of the political and the media system and the resulting culture of political communication. In every society, different actors will have different influences on the respective systems. Differences in journalistic education or differences in the structure of the government influence the media coverage. Chapter 3 will present Hallin and Mancini's model in more detail and introduce the four countries of the study. The US and the UK represent the Liberal Model, the UK with some restrictions as it shows similarities to the Democratic-Corporatist Model. Germany is categorised in the latter. Finally, India, for this study, represents its own model. India was not part of Hallin and Mancini's work, I therefore classified the different aspects of the media system following the categories set out by Hallin and Mancini. This was important in order to establish the expectations for the independent variable, political parallelism, which constitutes one of the indicators for the relationship between the political and media system in Hallin and Mancini's models.

After a first evaluation of the empirical material, it became clear that political parallelism might not be an influential factor in explaining the relationship between government and newspaper frames on climate change. The material pointed towards national loyalty playing an important role. Chapter 3 discusses national loyalty and its relevance for journalists and the media. This second independent variable added originality to my research, but also increased its exploratory character. For the coverage of climate change, the relevance of national loyalty is striking, as it is a truly global issue without borders where global efforts are needed for a solution. The conclusion will go into further detail on the implications of this.

Chapter 4 will introduce the concept of framing. As briefly mentioned above concerning primary definers, the relationship between media and politics plays an important role when it comes to framing. In order to understand how framing works, Chapter 4 defines frames and the process of framing. Frames have become a very popular concept in studies examining media content in particular, but unfortunately the concept's full potential is often not

exploited, and instead of the term “frame” the authors might as well use “issue” or “topic”. A frame, however, goes beyond that, as Chapter 4 will further explain. It embeds an issue into a context that is very dependent on the cultural background of everyone involved in the process: the politician, the media, the audience. Only in this case will the frame have a chance to be persistent in time and eventually have an impact. In order to emphasise the importance of these factors, I also present a definition of frames and framing in Chapter 4, which combines the strongest elements of other definitions and emphasises the role of culture in framing.

For climate change, as said before, there are few studies that compare media and government frames. There are studies on other topics that deal with the relationship of media and government frames, such as Coe (2011) and Nagar (2010). Most studies focus on one country instead of taking a comparative view. Quite striking is the lack of discussion of the broader implications of the results. Certainly, it is not possible to make general conclusions from all results, but with caution such discussions are possible and necessary. Most famously, this has been done by Herman and Chomsky (1988) in their Propaganda Model. Their study has received much criticism and must not be taken out of its context, the US system, but it provides a great example of applying results to a general socio-political context. The results of this thesis can also not simply be applied to other cases, but in the conclusion I will aim to discuss the possible implications.

No information is unframed, but for one issue many different frames can exist and everyone involved in the framing process can – theoretically – add their own frame. Every communicator aims for their audience to adopt their own specific frame. Chapter 4 will go into more details on who is framing and how.

After a presentation of the methodology, the empirical part is divided into four country sections. Each country section looks at government communication, two quality newspapers and one mid-market or popular newspaper in the month around the 2011 Durban conference, which lasted from 28 November to 11 December, and in June 2012. I used qualitative content analysis, described in Chapter 5, to study the empirical material. This gave me the opportunity to go into detail with a moderate number of texts, taking into account the different cultural backgrounds of the countries and exploring their differences, as well as adding a longitudinal viewpoint by comparing two different time frames.

This thesis provides an important insight into the relationship between government communication and newspaper coverage. The theory chapters outline the general significance

and complexity of the relationship and the empirical chapters show a new direction for research on climate change communication. The exploratory nature of my thesis increases the limitations of this study, as inferences on other cases are difficult. Future research will be able to test the findings on different material. It would also be important to add the audience to the scope of the research, which was not the intention of my research. My thesis challenges the role of political parallelism as proposed by Hallin and Mancini, but also shows the possibility of applying their framework beyond the countries of their original research. I have identified national loyalty as a significant factor in newspaper coverage on climate change, which is a new dimension in research on climate change communication. Climate change will remain relevant for an indefinite amount of time, since despite the Paris agreement having provided hopes for global cooperation, it is only the beginning of the solution. People will still experience consequences of climate change and need to be informed adequately. Governments will remain central to international negotiations. The relationship between media and government must therefore remain on the research agenda and this thesis provides direction for future studies.

2. MEDIA, POLITICS, AND CLIMATE CHANGE

As mentioned in the introduction, the relationship between media and politics plays an important role in the way issues are covered in different countries. This chapter aims to explain this basic relationship both in general but also with regards to climate change. Media exist everywhere, in democracies and authoritarian states, rich and poor, developing and industrialised countries. Media are the link between people and government: most people inform themselves about the political process through the media and about any other issues outside the scope of their personal interactions. The information provided then contributes to the construction of reality for the audience. There is usually a dependence of some kind of the media on the state. Not surprisingly, this dependence declines drastically with the increase of general political freedom in a country. In developed, established democracies, this dependence is therefore limited to laws ensuring press freedom and possible commercial constraints aimed at avoiding media monopolies and reducing concentration. In consequence, we can assume that “political systems guaranteeing stable liberties also have free media, while states limiting political freedom also limit the liberty of the media” (Engesser and Franzetti, 2011, p.295). When we look at the media system enjoying such liberties, we can go beyond investigating violations of press freedom and look into the interplay between the specific political system and its media and the relationship between politicians and journalists and the news coverage that results from this interplay. In established western democracies, the media systems are nowadays characterised by information overflow, omnipresence of the media and interdependence with the political system. There is access to virtually any form of information one might need or want to have. Escaping the media is almost impossible. Not only are they established players in society and essential for the distribution of information, but they are also present in most public spaces (Craig, 2004, p.5; Graber, 2004, p.552). It is obvious that many politicians see this omnipresence as an opportunity to gain publicity, for themselves, for specific legislation, or for their party, to give some examples. On the other hand, stories revolving around actors of the political system are crucial for the media, for reasons such as information for citizens or to increase sales by publishing an important story. The former is possibly the most important task with which the media are attributed. In a democracy we expect this information to be unbiased and balanced (Pürer, 2003, p.425; Meikle, 2009, p.98ff.).

This chapter looks at the relationship between the media and political actors, discussing the relations of power, news values and the social construction of reality, before introducing the specificities of climate change as a news topic. First of all, the meaning of mediated politics will

be explained as well as the role the media play in relation to politics nowadays. Different theories of the nature of this relationship will be presented before discussing studies about the relationship between journalists and politicians conducted in different countries. Finally, the role of the media in the construction of reality will be discussed. This chapter serves to “set the scene” for this thesis, presenting the general environment in which media and politicians act.

2.1 RELATIONSHIPS IN THE AGE OF MEDIATED POLITICS

Politics, in most cases, has become too complex to be carried out in the form of personal meetings and discussion, where everyone can be involved in the making of laws. On the local level, individual participation by a large part of the community is still imaginable, but the direct involvement decreases with the size of the community in question: the city, the province, the state, the country. The norm is that people vote for representatives who take decisions for them. Referenda where the people take decisions that directly transform into a law are the exception (Graber, 2004, p.546). Whether one actively partakes in political life or whether one merely casts a vote every few years, it is crucial that the decisions we make are informed decisions. The media are the general forum for the population to gather information about the political system and anything that happens outside of the realm of their personal contacts. We therefore live in a time of mediated politics – a concept related to, but not the same as mediatised politics (Strömbäck, 2008, p.230). When it comes to climate change, a problem concerning everyone, being informed is particularly relevant and the media are attributed an important role to convey, often complex, information to the citizens.

The mediation of politics is not a new concept, although it might have become more intense over recent decades with the development of new media and the decrease of direct political engagement, for example by party membership, in the population. Nevertheless, the mass press has been in existence for two centuries¹⁴, so politics have been mediated long before the Second World War, but the deficiency of empirical research before that time makes it difficult to determine when exactly we can start using the term (Strömbäck, 2008, p.230)¹⁵. Nowadays, the degree of mediated politics in relation to direct experiences is as high as ever. At the same time, it is getting easier to access information virtually whenever and wherever – an ideal

¹⁴This date refers to the technical inventions enabling the production of large numbers of copies (see for example Pürer, 2003).

¹⁵Up to the First World War, political meetings were an important part of political life and represent an unmediated form of interaction between politicians and the public. By the time of the Second World War, they had disappeared (see for example Lawrence, 2006).

situation for a democracy based on mediated politics. Graber (2004, p.547) describes the functions of the press, according to Alexis de Tocqueville: political socialisation, framing of information to create meaning for the audience, mobilising of citizens and “watch dog” of the government. Despite, or, as Graber argues, maybe because of the abundance of available sources of information and the diversity of information, people do not seem to be well educated on important issues. The problem is: people have to want to, know how to, and be able to access the relevant information. Of course, relevance remains subjective. For example, “Public television, which wins high praises from media critics, attracts only 2% of the nightly news audience” (Graber, 2004, p.552)¹⁶. In addition, the average citizen spends little time consuming news each day, and then again we have to look into what kind of news it is that they select (Graber 2004, p.550ff.). For example, as this study will show, popular and mid-market newspapers in general publish very little content on climate change but have, at least in the three Western countries, a very high circulation.

Despite this discrepancy between a wide range of news and news sources and the apparent low interest in news in general and particularly in the so-called quality media¹⁷, the media are seen as a powerful player, to the extent that it is common to call the media the “Fourth Estate”¹⁸. This powerful attribute remains a societal construct and is normally not defined so by laws.¹⁹ The other three Estates, namely legislative, executive and judicial power, have a clear legal outline of their tasks, duties and boundaries, and their relationship to the respective other institutions (Pürer, 2003, p.423). The legal bases for the existence of media are laws on press freedom, freedom of opinion and expression, and freedom of information, but there are generally no laws that make the existence of media institutions obligatory. In addition, unlike for the other three Estates, there are no institutionalised control mechanisms for the media system as long as they act in accordance with the law (Brants et al., 2010, p.27). In a democracy, the content of the media cannot be controlled, with few exceptions, such as violations of privacy or defamation. Control of content must come from within the media, possibly following ethical standards, which are often introduced at national level. This self-

¹⁶This is in reference to American public television, see also Chapter 3.

¹⁷In this thesis, media refers to mainstream public service and commercial broadcasting media and newspapers, including their respective websites.

¹⁸See for example Davis, 2009; Brants et al., 2010; Meikle, 2009.

¹⁹According to Pürer (2003, p.405), an institutionalisation of the media as Fourth Estate could not be reconciled with a democratic constitution.

regulation remains voluntary.²⁰ Meikle (2009, p.75) argues that the attribute “Fourth Estate” refers to investigative journalism, the primary example being Watergate. The term therefore paints a distorted picture of the media. Their content is derived largely through a daily routine of using information they obtain without much investigation, such as reports and press releases. Nevertheless, this view on the Fourth Estate might be a bit narrow and disregards the power of the media despite the lack or decline of investigative journalism. The Fourth Estate, being a societal construct by nature, changes over time and different actors will see its power in different shades. As the purpose of this thesis is to compare government communication and media coverage, an important factor for the choice of the countries was that their media be free as explained above. As Hallin and Mancini’s model (2004), which will be discussed later on, also shows, the examination of the relationship between the media and the political system is most insightful when the media is free to publish opinions other than those expressed by the government.

Since different actors view the media differently, evaluations of the nature of the relationship between the media and politicians vary greatly, depending on who evaluates. For example, politicians often describe the relationship between the media and politics as unequal and claim that the media hold them “in an iron grip” (Brants et al., 2010, p.27). “Outsiders”, on the other hand, say that both sides are generally too close to each other and do not perceive voices from outside their daily interactions (Brants et al., 2010, p.27). This echoes Herman and Chomsky’s Propaganda Model (1988), the bottom line of which is that media and political and economic elites work together to maintain the status quo in favour of those elites. Regardless of which of these descriptions is more accurate, the fact is that the relationship between media and politicians is crucial for the daily political news coverage. Both sides have duties to fulfil towards the public. The basic and most important task of the media is to inform. All other attributed tasks result from this basic task, as do the normative demands for completeness, objectivity and comprehensibility (Pürer, 2003, p.425).

2.1.1 ACCREDITED REPRESENTATIVES

Many of the most interesting news stories refer to a country’s government, or power elite (see section on news values at 2.3, below). It is therefore important for news media to maintain a close relationship with senior politicians and their press advisors. This relationship has to work as a win – win situation in order to be kept alive. If the politician is not willing to give enough information on a certain topic, the journalist might not come back when the politician wants

²⁰See for example Pürer (2003, p.423).

publicity on a different topic or he or she might try to use other sources to find information, which can result in unfavourable coverage for the politician. If, on the other hand, the journalist abuses the information given to her or him by the politician by reporting only parts of it, using quotes out of context or even by reporting on something that was agreed to be off the record, the politician might not be willing to work with her or him in the future. Politicians, as well as other social actors, try to gain the upper hand in this “game” by organising events specifically for the media, such as press conferences or by preparing communications and press releases to present their views, hoping the media will accept them and report on them (Davis, 2009, p.205f.; Strömbäck et al., 2013, p.32ff.; Cooper and Johnson, 2006, p.3). It is then, obviously, the media’s choice which of the events to attend, which of the press releases to incorporate and how to report on the issues in question. A study of the Copenhagen conference (Painter, 2010) showed that politicians, despite lacking expertise, were quoted more frequently concerning climate change than scientists. This shows to what extent politicians are “accredited representatives” (see below) for issues where they might not be the best-informed sources.

In times where the morning newspaper and the evening TV news are no longer the only or primary source of information, both the media and the actors they report on face increasing competition: who is the fastest in publishing the latest breaking news? Who manages best to “sell” their story to the most important media? Which presentation style is most appreciated by the audience? And who is the stronger player in this game? The politician who has the information, or the media, who create the platform to distribute information? Especially in the current information-saturated media environment, both sides could access information or distribute information respectively, probably without even talking to each other. And yet, there is no sign of a decline of interaction between the two actors. In addition, the politician is not the only actor who can be a relevant news source. Politicians are what Hall et al. call “accredited representatives” (1978, p.58). In this group they are joined by representatives of other important – organised – social groups²¹, and by experts, who are seen as impartial (Hall et al., 1978, p.58). Since journalists work under time pressure, they are in need of credible sources that are easily accessible. The “accredited representatives” are fit to answer to this need, and therefore become “primary definers of topics” (Hall et al., 1978, p.58). This means that anybody who comments on a certain topic that has already been commented on by a primary definer has to follow the frame used by this primary definer, even if it is by denying or

²¹Hall et al. use Trade Unions as example. Their influence, however, has since decreased drastically (see for example Manning, 2001, p.171).

contradicting it. The media, according to this view, contribute to the enforcement of current power structures, even if in Hall et al.'s model they act more passively than suggested by Herman and Chomsky (1988). Their active part starts only with the selection of news, in other words, with the choice of which of the provided information to publish. In addition, they can then add the (political) view of the medium and the personal style of the responsible journalist to the story, which may influence the audience (Hall et al., 1978, p.63). Anderson (1997) opposes the view that the media act only as "secondary definers" and that their activity is confined to choosing from a pool of issues that have been defined as important by others. She accuses Hall et al. of "fail[ing] to consider instances where the media influence politicians indirectly through drawing attention to a problem and mobilizing the public to place pressure on the government" (Anderson, 1997, p.166). In her case study though, it is not the media alone who mobilise the public, but they take up an issue promoted by Greenpeace, an actor that is or was not seen as a primary definer²² and which had views opposing the government at that time regarding the issue in question. This does not mean that Hall et al.'s model is not valid, it just asks for a more flexible definition of primary definers: for each issue there can be different primary definers and no actor can be certain to remain in this status. The "accreditation" is therefore not eternal (Anderson, 1997, p.132, p.166f.; Schlesinger, 1990, p.67). Nevertheless, it is probable that some actors, primarily the government, will always have an advantage in comparison to other actors, who will have to fight harder in order to become primary definers. Accordingly, this means that government frames might have a higher chance of being taken up by the media. And of course, it can also be the media who take the role of primary definer, in particular when we think of cases of investigative journalism (Meikle, 2009, p.96f.). Bennett's indexing theory (1990) describes a journalist's role as attributing levels of importance to the information provided by the government and to report on it accordingly. The media are seen as a pure platform to distribute information, with journalists "parroting" back what they have heard from government officials. This view is not generally shared, in particular when taking into account the decisions that journalists can take with the information received, such as the presentation of alternative sources and opinions (Althaus, 2003, p.385; Bennett and Klockner, 1996). It is important to note that a press, which agrees with government actions, is not a dependent press: "If the press is truly independent, it must logically have the option to agree as well as oppose" (Althaus, 2003, p.402). As official sources will remain important for media coverage, indexing will remain common practice in newsrooms. And once more it is the journalist's task to establish which non-official sources must be represented in

²²Greenpeace and other global environmental groups might nowadays not be seen as marginal anymore.

the discussion. Framing, as will be discussed in Chapter 4, depends on the relationship between journalists and their sources. The use of government frames by journalists is influenced by this relationship.

2.1.2 MEDIATISATION

The models of “primary definers” and of “indexing” have been in use for several decades, but there are some newer phenomena that contribute to the shape of the present media landscape. Mediatisation is one of the terms that are regularly used to describe the current relationship between media and politics, often it goes hand in hand with the term personalisation. The former refers to the increasing professionalism politicians, governments and political parties show when it comes to dealing with media and the consequence that what is said or done is often tailored for the media. This is due to an increased influence of the media (Strömbäck, 2011, p.424f.). Strömbäck establishes four dimensions to measure mediatisation: the degree to which politics are mediated, as described above; the degree of media independence from political institutions; the degree to which the media follow media logic (in other words, what sells best) or politics logic (what is most important); and finally, the degree to which politicians follow media or politics logic (2008, p.234). The latter is further divided into four phases of mediatisation. The first phase is the establishment of the media as the main source of information and consequently the adapted behaviour of politicians and other actors. This first phase is the prerequisite for the other phases where the influence of media on the political institutions is gradually increased, with the fourth and final phase being reached when media logic becomes an integral part of everyday political life (Strömbäck, 2008, p.236ff.). It is obvious that the degree of mediatisation will therefore depend on the political system, such as described by Hallin and Mancini (2004, see Chapter 3) (Strömbäck, 2008, p.235). Cohen et al. (2008, p.333) argue that it largely depends on the politician and his or her attitude towards the media, whether he or she will behave according to the “laws” of mediatisation. If they think that the media are very powerful and therefore helpful to achieve a goal such as re-election or efforts regarding specific legislation, they will actively seek out the media and be more likely to prepare media-ready content.²³

In a system where politics rely on the media to convey messages and where mediatisation is increasing, there is a need for politicians to professionalise their approach to communication.

²³ For example, following the rules of personalisation, i.e. focusing on the politician as a person, be it in a professional or private context, rather than on policies or her or his party (see for example Webb and Poguntke, 2005; Langer, 2007).

This has led to the increased existence of professionals in political communications, such as consultants, public relations experts, or spin-doctors (Tenscher, 2004, p.517). Esser et al. (2000, p.212) explain that the need for spin-doctors etc. was triggered by a change in voting behaviour and by diversification of the media in the US, while other countries gradually caught on, in Europe most famously in the UK with Tony Blair and in Germany with Gerhard Schröder. Spin-doctors work “at the porous borders of both institutions” (Esser et al., 2001, p.22), i.e. between media and politics. On the one hand they can help the politician in getting a message into the media and can provide the media with suitable material. On the other hand, they are accused of creating distractions from important policy processes, about which certain players want to keep quiet (Louw, 2010, p.145f.). Further, they are described as having become “increasingly skilled at using both old and new media forms to bypass ‘problem’ journalists” (Louw, 2010, p.149), i.e. journalists that might report negatively on a person or issue. If there is a strong consensus among political elites, journalists have more difficulties to turn the spin around. This changes when the consensus is cracking. Journalists are known not to like spin doctors, yet they seem to appreciate the information provided. Spin-doctors exploit the pressure that many journalists face in the newsroom (Louw, 2010, p.164; see also Turow, 1989). To put it in an even bleaker way, they provide information so journalists can “please their bosses hungry for scandals, entertainment and soft news” (Frenkel-Faran and Lehman-Wilzig, 2007, p.433). This view places the media more or less at the mercy of spin-doctors who are, however, themselves adapting to media logic. All in all, this discussion suggests a fairly negative picture, both of spin-doctors and journalists. However, some studies show that this is not always perceived as such by politicians and journalists. These professionals may have reinforced the strategic element of political communication, but they have not changed the nature of the entire relationship between media and politics. A study with German political communication professionals shows that, as also indicated by some studies below, there remains a relative balance with a changing “advantage” for each side (Tenscher, 2004, p.537). On the other hand, there are results hinting that the activity of political communication professionals can increase the cynicism of journalists towards politicians, in particular when they feel like they obstruct their work (Van Dalen et al., 2011, p.156). The media do not react to spin doctors the same way everywhere. Esser et al.’s study shows that German and British media’s coverage on the first election campaigns featuring spin-doctors were very different with the British media dealing “much more intensively and distinctively with spin doctoring than their German colleagues” (2000, p.231). The authors accuse German journalists of being slower to adapt to this modern form of campaigning than their British counterparts. From their results it also becomes clear that

culture in a media system plays an important role, which cannot be wiped out even though media around the world grow closer and more similar. Spin-doctors have grown to be important players in the game of media and politics. Accounting for their actual influence in the empirical part of this thesis is not possible but when analysing press material, the possibility of their contribution must be kept in mind.

The Internet and the continuing trend towards commercialisation have contributed to rendering media markets more similar at a first glance, but have not erased the differences in the political systems (Helms, 2008, p.53). After this general account of the relationship between the media and the government, the following section will look at how this relationship is perceived by politicians and journalists.

2.2 STUDIES ON POWER RELATIONS

A range of studies have been undertaken to explore the more concrete relationship between media and politicians, often Members of Parliament, in different countries. Trust is an important factor in the relationship between Swedish local politicians and journalists (Larsson, 2002) – an interesting finding if one takes into account the professional values that should generally guide each actor. If, in particular, we attribute a watchdog or “Fourth Estate” function to the journalist, how is it possible to meet the politician with trust? And how, based on this, can the politician trust the journalist? This does not mean that we should expect pure mistrust between journalists and politicians. It is, however, interesting to find trust as the most valued attribute in the relationship between the two. It is possible and even probable that this is a particularity for local media. On the national level, Swedish journalists and politicians perceive their counterparts as more powerful than themselves respectively (Strömbäck and Nord, 2006). In politically calm times, journalists have more influence on the agenda than in election times. The smaller the party, the more powerful the journalist is perceived by members of the party. The status of the journalist and his or her medium also influences the perceptions of power. Perception in general is an important keyword as it shapes the relationship and behaviour to a great extent (Strömbäck and Nord, 2006; Cohen, 2008, Brants et al. 2010). Interestingly, there is agreement about who is in control over framing:

Without exception, journalists and politicians agree that journalists and the media are more powerful than politicians and the political parties when it comes to the framing of the news. It is the journalists who choose whom to interview, what facts to include and what not to include, what to emphasize, what the central organizing idea, or angle, will be – in short, how the news will be framed. (Strömbäck and Nord, 2006, p.158f.)

The authors find this surprising in particular because of the increasing number of strategic communication tools used by political parties and institutions. This perception contradicts the “primary definer” model discussed above and disregards the power that politicians have by providing or not providing information and by how this information is presented to the journalist. Certainly, the journalist can then decide how to write his or her story, but if there is reference to the information provided by the politician there will always be the “pre-frame”, as argued by Hall et al. (see above). Nevertheless, in this study it is concluded that most of the time journalists “lead the tango” (Strömbäck and Nord, 2006, p.161) while the politicians are offering themselves as possible dance partners. The results may indicate that the fourth state of mediatisation, as outlined above, has been reached: media logic dictates the daily political business. Ross (2010) makes a similar claim, still stressing the importance of the politician as a source for the journalist, but that “contemporary politicians have to work hard to become those sources” (p.273). The latter seems more in accordance with the arguments put forward by Anderson (1997, see above) and Meikle (2009, p.96f.), who grant a substantial amount of power to the media while emphasising the continuous influence of official sources. In general, most of the studies show a more or less balanced perception of the relationship between politicians and journalists, with few exceptions such as cynicism towards politicians (Brants et al., 2010) or politicians that feel neglected with regards to the attention they receive for their agenda (Ross, 2010). It has to be kept in mind that differences can be cultural and that journalists in every country perceive their roles differently. Chapter 3 will elaborate on these differences.

The perception is influenced by the degree of freedom enjoyed by the journalist, and how autonomous he or she is in their work. Political coverage should ideally not be influenced by a fear of consequences (van Dalen et al., 2011, p.150). In Western democracies this is mostly not a fear of physical violence, but rather financial relationships, whether a news outlet is subsidized by a political party, by the government or even by a single political actor, or just as well by private investors who favour certain political directions. Very often the news outlet might also belong to a large enterprise, which may be defending interests on a governmental level. It might also simply be that the editor of a newspaper constrains his co-workers because of close personal relationships with politicians. Another important factor is the accessibility of political interviewees to journalists. If politicians are not willing to interact with journalists it becomes quite difficult for them to fulfil their professional tasks. If politicians further leave it to their spokespeople to face journalists in difficult situations, the two actors will be further alienated. Similarly, politicians can avoid exposure to critical questions by focusing on relations

with entertainment media rather than facing tough political journalists. Van Dalen et al. (2011) hypothesise that if journalists feel pressure in their work and if they have limited accessibility to political sources, they will become cynical towards politicians. In their study they find a low degree of cynicism in the UK, an average degree in Denmark and Germany and the highest degree in Spain. Unfortunately, there is no study on how these results are reflected in the respective political coverage of the country.

The results of these studies do not speak in favour of the trusting relationship that was described in Larsson's (2002) study. While in some countries the relationship between media and politicians seems to be friendlier than in others, it seems to always remain a rather competitive relationship. In a study of British parliamentarians and journalists the word "trust" is mentioned (in positive or negative context) by more than 50% of journalists and 40% of politicians, but most MPs "were fairly weary of journalists" (Davis, 2009, p.209). Further, the relationship seemed to be worse between journalists and MPs of the governing party than between journalists and opposition MPs (Davis, 2009, p.209f.), which is an indicator for journalists acting as the famous watchdogs. However, whether or not journalists see themselves in this scrutinising role also depends on the country.

Of course we can imagine that a politician and a journalist have a trustful relationship – as long as things are running smoothly. In reality, the trust must always reach a limit. If there is a relationship that was built over years, this threshold might be higher, but both sides must remain mindful of the professional goals of the other. This is true even if a system does reach the fourth state of mediatisation. Even if the politician is completely adapted to media logic, her or his intentions are still to get re-elected or to achieve support for certain policies, and the media will still pursue their goals, be it financial or other. The relationship between the two sides is and will remain close because societies are mediated. Who ultimately has the upper hand in the relationship cannot be clearly established and may depend largely on perception.

2.3 NEWS VALUES AND CONSTRUCTING REALITY

The previous sections explained the relationship between media and politics and while it is contested who is more powerful in the relationship, it is uncontested that politics in modern societies is mediated. Therefore, media are the platform through which most people experience politics, as well as any other business happening outside of their personal interactions. News media play a major role in the social construction of reality: what we do not read, see or hear in the media we will not know about. The way in which it is presented will influence the way we interpret it and fit it into our existing knowledge. Hall et al. (1978) call

the process of “identification and contextualisation” (p.54) crucial in the production of news, in other words, the process of fitting events into their cultural context. The media have “great symbolic power resources” (Meikle, 2009, p.44) at their disposal. There is an objective reality posed by nature, but the meaning of events of both natural and societal sort are created through interactions (Falkheimer and Heide, 2006, p.186), and the interactions with media are numerous. Therefore, each individual’s media consumption will contribute to this person’s perception of reality. As Berger and Luckmann (1966) put it: “Man is biologically predestined to construct and to inhabit a world with others. This world becomes for him the dominant and definitive reality. Its limits are set by nature” (p.183). While we encounter facts that remain facts (for example, a storm happens), the subjective meaning to each individual varies greatly. Anderson (1997, p.103ff.; p.203ff.) argues that a strict division between nature and society is artificial and that the study of social phenomena must take into account objective facts. We are informed about many of these objective facts by the media and they are presented amongst a range of information which derives from the journalist’s reality and, in turn, shapes our own reality, depending on our pre-existing perceptions. The journalist will write about what the fact means and why it should be important to us. In other words, those “who provide news do more than tell daily stories; they frame and shape a common sense of the world, both distant and local” (Coleman et al., 2009, p.7).

By choosing an item to present as news, whichever value they base this decision on, the media decide that a specific event is news. In this process, news values play an important role, most famously outlined by Galtung and Ruge (1965)²⁴. Looking at the 12 dimensions that, according to them, play a role in the selection of news, one can see quite clearly that the topic of climate change faces difficulties to qualify and that it depends on the situation of the country where the reporting takes place.

1. Frequency: Does the event coincide with the publication rhythm of the medium?
2. Threshold: Is the event important enough?
3. Unambiguity: Is the event easy to understand?
4. Meaningfulness: Is there a relation to the audience and their cultural background?
5. Consonance: Is another event likely to follow this one?
6. Unexpectedness: Is the event uncommon and unexpected?
7. Continuity: Can there be follow-up coverage?

²⁴Galtung and Ruge’s list of news values referred to the reporting of foreign affairs.

8. Composition: Does it fit the style of the medium or fit into a greater context of stories?
9. Reference to elite nations: Are elite nations (subject to definition) involved?
10. Reference to elite people: Are authoritative persons of any sort involved?
11. Reference to persons: Can the topic be personalised?
12. Reference to something negative: Is it bad news or is there bad news involved? (Harcup and O'Neill, 2001, p.262ff.)

With regards to climate change, it is easy to see that these news values apply mostly in the situation of extreme weather events and international high-level meetings (cf. Smith, 2005, p.1478). The complexity of the topic often leads to a focus on dramatic individual stories rather than on long-term implications. When scientists are unable, or refuse, to provide "in-depth" information in just a couple of minutes for broadcasting, this can result in no coverage at all. In addition, a simple problem is the question where to place climate change. For a long time, it has been placed almost exclusively within an international context (Smith, 2005, 1477). Strömbäck et al. (2012) address an important aspect of news values: there is a discrepancy between which news the journalist personally considers newsworthy and which he or she actually selects in order to satisfy audience needs or to comply with demands of advertising partners. The journalists will for example look at the news value of meaningfulness with two different viewpoints: something might be very meaningful for people's everyday lives but for some reason it might not fulfil news values such as being dramatic or unexpected. The journalist might also have to succumb to organisational constraints. Strömbäck et al.'s survey of Swedish journalists displays, in broad terms, an image of the journalist who wants to improve society and an audience that craves sensational stories. Fuller (1996) gives the audience more credit, claiming that it expects much of its media: "There is every reason to think that readers want their newspapers to know the difference between the significant and the trivial" (p.118). Fuller further argues that it is no surprise that the quality newspapers of the metropolitan areas in the US still exist, contrary to some less serious newspapers. He opposes the attitude that is apparently put forward by the Swedish journalists of the above-mentioned study on news values, and suggests that the media have to think ahead for their audience (Fuller, 1996, p.118ff.).

When Harcup and O'Neill (2001) challenge the news values established by Galtung and Ruge, they find for example that stories on "elite people" in the UK press are more often celebrities from show business or sports, or the royal family, rather than the politically powerful, as intended by Galtung and Ruge. In addition, the three newspapers in Harcup and O'Neill's study

(*Daily Telegraph*, *Sun*, and *Daily Mail*) carried a lot of meaningless stories that should supposedly entertain the audience, therefore the threshold for a story to enter the media seems to be lower than suggested by Galtung and Ruge. They finally put forward a set of additional news values, in order to update the 1965 version. Under the title “entertainment” they establish the following values: picture opportunities, reference to sex, reference to animals, humour and showbiz/TV. They further add “reference to something positive”, which somehow challenges the “reference to something negative” established by Galtung and Ruge. As Harcup and O’Neill state themselves though: often it is subject to interpretation whether something is positive or negative (Harcup and O’Neill, 2001, p.269). The examples they give are human-interest stories and therefore just stand for an overall low threshold of what is newsworthy. In addition, reference to elite organisations and finally, the media outlet’s own agenda, were counted as news values by the authors (Harcup and O’Neill, 2001, p.273ff.). They then update the ten original news values, by eliminating and adapting some existing ones and adding their own. All in all, we can say that the news values proposed by Galtung and Ruge had disregarded the entertainment factor and that the new set proposed by Harcup and O’Neill has a strong focus on entertainment. Considering the general change in content and types of media coverage since 1965, it is likely that they are closer to the reality of a newsroom than the older set of values. While it is of course not generally negative that entertainment is a news value, the consequences must be examined in further research. These values are also not static – while certainly in 1965 the media provided entertaining content, Galtung and Ruge’s news values may have still been close to reality, whereas today they need adaptation and they might need to be further changed in the future. In addition, Harcup and O’Neill only look at UK newspapers, so we might find differences when applying these newer values in different countries. And even if we find them suitable for many countries, we will not find newspapers with the exact same content, simply caused by cultural differences (Meikle, 2009, p.22).

In addition to cultural differences, another study suggests that journalists and their national audience may also not share the same reality (Coleman et al., 2009). In a focus group study of British citizens, many do not understand why the 2008 US elections would be an important issue for them. In addition, many of the participants indicated they had trouble understanding such news because they lacked background information. It is not possible to judge whether the amount of coverage of the US election was unreasonably high, but we can claim that the outcome of the elections would have some implications for other countries, including the UK. The media, according to this study, do not seem to have succeeded in connecting these implications with the social realities of the audience. Interestingly, the journalists who were

asked for reactions on the results of the focus group discussion were not even surprised by this outcome. The journalists are aware that they report on something that many people might not understand or care about. If a similar dynamic is true for coverage on climate change, this would be problematic. Currently, climate change does not have the same impacts all over the world, and countries such as India face more physical consequences than, for example, the UK. The relationship between news values and social reality seems to be particularly important for issues that are physically far away from an audience, or in the case of climate change are often perceived as far away. The journalist might be personally very familiar with the topic, but has the task to fit the issue into the social reality of his or her audience by following certain news values. For climate change, this seems to pose a big challenge.

2.4 CLIMATE CHANGE AS NEWS TOPIC

Climate change, being a long-term and complex issue has a difficult position in the newsroom (Farnsworth and Lichten, 2012, p.439; Bødker and Neverla, 2012, p.152). It has been on the agenda for over 30 years with no end in sight. Scientific discoveries regarding climate change are possibly made every day, yet most of the attention is directed towards international conferences and natural disasters (Farnsworth and Lichten, 2012, p.440). As Bødker and Neverla put it, “apart from melting glaciers and extreme weather events, the issue of global warming is difficult to make concrete, and thus the subject of news” (2012, p.152). US Journalist Ross Gelbspan, on the other hand, looks at it as a topic full of journalistic potential in the US, due to the conflict that has been generated by the Bush administration (Gelbspan, 2005). He sees US media lagging behind the rest of the (Western) world, failing to take up the topic of climate change. Even today, with the Bush administration long gone, Gelbspan attributes the US media a “‘stage-two’ denial of the climate crisis” (2010), in other words, while the existence of climate change is now widely recognised, its urgency is still downplayed.

As discussed previously, the media have an interest in reporting on issues that will result in high reader- or viewership. It was mentioned that the personal conviction of a journalist might only have a marginal influence on his or her reporting, depending on the constraints by the economic and political interests of his or her employer. As Gelbspan (see above) points out, conflict is an important factor when it comes to creating public interest. And as will be explained in Chapter 3, the journalistic norm of balance contributes to the public perception of conflict. But all balance aside, there is also the simple depiction of climate change as a conspiracy, exaggeration or even as a positive development (Boykoff, 2008). Looking back at the news values outlined above, this is not particularly surprising. Even when referring to the

relatively conservative list by Galtung and Ruge, climate change, if looked at on a daily basis, would only fit values 5 (consonance) and 7 (continuity). However, it turns into a perfect news topic in the case of high-level international events and when extreme weather events happen, and this is reinforced by the updated set of news values. The UNFCCC conference in Copenhagen (COP15) in December 2009 caused an extremely high level of media coverage, as a feeling of urgency had been created in the weeks running up to the conference and a series of heads of states and governments, including US President Obama, attended the meeting. Further coverage was fuelled by “Climategate”, the publication of hacked emails by leading climate scientists who admitted to having exaggerated some aspects of their results (Boykoff, 2011, p.20). Figure 1 shows that the amount of coverage on the Copenhagen summit had never met before in any region of the world with the exception of South America, which peaked in 2005. New peaks were achieved at the end of 2015, where the Paris conference took place.

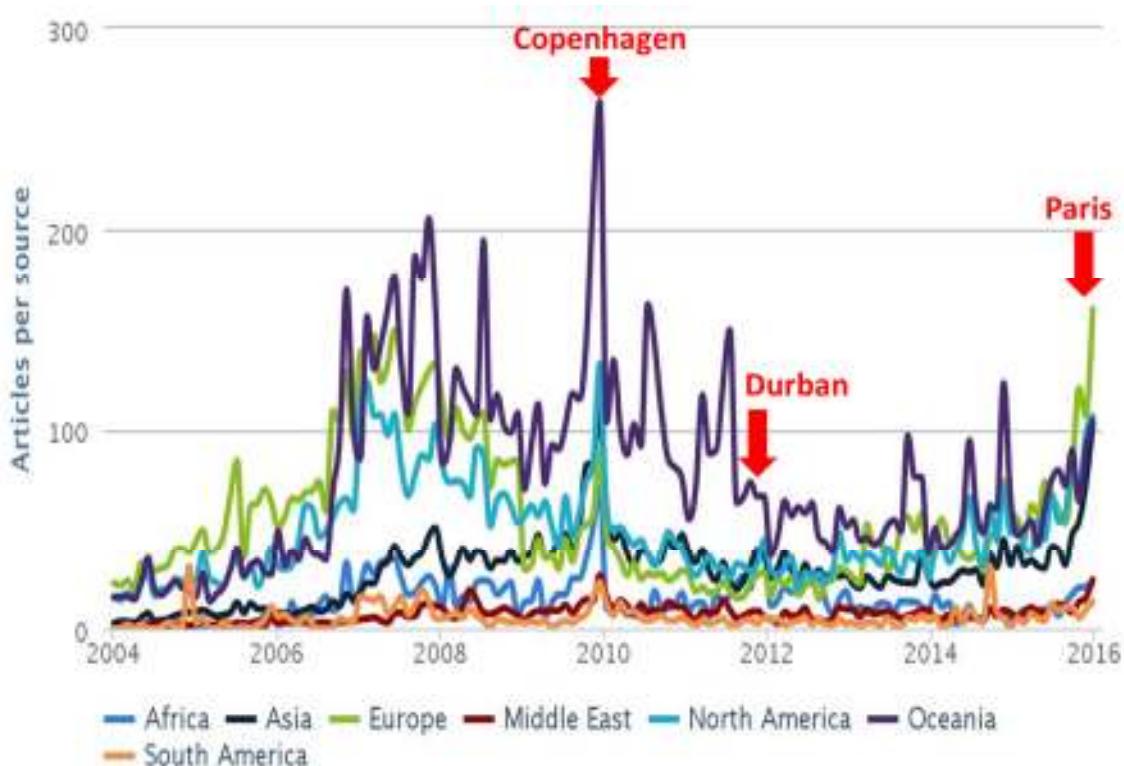


Figure 1: 2004-2015 World News Coverage of Climate Change or Global Warming (Boykoff et al., 2016)

The complexity of the topic and the low compliance with news values is further stressed by the fact that climate change suffers from a “dearth of clear imagery” (DiFrancesco and Young, 2010, p.531). A study on Canadian newspapers shows that the images chosen to accompany newspaper articles in many cases do not correspond with the text but are merely used as

emotional “eye-catcher” (DiFrancesco and Young, 2010, p.532). The authors refer to Boykoff who stresses the slow and complex process of the work of climate scientists, which does not merge well with tight deadlines and the need for simple, catchy stories (2007a, p.285). In consequence, the challenge to find adequate images to support the context of climate change related articles seems to be quite big. Extreme weather events, once more, not only make climate change newsworthy (whether the actual relationship between the event and climate change processes is outlined correctly or not) and are also an easy source for pictures supporting the storyline²⁵. To some extent this could also be transferred to international events, where, in particular, pictures of attending high-level officials can support the content of an article, but can theoretically of course also give more importance to the respective person than suggested in the related article. Often the media resort to images and messages that induce fear, which may raise general concern for climate change but have little success in avoiding “distanciation” (see below) and in communicating local relevance (O’Neill and Nicholson-Cole, 2009)²⁶. Grayling (2009, p.25) suggests that it is the lack of a slogan or a clear image that leaves the public in its state of underestimating the urgency of climate change. Apparently the metaphor of the greenhouse effect did not suffice to create significant concern; therefore, Grayling proposes the “bathtub effect” as an alternative image, with the water representing the greenhouse gases and a clogged drain representing plants and oceans that are not able to absorb any more CO₂. Just like the greenhouse effect, this analogy also has its flaws. Yet, this kind of approach seems to be needed, given the apparent lack of comprehension among the public. Some blame the situation on the scientists, accusing them of staying in their “ivory towers” (Fagin, 2005), far away from journalists and the public, reluctant to interact with people outside their community (see also Kahan, 2012; Smith, 2005). Paired with journalists’ constraints and news values, this leads to fragmented reporting of science, while many people do not seem to be familiar with the basic principles of empirical research (Fagin, 2005; Kahan et al., 2012)²⁷. Scientists keeping their distance with the news media is not merely caused by disinterest or arrogance, but often rather by a fear of being discredited by their peers if they provide simplified information to the media (Smith, 2005, p.1474). And then, if scientists did interact more frequently with the public, it must be taken into consideration that

²⁵Cf. Bird et al., 2009, p.51

²⁶Smith and Joffe (2009) discover a trend in the UK that goes towards the increasing use of local imagery for climate change reporting.

²⁷Smith (2005, p.1474f.) shows that this can also be true for journalists.

People react not really according to abstract concepts and scientific data, but to traditions, experience and shared values. Indeed, we have shown that the scientific construction of facts is cultural as well. If most Germans understand weather extremes as scripture written on the wall of impending, self-inflicted disaster, and if most Americans are willing to chance climate extremes as existential risks, these different attitudes have little to do with superior morality or rationality, but with deeply held—but very different—cultural values and orientations. (von Storch and Krauss, 2005)

Kahan (2012) goes into more detail on the individual level, emphasizing the urgent need for science communication that can overcome the obstacles of views on climate change which are influenced mainly by the immediate community of individuals (see also Kahan et al., 2012). The following chapter will go into more detail on the importance of culture when it comes to the framing of an issue. The final two sections of this chapter present an overview of research on media coverage on climate change.

2.5 MEDIA COVERAGE: SCIENCE, POLITICS, AND THE “CLIMATE CATASTROPHE”

2.5.1 AUTHORITY AS A SOURCE

The Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism has published an extensive review of the media coverage of the Copenhagen Climate Change Conference in November and December 2009 (Painter, 2010). An overwhelming 4000 journalists from all over the world had registered for the event, a number that had never been expected for an event that was not “the Olympics or the World Cup” (Painter, 2010, p.3). The analysis focuses on the extent to which actual climate science is reported and reveals the small amount of science that is found in most articles. When science was reported, the organisations and individuals quoted were usually from National or International Organisations. Scientists accounted for only 12% of the quotes in climate science related articles (see also Kunelius and Eide, 2012, p.275). This is interesting because apparently the media turn to the policy makers and report their knowledge or interpretation of science. This goes nicely with the news values, because a reporter might value the name of a widely known politician more than the name of a scientist known only by a specific audience. As Boykoff (2011, p.107) points out, authority is an important factor in the choice of sources, an observation that plays into concept of primary definers. This can result in neglecting to properly explain complex issues such as climate change.

For the UK, Gavin (2007a, 2007b, 2007c) stresses the surprisingly low rate of media coverage on climate change, the presence of stories denying climate change as well as the absence of stories on the EU emission trading system. Further, he explains that the government, as well as other actors face difficulties in managing the way their stories are used in the media. Finally, he expects that the international efforts led by the UN IPCC will force the topic on the media’s

agenda. This has been proven to be true before, since the release of the IPCC reports generate high news coverage. Nevertheless, these reports are only released every few years and might not necessarily be enough to keep the interest as high as needed. Figure 1 above shows indications for that. British quality newspapers also show a relatively high level of ideological orientation in their choice of how to report on climate change (Carvalho, 2007). The selection of experts and sources always goes hand in hand with the value system generally promoted by the respective medium. Similar results have been found for Australia (McKewon, 2012), where conservative media are more likely to refer to conservative think tanks than other media. This is in stark contrast to the situation in Germany, where the entire media landscape has been talking about a “climate catastrophe”, ever since scientists used the expression in the 1980s (Weingart et al., 2000; von Storch and Krauss, 2005). Efforts by the scientific community to qualify the statement have remained largely unheard by the mass media (Weingart et al., 2000, p.269). Weingart et al. find that

in the German discourse on climate change, scientists politicized the issue, politicians reduced the scientific complexities and uncertainties to CO₂ emissions reduction targets, and the media ignored the uncertainties and transformed them into a sequence of events leading to catastrophe and requiring immediate action. (2000, p.280)

Therefore, by following a concept of sensationalist coverage plus a focus on events, the German media shaped the topic of climate change according to general news values.

2.5.2 REALLY CLOSE OR FAR AWAY?

The complexity of the issue does not only challenge news values, it also requires a certain level of knowledge on the journalist's side. In a survey members of the Society of Environmental Journalists (SEJ, association for North American journalists) it turns out that the major information source for acquiring knowledge on climate change is newspapers, and only to a smaller percentage scientists and science journals (Wilson, 2000, p.4). While these journalists showed a better knowledge of climate science than the average public, the knowledge was not particularly advanced: barely half of the interviewees knew that the greenhouse effect is enjoying great scientific consensus (Wilson, 2000, p.7). A major reason for this situation might be that journalists are constrained by increasing pressure in their daily work due to budget cuts. When covering many different issues, it is difficult to have expert knowledge in all those issues (Boykoff, 2011, p.81; see also Ladle et al., 2005, p.231). In addition, climate change may have become such a mainstream topic that non-specialised journalists cover it not just because they have to but also because they want to. Influential journalists, as a trend in France shows, might not pay as much attention to the scientific legitimacy of their sources on climate change and more to the originality of the story (Aykut et al., 2012, p.168f.). It is therefore not

surprising when climate change coverage is flawed in content²⁸. The findings might be specific to France, as the authors attribute a controversy on the issue that emerged only in 2009. In the US, for example, this had already been the case for almost a decade by then, although largely unexploited by the media, according to Gelbspan (2005, see above).

It is also not surprising that incomplete or false coverage of climate change will cause significant confusion among the public. The American public has a high awareness of climate change and generally believes that it is real. However, the risk of the consequences of climate change is not perceived to be immediate or physically close (Leiserowitz, 2005, p.1441).²⁹ Without testing public awareness, Weingart et al. attribute to the German media a successful overcoming of this problem by using examples of different regional impacts such as “changes in alpine glaciers and snow lines (affecting ski tourism), as well as the desertification of large parts of Africa” (2000, p.278). In addition, the German media provided information on the impact of individual behaviour on climate change. This sort of individual action communication has been criticised by Ereaut and Segnit (2006), since, depending on the style in which it is presented, these recommendations can caricature the actual seriousness of climate change and can make people feel helpless instead of compelled to act (p.25; see also Bird et al., 2009, p.56f.). In addition, while (at least parts of) the German audience might easily relate with the endangerment of ski resorts, it is unlikely that droughts in Africa will make them feel that climate change is a particularly close danger (see also O’Neill and Nicholson-Cole, 2009). It has been shown that even in countries that are exposed to very high climate change vulnerability, such as Australia or India, the media do not succeed in communicating the urgency, immediacy and physical closeness of the danger (McManus, 2000; Aram, 2011).

Additionally, the fact that media coverage is tied to particular events might create higher interest in the topic, but will not necessarily increase the awareness of immediate danger. Therefore, even though there will be coverage on climate conferences and reports the question is, to what extent and in which context these events will be placed. The danger in relying on international events and reports to provide “climate news” lies in the possible abstractness of

²⁸Norway seems to be exception to other countries studied: its media, according to Krøvel (2012) have turned away from issues such as conflict or dramatization. In addition, the journalists reporting on the Poznan conference were well informed about the topic of climate change, apparently unimpressed by tight newsroom deadlines.

²⁹The example of already present impacts in the US state of Alaska shows that this is wrong (Leiserowitz, 2005, p.1441).

such events for the audience. This assumption is supported by the results of an analysis³⁰ of Australian newspaper coverage of COP4, where it is concluded that the “impacts of climate change are experienced elsewhere, the discussions about the process occur elsewhere, and there are no causal links made to the daily lives of Australians” (McManus, 2000, p.316f.). In addition, the highest number of stories about COP4 printed in one newspaper was 12 during the two weeks examined, which demonstrates the low level of coverage. Like Gavin (2009), McManus points out the problem of climate change as a complex topic, which lacks specific news values that generally create high interest.³¹ McManus’ study provides a curious insight on how, in a country that is culturally part of the Western world, even though it is highly at risk for natural impacts of climate change, the media paint an abstract picture of the problem. While this might have changed in Australia since COP4 due to several extreme weather events, this study stands as an example for all the governments and media that still treat climate change as an abstract phenomenon. Climate change, after all, is important on the local, regional, national and international level. While it is important to note that (extreme) weather events cannot necessarily be directly related to climate change, it is often in the case of storms, floods, or droughts and resulting fires that concern is raised (von Storch and Krauss, 2005; Gavin, 2009).

In contrast to McManus’ findings on the “distanciation” (2000, p.307), Billett (2010) finds, that Indian media present climate change as a local issue that directly concerns the population as their physical environment is affected. With regards to policy, however, the Indian newspapers largely accused the industrialized countries of being responsible for the pollution and therefore responsible for the reduction of emissions without hindering growth in developing countries. According to the findings in the media coverage, the Indian press seemed to reject Indian policy action and shed a negative light on the Kyoto Protocol, even though this document exempted India from binding emission cuts. This discrepancy in coverage between climate change awareness and reluctance to act might possibly stand for a close connection of media and government frames, as it stands for protecting Indian citizens and projecting a strong

³⁰It must be noted that McManus’ study has been conducted approximately eight years before the studies conducted by Gavin and before the Copenhagen conference, so the general situation might have shifted since then. It still represents an example for the possible dangers.

³¹Australia also faces the problem that it is the fourth largest coal producer in the world, using it for both export and national power production. Interestingly, the Australian media do not seem to make a connection between climate change and coal: both issues are reported separately (Bacon and Nash, 2012, p.256).

stance on the international level.³² To some extent, this conclusion can be held up for this thesis, as will be shown in Chapter 9. I. Arul Aram (2011), on the other hand, discovers patterns in the Indian media, which are similar to the US media. Journalists claim that climate change has no daily relation to the lives of the readership. Just as it has been shown for their American colleagues (see above), they also have little experience in reporting on complex scientific issues.

2.6 CONCLUSION

The discussion in this chapter demonstrates that the relationship between media and politics is very complex and it is always subject to change, and it is a relationship that varies considerably from country to country. In addition, the quality of the relationship depends largely on the viewpoint of whoever is giving their opinion. It also showed how the relationship matters when it comes to the reporting of climate change, an issue on which information is mainly distributed through the media.

The first part examined the general relationship between the two sides and shows that the media play an important role within a democracy, most basically with their task to inform. This task is particularly important given the fact that most people experience politics only through the media and not through personal involvement. It is then subject to debate to what extent the media act as mere platform for officials to distribute their information or whether they take part in fuelling debates. While Hall et al. (1978) argue that the media pick up on what officials say and become active only at the moment of news selection, other scholars such as Anderson (1997) promote a more flexible perspective of the media's influence and activity. In this realm, we also looked at the indexing model by Bennett (1990). Both Bennett's and Hall's models can still be granted some validity but have to be seen in the context of a mediatised political environment. The examination of several studies illustrated that in the specific relationship between journalists and politicians it is not clear who possesses more power. It is certainly shown that the relationship is seen as important by both sides. However, it is not seen as an easy relationship. The establishment of the nature of the relationship between media and politics is important for this thesis as the relationship builds the basis for the resulting interactions between government communication and media coverage, specifically newspaper coverage in this thesis. The growing number of spin-doctors and other public relations

³²The two arguments that influence press coverage in India can be called, as Lim and Seo (2009) put it, “competitive frames” and they stress that on an international level, “there are multiple competing frames” (p.207).

specialists that are involved in the daily media work of politicians also poses a challenge to the relationship because journalists are dependent on information but also need to keep their distance in their role as watchdog. Politicians also make themselves less accessible and can create frustration among journalists.

Regarding climate change, politicians and governments can and do have different communication goals. On a domestic level, this can be, for example, awareness raising, support for policies, or – the most difficult – changing of habits. On an international level, strength and leadership are high on the agenda, projected both towards the constituency at home and towards foreign politicians and journalists who might disseminate the message further. The difficulty of communicating is then further increased if there are domestic differences of opinion, within the government or from prominent figures outside the government. The empirical section shows that this was the case for the UK coalition government at the time of the Durban conference, where two government ministers provided opposing messages. The Indian Environment Minister had to face strong criticism from the *Hindu*, one of the most important English language newspapers in India. The German government saw their main point of communication concerning climate change – the *Energiewende* (see Chapter 6.2) – completely ignored by the newspapers. And the US government also was not supported in its claim that the 2010 Cancun conference had already provided the solution to the problem.

With a different policy situation concerning climate change in all four countries of the study, every government faces a different challenge in communication. As the empirical part will indicate, governments all share the same approach: that they want to emphasise that they are doing the right thing and are taking a leadership role. The UK and Germany emphasise their ambitious domestic efforts, whereas India has to demonstrate commitment to development and rights to atmospheric space to its population. As mentioned, the US government stresses the success of the Cancun conference of 2010 and at the time of the study still lacked concrete domestic climate policies. This also means that journalists in every country face different challenges when it comes to communicating climate change. They need to communicate government actions but they also, in their role as scrutinisers, need to point out shortcomings.

Journalists pick their stories according to certain news values that may differ from organisation to organisation. News values, based on the list created by Galtung and Ruge (1965), are critically evaluated in this chapter and updated with the ideas of Harcup and O'Neill (2001), who empirically tested the original set. A study by Strömbäck (2012) shows that there can be discrepancies between what journalists deem important and what they think the audience

deems important. This points towards the power journalists have in constructing social reality. News values that dominate the daily creation of content in the newsroom often pose a problem when it comes to climate change coverage. By its nature, it is a long-term, complex issue difficult to report on and often it does not pass the threshold for news values, unless it includes high-level meetings or extreme weather events. With climate change being an issue that affects everyone in the long-term in their daily lives, this seems like a problematic approach. Even in countries that already feel the consequences of climate change, media coverage does not necessarily account for this. Generally, media coverage is scarce and displays climate change as a distant problem. The coverage of Copenhagen shows how important politicians are as sources for climate change coverage despite not necessarily being experts on the topic. This further underlines the need to look into the relationship between media and government frames. This chapter demonstrates that the media dispose of great power in a democratic system. Whether this power is greater than the one of the political system, whether the opposite is the case or whether it is a constant balancing act, remains uncertain. What is certain, however, that the interplay between the two is crucial for the information of citizens and that both have, to some extent, the power to withhold or divert from important issues.

Hallin and Mancini (2004) in their comparative work on media systems claim that in order to understand the news media, it is necessary to understand the structure of a state: its party system, the interplay between political and economic actors and institutions, the civil society and other factors of the social composition of a state (p.8). Hallin and Mancini argue that the current relationship of media and politics in different countries has been developed throughout history and that

[a]ny judgment we make about a media system has to be based on a clear understanding of its social context – of such elements as the divisions existing within society, the political process by which they were (or were not) resolved, and the prevailing patterns of political belief. (2004, p.15)

The following chapter will present Hallin and Mancini's work and relate it to the specific countries of this study. It will further introduce the independent variables.

3. MEDIA SYSTEMS

The previous chapter has looked at the relationship between media and politics and at climate change coverage in particular. Everything a journalist writes or says has to fit into a certain context which is a deeply rooted understanding of how the world works, developed throughout decades or centuries and passed on from one generation to another, reinforced by the media. The journalist, obviously, has been trained in exactly this environment and therefore he or she will easily integrate into the cultural context. However, there are differences between different societies or, in the case of this thesis, countries. This chapter will look at the origins of media systems research and will introduce the model put forward by Hallin and Mancini (2004). The Western countries of this case study will then be presented according to their model, followed by a critical evaluation. Further, the fourth country, India, will be presented in light of the model, followed by a section on journalistic professionalism. This chapter introduces the independent variables, political parallelism and national loyalty. Political parallelism is essential in shaping the relationship between the media and the political system, as it defines the expectations of journalists regarding politicians and vice versa. The final part of this chapter will address an issue not covered by Hallin and Mancini, namely the role of national loyalty. This chapter sets the scene for the empirical work of this thesis. After outlining the general relationship of media and politics in Chapter 2, presenting the specific media systems of the countries is essential in order to understand the relationship between journalists and politicians, and consequently, between newspaper and government frames, in the countries of this study.

3.1 THE ORIGINS OF MEDIA SYSTEMS RESEARCH

Media systems do not exist as isolated constructs. They are linked with other systems, such as the political system, the economic system, and the culture of a society. According to Hardy (2012, p.185) “a media system comprises all mass media organized or operating within a given social and political system (usually a state)”. And this social and political system, in turn, shapes the media system of a country. Hallin and Mancini have pointed out that “comparative analysis of media systems is about understanding those systems in the context of history, culture and social and political structure more generally” (2012b, p.217f.).

The origin of a framework for comparative media research lies in the famous *Four Theories of the Press* by Siebert et al. (1956). This framework, based on an Authoritarian and a Libertarian theory, was created during the Cold War and shows the marks of this period (de Albuquerque,

2013, p.744). The other two theories, the Soviet Communist one and the Social Responsibility one, amend the Authoritarian and the Libertarian Theory respectively (de Albuquerque, 2013, p.744). *Four Theories of the Press* has received much criticism, both from a point of view of relevance and applicability as well as from a conceptual viewpoint (Nerone, 1995; de Albuquerque, 2013; Hallin and Mancini, 2004), the most “devastating” maybe being Nerone’s view that the book really just provides one theory, the Libertarian one, from which it derives the three others (1995, p.21). Ostini and Fung (2002, p.42) argue that the fall of the communist block has “annulled the explanatory power” of the *Four Theories*, among others. A central problem of the *Four Theories* and many follow-up attempts to provide a model to analyse and compare media systems is that they are normative rather than descriptive (Ostini and Fung, 2002, p.45). As we will see later on, Hallin and Mancini’s model is based on descriptions of actually existing media systems rather than on philosophical approaches. It is further much more flexible than the *Four Theories*, which is intended to be linear with systems evolving from communism to authoritarianism to libertarianism to social responsibility. Once this pattern is proven wrong it becomes useless (Ostini and Fung, 2002, p.46). Hallin and Mancini’s model can be adapted because even if a system changes drastically, the categories proposed are still valid in order to effectively examine it. Another problem of the *Four Theories* is a lack of empirical testing of the theories and, as Hardy (2012, p.188) puts it a “fusion, and confusion, of normative and empirical”. The framework also does not take into account influences on the media system other than political power, which is striking in particular regarding economic constraints (Hardy, 2012, p.188).

Ostini and Fung, after heavily criticising *Four Theories of the Press*, propose their own model for analysis, based on two dimensions: whether the country is democratic or authoritarian, with accordingly regulated or unregulated media, and whether the press coverage is conservative or liberal. They empirically test this model with the case of media coverage on a dispute between Japan and China, adding the United States and Hong Kong to the sample. The results then show that each of the four countries sits in a different category, from authoritarian-conservative to democratic-liberal. By taking into account journalistic professionalism as a variable in media systems, Ostini and Fung already make a big step away from the *Four Theories*. It is nevertheless difficult to accept their argumentation how, from this one case study on a single topic, they can define the nature of a media system. It is, of course, very difficult to draw from the mere evaluation of newspaper articles, the “individual journalistic values” of the authors of those articles. Is it really the journalist’s individual value or rather his editor’s, his newspaper’s or his government’s value? We cannot answer this with the framework provided by Ostini and

Fung (see also Hardy, 2012, p.188). An interesting point we can draw from this study is that democracy does not equal liberal media and authoritarian regime does not equal conservative media. This hints at something that has been neglected by the *Four Theories*: the cultural environment of the society in which the journalist is educated has a big influence on the resulting media coverage. While I want to maintain the viewpoint that in a country without a free press we will see little of the journalist's cultural influence but instead a lot of propaganda, we must not look at established democracies and their media systems as if they are all the same (see Voltmer, 2012, p.225).

Hallin and Mancini have established a framework which takes these differences into account. Althaus (2004, p.112) calls their work "a milestone study [which] provides political communication scholars with what the classic *Four Theories of the Press* promised but never ultimately delivered: a unified and testable theory of the relationship between political systems and media systems". The authors acknowledge the legacy of the *Four Theories*, but criticise in particular the lack of practicality of the framework: "[Siebert et al.] looked neither at the actual functioning of media systems nor at that of the social systems in which they operated, but only at the 'rationales or theories' by which those systems legitimated themselves" (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, p.9).³³ Their new framework stands for a "decent burial" (2004, p.10) of the *Four Theories*.

Thomaß (2007, cited in Jakubowicz, 2010, p.1) noted that comparative media analysis has shifted from normative to empirical. Hallin and Mancini's work has been the first widely acclaimed approach to completely depart from the *Four Theories of the Press* and, while not short of criticism received, has remained an inevitable point of reference for anyone researching media systems or their elements. Before presenting such criticism, the following paragraphs introduce the three models developed by Hallin and Mancini.

3.2 COMPARING MEDIA SYSTEMS

Hallin and Mancini's study includes Western European countries and the United States and they identify three models: The Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralist Model; the North/Central European or Democratic Corporatist Model; and the North Atlantic or Liberal Model. The categories to classify a media system are:

1. The state of the newspaper industry: when did a mass press develop?

³³Nerone (1995) provides a more exhaustive criticism of the philosophical history and relevance of each of the theories and their link to the reality of media systems.

2. The level of political parallelism: are the media party-affiliated, and if so, how polarised are they?
3. The state and type of professionalization among journalists: how autonomous are journalists and how do they interpret their role regarding ethical norms?
4. The role of the state in the media system: which laws regulate the media? What role does public broadcasting play? Are there subsidies for the media?

The political system is characterised by the factors: history, the type of government, the type of pluralism (individual or organised representation of social groups or corporations), the role of the state in general with regards to the economy and welfare, and the state of rational-legal authority (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, p.21ff.).

The political system of the Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralist Model is categorised by late democratisation and polarized pluralism, by organised pluralism of societal groups and a strong involvement of the state and parties in the economy. Some countries have a strong welfare state. The rational-legal authority is weaker than in the other models and clientelism is common. The countries of this model are, according to Hallin and Mancini, Italy, France, Greece, Spain and Portugal. Both majoritarian and consensus governments are present in this group. With regards to the media system, newspaper circulation is low and the press is elitist. Political parallelism is high, resulting in external pluralism and opinionated journalism. Governments and parties are involved in the public broadcasting system. Professionalization is weaker and instrumentalisation is common. State intervention in the media is generally strong (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, p.66f.; p.73f.).

The countries of the next model, the North/Central European or Democratic Corporatist Model, are Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland. With the exception of Germany and Austria, these countries democratised early and the majority have consensus governments. Political pluralism is moderate. Societal groups are traditionally organised and the countries are marked by democratic corporatism. A strong welfare state and involvement of the state in the economy is a further characteristic of this model. The rational-legal authority is strongly developed. The media systems in the Democratic Corporatist model show a high newspaper circulation and have developed mass-circulation press early. External pluralism and a tradition of party press are typical, the latter has become weaker and there is a tendency towards neutrality. Public broadcasting systems have a high degree of autonomy. There is strong professionalization and institutions for self-regulation of

the media are common. State intervention with regards to press freedom is strong and public broadcasting is of high importance in these media systems (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, p.66f.; p.74f.).

Britain, the United States, Canada and Ireland are the countries of the North Atlantic or Liberal Model. This third model is characterised by early democratisation and moderate pluralism. The governments of the countries in this group are mostly majoritarian. There is a tendency towards individualised representation rather than organised pluralism. Further, Liberalism is the guiding norm and the welfare state is weak. The rational-legal authority is strong, like in the Democratic Corporatist Model. Newspaper circulation is higher than in the Mediterranean Model, but lower than in the Northern European Model, but mass-circulation also developed early. The commercial press is generally neutral and journalism is mostly information-oriented. The media show internal pluralism and the broadcast system is “formally autonomous”. Professionalization is strong, self-regulation happens on a non-institutionalised basis. State intervention is low, the system is market-oriented (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, p.66f.; p.75).

The descriptions above apply to the ideal case of the respective model, exceptions exist for all of them. According to Hallin and Mancini, the ideal cases are the Nordic countries for the Democratic Corporatist Model, Greece for the Polarised Pluralist Model and the US for the Liberal Model (2004, p.70).

A key difference between the media systems is political parallelism (Hardy, 2012, p.191): from a press that is closely tied to a country's elites, to weakening party-ties, to a “politics-free” environment. We can observe a parallel in the respective public broadcasting systems: an active involvement of the government, governance by societal groups and a weak public broadcasting system governed by an independent body, at least for the United States. The latter, however, is qualified by the relationship between commercial broadcasting and government regulation. This will be explained in more detail below. These structures have consequences for the role of the journalist in the respective media system, as Chapter 3.3 will show.

3.2.1 THE LIBERAL MODEL

The United States and the United Kingdom, according to Hallin and Mancini's system, are part of the Liberal Model. The end of this section will evaluate whether this classification can be supported. Regarding the political system, the Liberal Model countries usually have a majoritarian government, a democracy that developed early on and pluralism is moderate. The

United States in particular does not possess strongly organized social groups, whereas Britain is slightly closer to continental Europe in this aspect.

The Liberal Model is characterised by an early developed commercial press and a strong norm of journalistic professionalism, with the US known for the journalistic norm of balance, which has been mentioned in Chapter 2. Further, commercial broadcasting plays an important role. The US has the particularity that public service broadcasting is of minor significance for the development of the media system. The basic structure and values of the British media market with its restrictions and taxes were exported to its North American colonies; however, with the revolution the US turned towards a freer press, most notably through the First Amendment. In both countries the commercialisation of the press started in the first half of the 19th century, which soon turned the media market into a lucrative business and allowed further distancing from government subsidies and, consequently, government control (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, p.201). While the United States and Britain share similarities, such as the early introduction of commercial press, and later, television, they are different in many ways.

With regards to the First Amendment: this legislation guarantees freedom of speech in a way that is not mirrored in Britain, or any other European country. Apart from the regulation of media concentration, it remains the most important “intervention” of the state in the media system, since the law is not balanced by laws on privacy or regulation of political advertising, like in many European countries. British journalists find themselves more restricted, in particular when it comes to the leaking of secret government information or in relation to slander (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, p.229ff.). This already marks a difference between the two countries that results in a culturally different environment.

The British and American newspaper markets are seen as the origin of fact-oriented journalism, shifting away from opinionated and partisan style. In the United States, this has led to a journalistic culture that prides itself with being “balanced”, “objective”, or “neutral”, and partisan newspapers have become extremely rare. Since the US newspaper market consists mostly of local papers, and there is often just one local paper for a certain area, this further contributes to avoiding strong political stances, in order to catch the biggest possible audience (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, p.208). In the late 19th century, the first signs of professionalization of journalists appeared in the United States with commercial newspapers hiring full-time journalists for the first time. In the beginning of the 20th century, the first schools and courses of journalism were established in a range of universities (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, p.218). Professionalization therefore went hand in hand with the establishment of the commercial

press and the process of monopolisation, which resulted in the need to satisfy both a diverse audience and the advertisers. Strong opinion and political partisanship did not fit this development very well (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, p.219f.).

Britain's press landscape is characterized by a strong national press and, according to Hallin and Mancini, a sharp separation between quality newspapers and tabloids³⁴. In comparison to the US and other countries of the same model, the British press still shows significant levels of partisanship. While this may be more moderate in broadsheets, tabloids³⁵ often express opinions more polarized and explicit (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, p.210f.). This constitutes a significant difference between two countries of the same model, which Hallin and Mancini acknowledge and try to explain: "Just as the competitive national market in Britain permits segmentation of the market by class, it may also permit segmentation of the market by political affinity, in a way that the local monopoly markets of North America [...] do not" (2004, p.214). This, however, constitutes a major difference between the media systems of the two countries and puts the categorisation under the Liberal Model into question. As pointed out by Hardy (2012, p.192), Britain's media system has striking similarities with the countries of the Democratic Corporatist Model. This will be discussed in more detail below.

Broadcasting is less prone to partisanship in the countries of the Liberal Model, and in Britain regulations require both public service and commercial companies to be impartial and balanced. The *BBC* is governed by an independent board chosen by political consent. The members are not meant to represent any party but "society as a whole, willing to uphold the independence of British broadcasting against political pressure" (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, p.235). Of course the *BBC* has had to deal with political pressure, but both the *BBC* and commercial broadcasting are in general quite autonomous (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, p.236).

Public broadcasting plays a very small role on the American broadcasting landscape. The board of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting is appointed by the President and approved by the Senate, but it is officially obliged to promote balance and restrict control over content. Despite

³⁴Semetko (2000) also finds a more explicit partisanship in tabloids. However, she points out that the culture of scandalous and sensationalist news introduced by the tabloids has been picked up by broadsheet press (p.346f.).

³⁵ Or, popular and midmarket newspapers, as this study will refer to them (see Chapter 5.1).

the small market share of public broadcasting³⁶, this arrangement can get political. The government of George W. Bush worked hard to place both staff and content that are ideologically close to the Republican Party (Alterman, 2005). Public television is not generally seen as a pillar of the media system, as there are continuous efforts to abolish federal funding, which is already less than 20% of the budget (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, p.229). The lion's share of the broadcasting market belongs to commercial stations in the United States³⁷. As Hallin and Mancini (2004, p.236f.) point out, the commercial stations are not free from political influence. The infrastructures for broadcasting are government regulated, therefore good relations with political decision-makers are necessary. Further, commercial pressures on American media are much more important than in Britain. British broadcast journalists in both public and private media are therefore seen as more autonomous than their American counterparts (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, p.237).

US journalists mostly have to deal with commercial constraints, political parallelism is almost non-existent. Their British counterparts in broadcasting are more autonomous, but newspaper journalists have to deal with a certain amount of political parallelism, as described above. A large part of British journalists are members of the National Union of Journalists, even if this organisation has lost power since the Thatcher era. In the US, very few journalists are members of a similar association. Accordingly, formal bodies of self-regulation are not common in the countries of the Liberal Model, as opposed to the Democratic-Corporatist Model. With regards to professionalism, British journalists are "strongly professionalized in the sense that journalists have their own set of criteria for the selection and presentation of news" (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, p.222). In other words, they manage to distance themselves from the political agenda. Formal education for journalists has developed later in Britain than in the US and college degrees in general were uncommon among journalists until the end of the 20th century. The question of professionalism will be examined in more detail below, especially in comparison to the other countries of the case study.

The US is the ideal type of the Liberal Model, with the extreme dominance of commercial media. Britain in some aspects leans more towards the Democratic-Corporatist Model, which

³⁶See for example the study by Iyengar et al. (2010) who for the US exclude "the Public Broadcasting Service because its news program is watched by very few people" (p.295). According to Hargreaves (2009, p.104), the market share of Public Broadcasting is less than three percent.

³⁷In the year 2008/09, PBS NewsHours reached less than 0.5 per cent of the American population (Pew Project for Excellence in Journalism, n.d.). The biggest commercial news programmes reach 2.7% each (Aalberg et al., 2010).

will be presented below. Even though this disagrees with Hallin and Mancini's original classification, it does not diminish the usefulness of their study for this thesis. The model still helps structure the relationship between the media and the political system through universally applicable categories, and consequently allows to compare newspaper and government frames. The following section looks at Germany, which is classified as Democratic-Corporatist under Hallin and Mancini's model.

3.2.2 THE DEMOCRATIC-CORPORATIST MODEL: GERMANY

Germany is part of the Democratic Corporatist model. The countries of this model are generally characterised by early democratisation (Germany being an obvious exception), consensus governments, and organized pluralism. The press in Germany has traditionally been partisan, but this has decreased significantly in the last decades. Journalists possess a high level of professionalization with regards to autonomy, professional norms, and public service orientation. This coexistence of a strong professionalization and a certain degree of political parallelism is a significant difference from the other two models, which have either strong professionalization (Liberal) or political parallelism (Polarized Pluralist). This once more points out the closeness of Britain to the Democratic-Corporatist system. Unlike in other countries of the same group, the German press does not receive subsidies from the state. The German broadcasting system is a so-called civic one, since not only political parties but also important social groups are represented in the programme boards of the different stations, even if for private broadcasters their role is only advisory. Further, broadcasting falls under the authority of the Länder, therefore reinforcing pluralism even more. The German public broadcasting system is despite its different governance, seen as being comparable to the British one (Kleinsteuber and Thomass, 2007, p.114). Commercial television was introduced in the 1980s and, according to Papathanassopoulos et al. (2007), this "has had a dramatic impact on politics" (p.22). The question whether there should or should not be a system of commercial broadcasting was a strongly disputed issue between the two major parties, the conservative CDU and the social democrat party SPD. The latter was in favour of keeping a purely public system, whereas the former supported commercialisation. After the introduction of commercial broadcasting, the media concentration of two big conglomerates became a major issue (Kleinsteuber and Thomass, 2007, p.120f.).

Strong self-regulation is also typical for the Democratic Corporatist countries, therefore most of them have Press Councils. The German one is weaker in comparison to the ones in Scandinavian countries. Usually, press councils are based on a code of ethics commonly

accepted by the country's journalists. Germany's journalists are perceived to have a high degree of autonomy in comparison to British and American journalists. In response to the experiences of the Third Reich, a particular emphasis was placed on autonomy in Germany and both press and television had discussions about the internal press freedom of journalists. Private broadcasters have to guarantee autonomy to the journalists working for them, whereas there is no similar legislation for newspapers. Donsbach (2010) claims that "in Germany a stronger advocative understanding of the occupation as well as lesser editorial control permit more subjectivity" (p.165). The former, according to Weischenberg et al. (2012) is more common with political journalists. However, Weischenberg's study finds that German journalists attribute great importance to objectivity. Certainly, advocacy journalism and objectivity may not necessarily be mutually exclusive but it indicates that German journalists have a specific understanding of objectivity, just as British and US journalists have theirs. Advocacy journalism is meant to rely on facts and therefore remains objective, but a journalist educated in a different environment may disagree that any kind of advocacy is objective.

Hallin and Mancini (2004, p.253f.) suggest that the European systems in general are shifting towards the American and therefore the Liberal Model. This is due to a declining party affiliation of media, commercialisation and changing political communication methods. Strongly opinionated journalism is becoming rare (see also Nielsen, 2013; Miroiu, 2011). Nielsen (2013) empirically tests the assumption of "Americanisation" of Europe based on structural criteria. He finds that the predictions by Hallin and Mancini cannot currently be observed: the development of new media may follow similar paths and cause changes to all media systems but the

"persistent particularities, in contrast, seem much more rooted in inherited political, cultural, and economic differences as national media policy traditions are maintained, media habits built over decades change only slowly and different legacy media business models remain relevant even when under increased pressure from new alternatives appealing to the same audiences and advertisers." (Nielsen, 2013, p.406f.)

Of course, as pointed out by Nielsen himself, we cannot rely on this one study to exclude a convergence of media systems for all times, but the rise of electronic media, the commercialisation of broadcasting and the declining newspaper sales seem to have not been able to overpower the underlying political culture of the media systems³⁸. This also refers to an issue, which will be treated more in-depth below: global journalism. So far, Germany has a

³⁸Miroiu (2011) argues that Romania has leaned towards the Liberal system during the transition period after the fall of the USSR, but now is developing more into a Democratic-Corporatist system. She points out the importance of culture.

media system distinct from both the US and UK media system. As any other media system, it is not isolated from influences but its cultural distinctions are upheld despite possible similarities.

3.2.3 CRITICAL RECEPTION OF “COMPARING MEDIA SYSTEMS” AND AMENDMENTS

Generally, it can be said that Hallin and Mancini’s model provides a framework much closer to the realities of media systems than the “Four Theories of the Press”. As has been pointed out above, it shows flexibility since, even though not all democratic systems may fit into the three models, the categories can still be used.

Even though Hallin and Mancini emphasise the “imperfections” of the model, critics have often referred to the significant differences between the countries grouped under one model. As described above, the differences between the US and Great Britain in particular have caught scholarly attention. Further, some critics mention that the factors taken into account by Hallin and Mancini are not refined enough, leaving out indicators such as country size and regionalism (Hardy, 2012, p.193; Hallin and Mancini, 2012b, p.212). Whether the size of a country is relevant is questionable: according to the model, if we look at Germany, France and Britain, we have three countries of approximately the same population, but with three different media systems. Regionalism exists in these countries, to a stronger or weaker extent, but generally we can say that everyone at least speaks the same language. This is different, for example, in Belgium, where the country is divided in half by language – an issue only touched upon very briefly by Hallin and Mancini. Separatist movements are common there and are not marginalised. When speaking about India, the issue of language must be mentioned, but it exceeds the scope of this thesis to measure the impacts of regionalism on the media system. It is, nevertheless, a valid point, which can be taken into account by future studies.

Jakubowicz (2007) amends the three models with the “post-Communist model”. The countries of this category are similar to the Mediterranean Model, some with influences of the North/Central European Model. He emphasises the “potential dynamic aspect” (p.312) of Hallin and Mancini’s typology, in other words, the possibility for a media system to change. Bardoel (2007) comments that the post-Communist and the Mediterranean Model share many similarities, as do the Liberal and the Democratic Corporatist Model. Therefore, he suggests that there should be two clusters: young vs. old democracies, weak vs. strong formal-legislative authority, and absence vs. presence of an established public sphere and civil society (p.453). He further distinguishes between Catholic and Protestant orientations – this is where the applicability of the two clusters outside Europe and North America becomes more difficult, in particular with regards to Asia and Africa. Still, Bardoel’s proposition further stresses the

interdependence of the media and political system and therefore backs Hallin and Mancini's model. Both Jakubowicz and Bardoel seem to favour the Democratic Corporatist and Liberal model in comparison to the other two. Jakubowicz does so more explicitly when suggesting that the post-Communist countries may eventually develop into Democratic-Corporatist systems (2007, p.312). This sort of normative evaluation has always been rejected by Hallin and Mancini (2010, p.xii; 2012a).

Engesser and Franzetti (2011) depart from Hallin and Mancini's work, studying six industrialised and emerging countries and establishing their own dimensions of comparison. They base their analysis on direct equivalents in the political and media system: freedom, centrality, tradition, and diversity. They find a positive correlation between the freedom of the media system and the political system, but not for the factors of centrality and diversity. They attribute to the US system great diversity and therefore conclude that political diversity, expressed through the existence of many different parties, does not determine the existence of media diversity. The framework is interesting but has its flaws. For example, the year of the introduction of a constitution, which is a dimension of "tradition", may be a misleading factor. For the Netherlands, the authors chose the year 1983, when the last reform took place. However, as the authors state themselves, the Netherlands has a 200-year long tradition of press freedom, so the utility of this category is questionable. Just as well, would Germany, that started its current political and media system after the Second World War deem its tradition of freedom of the press and related liberties less important than the United States, whose people have enjoyed these rights since 1791? On the contrary, due to its specific history, there is special attention paid to the issue of freedom. Hallin and Mancini's model takes this into account by grouping countries with a similar history and state of development together, but then leaves open the question, what to do with the other 175 states of the world, at least the ones that have a media system free enough to research its origins and ways? In several attempts, researchers have tried to fit these "hybrid regimes" into the three models established by Hallin and Mancini and attribute them the label of a Polarized Pluralist Model. While some similarities exist, it often caricatures the state of the media systems in the original countries of the model. Despite showing a high degree of state intervention, the situation in these countries does not compete with the situation of the media in many hybrid regimes (Voltmer, 2012, p.231ff.). Newspaper circulation is often low in developing countries, but this can be due to issues of access and illiteracy rather than simply the elitist orientation of the newspapers (Voltmer, 2012, p.228). The example of India will serve to apply Hallin and Mancini's model as a system outside their original study.

3.2.4 NEW HORIZONS: INDIA

India is the largest democracy in the world. It has been independent from British rule since 1947 and its difference from the other countries in the case study is not only geographical. It is a country that was under colonial rule far into the 20th century and its inhabitants are of a great variety of ethnicities and religions and speak a variety of languages. Unlike the other countries in the case study, India is still a developing country, even though great advancements have been made. Therefore, a non-negligible issue to be considered for the media system, in particular for the press, is the degree of literacy, an issue that is of much less importance in the United States, Great Britain and Germany.

An important inspiration for the development of newspapers before independence was the “spirit of nationalism” (Yin and Payne, 2004, p.345). Most famously, Mahatma Gandhi used the press to spread his ideas. India’s first Prime Minister Nehru was a strong advocate for a free press (Yin and Payne, 2004, p.346). When the British left, India had 300 daily newspapers. This number grew to 5000 in the year 2000, of which more than 70 have a circulation higher than 100,000. English language newspapers dominated the scene until the 1970s, and now Hindi newspapers have the highest circulation, placing the English press in second place. However, the English press is still the most important among political actors as well as acting as a political barometer (Yin and Payne, 2004, p.353f.). Newspaper circulation, unlike in many Western countries, is still increasing (McCargo, 2012, p.201). In 2010, the literacy rate among Indian adults was a little over 60%, 80% if only the 15 to 24 year olds are to be considered. There were still significant differences between men and women (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2012)³⁹.

British colonial administration had introduced a sort of community radio, which was meant to reach out to the rural population of India and a similar project was part of the development programme of post-colonial India, first through the radio and then through television (Asthana, 2013, p.525). The first government-controlled TV station, *Doordarshan*, had a monopoly for about 30 years until private television was introduced in 1991. The Satellite Television Experiment (SITE) was a milestone project which introduced television around the country⁴⁰ and created infrastructures that were later used for the Indian Satellite Television (INSAT) and

³⁹In both the entire group of adults as well as just the youngest group, there were roughly 25% less women than men who are literate (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2012)

⁴⁰SITE was introduced during the State of Emergency Regime and has been vastly criticised for reinforcing existing cast-systems and discrimination against rural population (Asthana, 2013, p.526). This, however, cannot be included in this thesis.

consequently the emergence of private TV (Asthana, 2013, p.526). Language barriers have been an issue for successive Indian governments who sought to create a sense of nation through television, for example by establishing local broadcast stations. While there may have been a common national sentiment against the colonial power, the differences among regions and different groups in the population are significant. The regional outlets of government-controlled TV were already privately sponsored and mark the transition to commercial broadcasting. Since 1996, control of the airwaves is the duty of an independent body instead of the government (Asthana, 2013, p.530). According to Bhushan (2013, p.39), there are now 117 million households with a TV in India and the number of TV channels is exploding, from nine in 2000 to 122 in 2010 to 825 in 2011. This, however, does not mean that diversity is increasing: “[E]very TV channel and newspaper looks like a clone of the next” (Bhushan, 2013, p.39).⁴¹

As mentioned above, there is a tendency for researchers who want to apply Hallin and Mancini's model to a country not considered in their original research to use the Mediterranean model as a “one suits all” model for any country that has more or less recently become a democracy. As explained, this derives from the fact that in new democracies state intervention is often relatively high, but this differs from the systems in the Mediterranean model (see above). Looking at India, state intervention is not easy to determine. Chakravartty and Roy (2013), who in their study challenge Hallin and Mancini's model, split up the dimension of political parallelism in three parts: direct partisan, indirect partisan and networked (p.360). In some Indian states, media are directly owned by political parties or the media are officially associated with a certain party. This, however, does not necessarily mean that all the newspapers and channels in the respective state are organised in such a way. There is a co-existence with politically neutral ownership and direction. In other states, parties gain indirect influence through resource allocation, state-funded advertising revenues or so-called paid news, which when broadcasted are not distinguishable from the news researched by the journalist. This latter type of news in particular brings ethical problems for the journalist. In networked media systems, on the other hand, the media are owned by “differentially formalized networks of business, political, and social actors” (Chakravartty and Roy, 2013, p.363). The problem that arises with these relatively informal networks is that the audience does not necessarily know who is responsible for the content of their media products. Paid

⁴¹ Whether there is a tendency for this to happen in Europe as well as North America would be a question complex enough for a whole different thesis.

news has also proven to be a problem in these networked system, here accompanied by the additional problem that the origin of the sponsor of a message is more difficult to determine, since it is not only political parties who are players in this game. This is a form of clientelism that deviates from the classical form, as described by Hallin and Mancini who mainly included the direct influence of political parties in the media sphere. When it was exposed, the practice of paid news led to major discussions in 2009 (Bhushan, 2013, p.39). Legislation to regulate the media and such relationship with stakeholders is still almost nonexistent in India; attempts to do so have been put forward, in particular by the Press Council which is a very powerful institution and acts as mediator in both complaints by the press as well as against it. These attempts, however, have so far been rejected by the Parliament. There is, not surprisingly, not much support among the media owners themselves, but there was strong support among the public for more responsible media (Bhushan, 2013, p.40f.). Nevertheless, there are some laws regulating the media and there is a fine line between this regulation and simply restricting free speech. We can say that even the industrialised countries are still facing issues regarding free speech in the internet, but arrests for expressing opinions in Facebook or Twitter statuses are quite unthinkable (Bhushan, 2013, p.41f.). This exposes the vulnerability often found in new democracies, but the open debate on the topic seem to show an engaged and interested public.

Unlike in the countries of the Mediterranean model, newspaper circulation in India is high (see above) and newspapers are particularly popular among 14 to 24 year olds, according to Yin and Payne (2004, p.254).⁴² As has been stated before, English newspapers are the point of reference for the powerful, therefore we can say that, like in the Mediterranean countries, an elite press does exist.

The structure of India's society poses a challenge to the media system that has no equivalent in the systems of Western Europe and North America. There are similarities with the Mediterranean model, but there are factors that make it impossible to "squeeze" the model into the framework. This, however, does not eliminate the fact that the political and cultural environment shape the media system of a country, so the categories introduced by Hallin and Mancini remain helpful to structure my research – even if the only country that will fit the Indian model is India.

⁴² Given the current literacy numbers and given the attributed importance of English newspapers this may mean that English newspapers in particular target educated young men as an audience.

3.3 GLOBAL JOURNALISM

3.3.1 JOURNALISTIC PROFESSIONALISM AROUND THE WORLD

Closely related to political parallelism is the understanding of professionalism by journalists in different countries, as it derives directly from the cultural environment in which they are educated and work. Professionalism can be considered an indicator for political parallelism as, following Hallin and Mancini, the lower professionalism⁴³ present, the higher political parallelism (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, p. 67). How journalists see their role depends on the cultural environment that they are educated and work in.⁴⁴ All four countries of this study share the trend of academisation of journalists⁴⁵, but professionalism is not understood equally everywhere. In addition, just because students have access to journalism programmes at universities around the world, it does not mean that all these programmes teach the same journalism. In the US, a particular issue that has been touched upon in this thesis already is the journalistic norm of balance.

From virtually their first day in the classroom and on the job, the nation's best journalists have had instilled in them several bedrock principles of sound and responsible news writing: an uncompromising personal detachment from the subject they are writing on so they can ensure their objectivity; a fidelity to accuracy and fairness; and an abiding commitment to ensuring that audiences have access to a 'balance' of competing judgements and opinions to serve as the basis of their decision-making about the important issues of the day. (Ward, 2008, p.13f.)

⁴³ Hallin and Mancini base the term professionalization on the factors of autonomy, professional norms and public service orientation.

⁴⁴ Programmes offering journalism, media or communication studies have become more and more common in the last decades. A degree in journalism, however, is by no means a precondition to work as a journalist and while more and more people have such a degree, it is not the majority. For example, in Germany, 69% of journalists hold a college degree, but only 31% have majored in journalism. In the US, 89% have graduated university, 36% with a journalism degree (Willnat et al., 2013). In Great Britain, 62% of journalists have an undergraduate degree in general and 7% have an undergraduate degree in journalism⁴⁴. 27% have postgraduate education in journalism and 13% in another subject (Sanders and Hanna, 2012). The numbers for Great Britain are from 2001 and show an increased number of journalists with journalism degrees since the 1990s. It is probable that this number will keep increasing, also due to the fact that journalism programmes are becoming more numerous. There is an increasing number of journalists with tertiary education, and together with the existing base of autonomy and professional ethics and this indicates that journalism is moving "from craft to profession" (Weaver, 2004, p.144), even though a final professionalization by limiting access, as for medical doctors or lawyers, may be impossible due to the ideas of freedom of the press, of expression and opinion. India is the country with the best developed education for journalists in the region and despite the relatively new introduction of journalism at university level, India has a long tradition of journalism, starting with Gandhi and therefore rooting in a tradition of fighting for democracy (Thussu, 2012, p.438).

⁴⁵See Willnat et al., 2013; Sanders and Hanna, 2012; Thussu, 2012

While the idea of providing different viewpoints is generally good for independent journalism, it causes problems when it comes to climate change: climate science is full of uncertainties, simply due to its complexity and due to the fact that it must mostly rely on computer models. Nevertheless, there is strong scientific consensus about the basic fact that anthropogenic climate change is happening (Houghton, 2009, p.261). In many cases, the journalistic norm of balance therefore creates a distorted picture when granting equal space to the scientific consensus and the arguments of the so-called climate sceptics (Boykoff and Boykoff, 2004, p.126). For example, Antilla (2005, p.350) finds that news wire services are widely used as sources for climate change reporting and on many occasions they used a balanced approach, referring to climate sceptics. Balance can be found in every medium, including what is considered to be quality press. By adhering to the norm of balance, the quality press “creates both discursive and real political space for the US government to shirk responsibility and delay action regarding global warming” (Boykoff and Boykoff, 2004, p.134). Boykoff has found evidence for the use of balance in several studies, for the period between 1988 and 2002 (Boykoff and Boykoff, 2004), as well as between 1995 and 2004 (Boykoff, 2007b). After 2004, however, the amount of balanced coverage is reduced and Boykoff suggests that the norm of balanced coverage might come to an end with regards to climate change (2007b). The latter may be supported by a study that focuses on the coverage on Kyoto and Bali, whereby there is no coverage on scientific uncertainty for the Bali conference (Shehata and Hopmann, 2012, p.186). Balanced coverage is also found in media outside of the US, for example in Italy, where the conservative newspaper *Corriere della Sera* displays an image of great scientific uncertainty (Pasquaré and Oppizzi, 2012, p.156). In Britain, according to Carvalho (2007, p.238), it depends on the newspaper whether uncertainty is prominently included in the coverage, as opposed to the US, where it is evenly spread across all media, and to Germany, where there is virtually no coverage of uncertainty (Weingart et al., 2009). Objectivity, accuracy and fairness are elements of the journalistic toolkit that most journalists would probably subscribe to. However, objectivity in its literal sense is lost at the moment when the journalist chooses to cover a story or not. But assuming that objectivity is possible and more or less universally agreed upon, then how does the media report objectively? By choosing sources that support the information in a news product, more parts of objectivity are lost. In an article on a political campaign that only represents the view of one party or one politician, objectivity is obviously hard to find. But when it comes to science we may have to evaluate differently because artificial balance may, in fact, go against the ideas of accuracy and fairness (Ward, 2008, p.16; see also Gelbspan, 1998, p.57f.).

As has been mentioned before, aside from ethical considerations and norms assumed during journalism education, journalists also have to deal with economic constraints and with the advancement of commercialisation and competition, the constraints are growing bigger.⁴⁶ We have seen already that the proportion of news in relation to the complete media content grows smaller. Also, audience interest in the news seems to decrease. India has experienced a particularly extreme commercialisation and therefore journalists are turning towards soft news rather than hard news, often at the expense of national development issues (Thussu, 2012, p.441f.).

3.3.2 CLIMATE CHANGE AND THE GLOBAL MEDIA SPHERE

Climate change is a topic without borders and therefore a truly global issue. Generally, there are claims that journalism in the Western world becomes more and more similar, but counterclaims stress the importance of domestic politics in the shaping of media coverage (Shehata and Hopmann, 2012, p.176). Berglez writes that

The national outlook puts the nation-state at the centre of things when framing social reality, while the global outlook instead seeks to understand and explain how economic, political, social and ecological practices, processes and problems in different parts of the world affect each other, are interlocked, or share commonalities. (2008, p.847)

Studies often find that in the United States there is a focus on domestic politics in climate change coverage, whereas European countries include more international politics (Brossard et al., 2004; Shehata and Hopmann, 2012). For the coverage on Copenhagen, Kunelius and Eide (2012) discover a common global journalistic ground in promoting hope and urgency for a follow-up agreement for the Kyoto Protocol. On the other hand, when the summit came to the point where time was running out, newspapers stuck with their countries. In other words, developing country media supported their governments in blaming the industrialised nations for the stalemate and vice versa. This shows the limitations to global journalism, which lie in the political and cultural origins of the respective media and derive from “the relationship between media and state power, the relationship between media and the political system, the relationship of media to the market, the professional capital of the individual journalist” (Kunelius and Eide, 2012, p.281). Even media that are considered (or at least consider themselves) as international, for example CNN International, do not truly take on a global view but often simply widen the geographical scope of their news while keeping the national

⁴⁶ Harcup (2002, p.112) highlights the problem that while the individual journalist might aim for ethical behaviour, he or she is constrained by his organisation, and might have to act against personal conviction in order to keep her or his job or avoid other consequences.

viewpoint (Berglez, 2008, p.848). Elliott (2004, p.41f.) reproaches the news media for failing in their mission by doing so, and suggests they should rather “reject the myth” that the nation state and its government can protect citizens against any threat. For climate change, this is undeniably true, but the cultural background of the audience still has to be kept in mind. It is certainly interesting to note that in the run-up to Copenhagen some sort of global media coverage had been created. Nevertheless, given that it fell apart with the failure of the conference, this may have been caused by the relative unanimity among governments that a solution had to be found which preceded the conference. The problem with studies that focus on the media coverage of single events is obviously that they cannot determine any long-term trends (Schäfer et al., 2011, p.136). According to a long-term study⁴⁷ by Schäfer et al. (2011), at the moment there is no such thing as a global similarity in media coverage. However, they do find a strong convergence in the media coverage of Europe and the United States, and until 2005 even for the entire Western world. Since 2005, and this might support the findings by Kunelius and Eide discussed above, Australia has started to divert from other countries of the Western group, because climate change was “domesticated” as a topic (Schäfer et al., 2011, p.144). As this study is only quantitative, it is not possible to say whether the European and US media coverage are similar in content. The studies that have been done so far (Shehata and Hopmann, 2012; Brossard et al., 2004; Kunelius and Eide 2012; see also Gavin, 2009) indicate that they may not be.

This last section points to an important aspect of journalistic professionalization: apart from the fact that journalists are educated in different cultural environments they are also citizens and nationals of the country their news organisation is based in. While they may not always be able to insert their own personal opinion depending on editorial constraint, the news organisation is also affiliated to a nation and so is their audience, as some of the literature above indicates. In the following section, I will look at what national loyalty means for the media.

3.4 POLITICAL PARALLELISM VS. NATIONAL LOYALTY – THE NATION TRUMPS THE PARTY?

Hallin and Mancini acknowledge the close relationship of the media system and the nation state and a decisive indicator for the nature of this relationship is the factor of political parallelism. The closer the media are tied to a political party or ideology, the more this will be

⁴⁷They give a quantitative account of newspaper articles, which refer to climate change. There is no qualitative empirical analysis.

reflected in the coverage. An issue not covered by Hallin and Mancini is the question what happens to political parallelism when it comes to the coverage of international negotiations, and in particular when there is conflict. As Ankomah (2000) puts it: "On domestic issues, both the Tory Press and the Labour Press behave according to their respective government leaning. But they stick up like glue and sing from the same hymn [sic] book whenever any international issue in which Britain has an interest, comes up." This claim is polemic and not supported by any empirical evidence but it nicely illustrates what the empirical material of this study indicates: national loyalty may take precedence over political parallelism.

3.4.1 NATIONAL LOYALTY

I argued above that the predictions of Hallin and Mancini concerning the convergence of media systems have not been correct. An important reason for the persisting particularities of media systems is that despite the changes of media landscapes through globalization, the nation state is still an important reference, at least in a legal, as well as socio-cultural context (Nossek, 2004). When journalists assume the role of gatekeepers they operate within a social system at least part of which is defined by the nation state. The importance of national loyalty in the media, particularly when it comes to situations of conflict in international climate change negotiations, has been pointed out, for example, by Kunelius and Eide in their study on Copenhagen coverage (2012, see above).

I aim to stay away from the word "nationalism", as I do not mean to suggest that newspapers are nationalist in the sense of fascism or any sort of ideological, "war-mongering" behaviour, but simply express loyalty to their country. To avoid confusion, I will therefore use the term "national loyalty" except when quoting. Millard makes a strong case against restrictive definitions which claim the "supremacy of nationalism over all other allegiances" (2014, p.16), but instead suggests that "Saying that the nation, when facing imminent jeopardy, may of necessity assert a strategic supremacy over all other allegiances is quite different from claiming that the nation has a blanket claim of priority over them all the time" (2014, p.16). Describing the situation at international climate change negotiations as jeopardy would be an exaggeration, but the basic principle may apply: the country's reputation or the national interest could be in jeopardy. Then again, what is national interest may be closely connected to political parallelism when debated in the realms of domestic politics, but may be less influenced by political parallelism when it comes to international negotiations.

Giddens sees national loyalty as a "primary psychological" (1985, p.116) phenomenon, with individuals feeling affiliated to certain ideas and beliefs and therefore constituting a

community. National loyalty can coincide with a territory but does not have to. The nation, however, are the people living within a specific territory, which is bound by physical borders (Giddens, 1985, p.116). It is therefore possible that certain people living on a certain territory may officially belong to a nation but may not feel affiliated to it – a phenomenon currently to be observed, for example, in Scotland or Catalonia⁴⁸. The weak point of Giddens' theoretical concept is, as pointed out by Schlesinger (1991), that he does not provide a clear distinction between nationalism (national loyalty) and national identity. Schlesinger insists on the difference between the two concepts, explaining that “Nationalism, one may agree, is a particular kind of doctrine, but the term tends to carry the sense of a community mobilized (in part at least) in the pursuit of a collective interest. National identity may be invoked as a point of reference without thereby necessarily being nationalistic” (1991, p.168). This can certainly be agreed upon, as also explained by Hall (1991), Brookes (1999), and Millard (2014): national identity is (only) one part of a person's identity. However, Schlesinger's definition of nationalism (national loyalty) invokes the idea of national interest, which is a concept different from national loyalty and national identity. Anderson (1991, 6)⁴⁹ also refers to national loyalty as a psychological phenomenon, but takes it one step further and describes the nation as an imagined community because no one within a nation knows all the other members. National loyalty is the idea that one belongs to such a community and that this community is separated and distinguished from other communities, in this case, other nations⁵⁰. The affiliation to a party or political ideology, be it as active party member or through general attitudes, is one part of a person's identity and the affiliation to the nation is another one, and they can be accompanied by many more. People are willing to defend any of the communities they feel loyal to and the nation might generally not take a superior place to other affiliations. However, the nation holds a special place because it moves in a “sometimes violent and anarchic environment” (Millard, 2014, p.17), which calls for loyalty and sacrifices. Levy (2000, p.70) calls the simple affiliation and partiality to a community “moderate and generalized communitarianism”. Millard argues that there is no difference in the origin of communitarianism and nationalism, it is the special circumstances of international relations

⁴⁸Barrington (1997) provides a paper on “misuses” or “loose” uses of the terms nation and nationalism. This sort of debate would go beyond the purpose of this thesis, therefore nation is referring to a people occupying a territory with a national government.

⁴⁹Billig's and Anderson's approaches are connected by an a priori assumption that the notion of nationalism exists already among the population (Rosie et al., 2004, p.438).

⁵⁰This is in contrast to Nationalism as an ideology (Anderson, 1991, p.5).

that make evoke the violent notions (2014, p.17). The simple feeling of belonging to a nation is the national identity (Guibernau, 2004, p.134f.), whereas we can speak of national loyalty when the nation is put in comparison or/and defended – the national identity is therefore necessary for developing national loyalty.

Since it is difficult or even impossible for all the members of the community to communicate with each other, mass media play an important role in the construction of national identity (Louw, 2005, p.105; Smith, 1991, p.11) and in consequence, national loyalty. This goes back to the point made by Hall (1991) and Brookes (1999) mentioned above, the media represent the nation without taking into account many other factors that constitute the identity of its citizens. The question is, however, to what extent it matters how strongly an individual identifies with their nation in comparison to other communities they may belong to. The scope of this question goes beyond the means of this thesis, but, as the empirical part indicates national identity does not mean the same to everyone and at different instances. If the government acts according to my beliefs, and the media reports on it referring to “Britain did this...” it may appeal more to my nationalistic tendencies than if I disagree with the government actions⁵¹. How individuals react to this sort of national loyalty media coverage is not the topic of this study, but the empirical part outlines the interaction between political parallelism – the affiliation to a certain party being another part of one’s identity – and national loyalty. Further, party affiliation is usually also limited by national boundaries and the empirical material, to anticipate some results, does not indicate that political parallelism is applicable across borders.

Despite globalisation and developments in telecommunication, which have created a connected world where borders sometimes seem to matter less, the nation state remains the main point of reference in many aspects (Berglez and Olausson, 2011, p.36f.). Billig (1995) elaborates on the meaning of the nation for the individual, arguing that it remains central in everyone’s life no matter what our interests or beliefs are (p.126). In addition, newspapers and the media in general still mostly have a national focus (Brookes, 1999, p.256; Müller, 2013, p.734), with the exception of some online media and a range of international TV channels. This national scope already implies a shared cultural background even if there are no explicit references to national loyalty (Brookes, 1999, p.256).

⁵¹Brookes (1999, p.250) also points out that in Britain the national press is generally based in the capital, London, and therefore may not appropriately take into account the regional differences of the country.

Through the emphasis on national loyalty, the media contribute to the establishment of borders (in this case, imagined) between the nation and other nations and therefore to the creation of an in-group and out-groups (Müller, 2013, p.733). The out-group, however, does not necessarily have to be another nation, it can be found within the nation. If the government, in the view of a certain newspaper, does not act in the interest of the nation it becomes the out-group⁵² (cf. Billig, 1995, p.115). On the other hand, there is also the possibility of the in-group going beyond the national. Olausson (2009) discovers in her study of Swedish newspapers that “the national outlook is deeply integrated into a broader transnational community perspective. Even though Sweden and the EU are mentioned separately, they are both described as being part of the group of ‘good guys’ [...]. The national ‘We’ is thus transcended and incorporated into the European identity” (p.427). This transnationalism, however, is not yet an established force, as a study by Olausson and Berglez (2011) finds. “Globally relevant agendas” (p.47), according to them, find little space in the media. Nossek (2004) argues that national loyalty overrules professional norms in case an event of political violence is defined as related to the journalist’s country. Similarly, when a nation, even within the European Union, is strongly criticised by other nations, the press, being part of this nation, likely jumps to the defence of the nation. A study of press coverage of the BSE crisis in Britain shows traits of such behaviour when other European countries started to ban British beef from their market⁵³ (Brookes, 1999). This shows how fragile any possible transnationalism can be. Several other studies (see Müller, 2013, p.734) indicate the tendency of media to promote a positive national self-image and identification with the nation. The press is part of the “cultural forces” (Berglez and Olausson, 2011, p.39) of a nation-state, which in crisis situations can help to defend it “against some identified external enemy” (Berglez and Olausson, 2011, p.39). With regards to climate change, the external enemy can be defined in many different ways, depending on who is talking: it could be climate change itself, it could be countries which refuse to take action or those which demand actions that affect one’s own nation in a negative way. The quote may need to be amended, as the enemy does not necessarily need to be external in order to be a threat to the nation. As has been stated above, one person, such as the Prime Minister, can be seen as harmful for the nation, it could also be an organisation.

⁵²Billig uses the following example: “‘Time we changed government. Certainly time we changed Prime Minister.’ [...] A national ‘we’ was being invoked, comprising the ‘reasonable people’ of the nation, who were being represented as the whole nation” (1995, p.115). Similarly, Brookes (1999, p.256) provides the example of “Can we still trust them?”, “them” being members of the government and “we” being the people.

⁵³This study only includes tabloids.

The European Union plays a special role, as indicated already by Olausson's study above. Its status is more or less contested in different member states, the most prominent Eurosceptics possibly being the British. Brookes' study (1999) illustrates how the European Union, an organisation, which Great Britain joined voluntarily in 1973, can cause sentiments of nationalism – which in Britain may be evoked more easily than elsewhere but, as will be shown in the empirical part of this study, the EU can also be used to promote a positive image of Britain. BSE was a problem clearly identified as originating in Britain and with a large amount of cases occurring there. The reaction of British tabloids is very defensive, pointing out the self-interest of other EU members, and triggered questions on whether the European Union membership was in Britain's interest (Brookes, 1999, p.258ff.). Guyot et al. (2006, cited in Preston, 2008, p.160) emphasise further that journalists' ideas of professionalism are deeply rooted in national traditions and they are well aware of that.

As discussed above, the education of journalists also remains a national endeavour. The level of higher education among journalists differs from country to country as well as the kind of higher education (journalism-specific or other fields). Further, when studying journalism or when being trained in the newsroom the "philosophies" taught are not the same – the most prominent example being the notion of balanced journalism in the US as opposed to, for example, a more advocacy oriented journalism in Germany. Ethical norms are different in each country as well as the economic and political constraints faced by news organisations and individuals.

National loyalty can be expressed in different ways. For this study, three indicators seem to be most relevant for the operationalisation of the concept: comparison of the nation to other nations, the focus on national issue coverage without reference to a broader context, and the invoking of the national interest. Chapter 5 elaborates on this, but at this point I want to present some research concerning the last indicator, national interest, as it is the most complex of the three and needs its own definition.

3.4.2 NATIONAL INTEREST

Morgenthau wrote that "all nations do what they cannot help but do: protect their physical, political, and cultural identity against encroachments by other nations" (Morgenthau, 1952, p.972). Climate change adds the factor that the original threat is not caused by another nation. While, as the newspaper analysis will show, the issue is often displayed as an economic one,

the physical threats are – at least for now – posed by nature⁵⁴. Claiming that “Achieving an international agreement can only happen if the various interests of individual nation states are met, while cost-effectiveness and overall national competitiveness is protected and maintained” (Kennedy and Basu, 2014, p.185f.) is certainly true – but easier said than done.

In general, “what constitutes a nation’s ‘interests’ is a highly contestable matter” (Kurz et al., 2010, p.604). From a purely analytical point of view, the national interest can be calculated or evaluated in a way to find out what is actually best for the nation. As a political tool, the argument of national interest can be used to justify policies, decisions, and strategies. These two sides, however, are not necessarily easy to distinguish (Frankel, 1970, p.15f.) and it is impossible to objectively define the national interest beyond the interest of survival – and even that may be contested when it comes to the survival of a nation-state⁵⁵. A politician may claim something is in the interest of the nation to the best of her or his knowledge, whereas another politician may argue for the opposite. The same goes for the media: a journalist may have her or his own idea of what is the national interest and if she or he is affiliated with a political party or ideology, this will be reflected in her or his idea – this once more points out the importance of the relationship between national loyalty and political parallelism. It also goes back to news values and the social reality that is constructed by the application of these values.

When defining national interest, it is assumed that the people deciding what is the national interest act rationally and pursue the wellbeing of their state, as well as they are loyal to it (Nuechterlein, 1976, p.246f.)⁵⁶. Nuechterlein proposes the following definition of national interest: “the perceived needs and desires of one sovereign state in relation to other sovereign states comprising the external environment” (1976, p.247). This definition comprises the very important aspect of perception, stressing, as was argued above, that there is no objectively correct national interest. Even though climate change already poses and will increasingly pose a physical danger, for now, it is often economic considerations of climate change adaptation and mitigation that are put forward under the umbrella of “national interest” (see Kurz et al., 2010, p.604; Kythreotis, 2012, p.464). Stern writes “governments have an understandable focus on the growth of their economies and the health, environment and ways of life of their population” (2006, p.4). Kurz et al. (2010) show how in the months before the 2007 elections

⁵⁴This would change in case of war that originates, for example, due to migrating people claiming land.

⁵⁵See Morgenthau, 1952, p.973.

⁵⁶This is debatable especially with regards to lobby influence on policy making.

Australia the two major parties framed climate change essentially as a national economic interest, the only party that gave other impulses for a more global approach was the small Green Party (p.622).

What does this mean for journalism? Glenn Greenwald (2011) writes that “A desire to promote American policy or its “interests” will often directly conflict with core journalistic obligations”. He defines the national interest as what the current government wants, which is quite narrow as it is possible for a journalist to speak of national interest without referring to a government’s policy line. A study on European journalists and their reporting on the European Union shows that the promotion of national interest still plays an important role. More than half the journalists answered “yes” to whether their newspaper was more likely to defend what it perceived as national interest in their coverage on EU affairs than on national affairs and the majority was strongest for the European correspondents with two thirds (Statham, 2007, p.469). When asked the same question concerning the alignment with party lines, only a small minority confirmed this view. This small study is not enough to make generalisations for worldwide journalistic behaviour, but it is interesting to see that even within the well-established structure of the European Union national interests are very dominant in the news coverage. Similarly, the empirical material of this study points to the conclusion that the nation state remains the centre of global climate change negotiations even though most notably the European Union has become very present over the years. This, however, does not mean that the EU acts above national interest but it rather reinforces its territoriality (cf. Kythreotis, 2012, p.463). Nevertheless, the British BSE example shows that despite the stable structure of the EU, it is by no means an uncontested relationship and the study by Statham also points in this direction. The German newspapers in this study are less likely to present ideas diverging from the EU line than the UK newspapers, and the US and India seem to have accepted the EU as one entity in the negotiating process.

Research on the relationship between political parallelism and nationalism is barely existent. There are some indicators that national loyalty overrules political parallelism when it comes to the coverage on international issues. The empirical chapters of this study will shed a little more light on this matter.

3.5 CONCLUSION

Hallin and Mancini as well as other scholars point out that the Western European media systems are becoming more similar to the US system, in particular because of the commercialisation of the media market (Helms, 2008, p.34). We can see, however, that in

particular due to the stance of public television, political and current affairs information plays a bigger role in the Western European media system than it does in the United States. India has the advantage and challenge of a media system still somewhat “under construction”: major changes may still be possible. If we merge the conclusions from the evaluation of the different media systems with expectations for newspaper coverage on climate change, we can say that neither country will probably become the role model for the other ones.

This chapter has looked at the origins of media systems research, from the “Four Theories of the Press” to Hallin and Mancini’s “Comparing Media Systems”. I have outlined the three models of Hallin and Mancini’s study and then presented the countries of the case study accordingly. Hallin and Mancini classify the US and Great Britain under the Liberal Model. This has been called into question and the differences between the two countries are outlined. Political parallelism and public broadcasting are identified as key differences. The introduction of the German system was followed by a discussion whether there is a general shift towards the Liberal system. This can so far not be confirmed. Hallin and Mancini’s study is to this day highly acclaimed, but attempts for other models as well as abundant criticism have been put forward. In general, their model remains universally applicable and helps structure the relationship between the media and political system, as is shown by the example of India. India has similarities with all three models but also has a unique structure of society, which calls for an “Indian model”. The state of journalism is then presented with all four countries being put in comparison. While there is an overall academisation of journalists, country-specific differences remain regarding questions of ethics and journalism practices. A truly “global journalism” cannot be discovered today. The coverage on the Copenhagen conference seemed to show traces of it but it only lasted during times of harmony among governments. This is a further indicator of the importance of political culture and for the differences that remain despite globalisation. This section led over to an additional aspect that may be determining media coverage: national loyalty. The last part of the chapter elaborated on the concepts of national loyalty and established three indicators for national loyalty coverage: comparison with other nations, focus on national issue coverage, and national interest. National identity, and national interest, what they mean for the media, and how they interact with political parallelism. The media are faced with a challenge when reporting on international issues because they are rooted in a nation, to which they are usually loyal, as research shows. Even in the well-established structure of the European Union, journalists tend to defend the national interest when problems arise. The empirical chapters will help to establish whether national loyalty replaces political parallelism in climate change coverage. This chapter has shown that the

political system influences the entire media system, from its structure to the individual journalist. When looking at a country's media coverage, these factors have to be taken into account in order to explain the respective results.

4. FRAMES AND FRAMING

Chapter 2 has introduced the general context of media and politics, how they interact and their respective roles. Chapter 3 has presented details on the specific media systems of the countries of this study, as well as the two independent variable of this thesis, political parallelism and national loyalty. This chapter will look at frames, which are a popular concept in communication science. Frames are the dependent variable of this thesis. As this chapter will show, the term “frame” is often used quite loosely. This chapter establishes a refined definition of frames and framing, based on strong elements of existing definitions, which aims to be as concise as possible in order to avoid confusion with other concepts. Before examining the concepts of frames and framing and introducing the definition that will be used in this thesis, I will give an overview of existing studies on framing and media coverage.

4.1 EXISTING LITERATURE

There are a number of studies that deal with the framing of climate change in general or events related to climate change. A few of them have already been discussed in Chapter 2. Additionally, a body of research exists on the relationship between media and government communication concerning topics other than climate change. Studies comparing media and government communication on climate change are scarce. Therefore, studies on other topics are taken into account in order to show how such research can be designed. This section aims to provide an overview of the existing research from which this thesis can draw inspiration.

In a rare example of comparing government and media frames on climate change, US newspapers tend to speak of “global warming” rather than “climate change” and have a focus on the reporting of science instead of the Kyoto Protocol, in comparison to Canadian and other international newspapers (Good, 2008). Generally, the US also shows the lowest amount of climate coverage compared to other countries and newspapers stay away from addressing anthropogenic climate change. This can be interpreted as “surrendering” to the line of the government under President George W. Bush, which was profoundly climate sceptic. Communication on other topics, such as the Iraq War (Coe, 2011) or the use of the word “terror” (Nagar, 2010), does not show the same relationship between media coverage and government communication in the US: the media do not pick up the respective government frame. On the other hand, a study on North Korea shows a frame flow between the *New York Times* and the US government, meaning that both sides adapt to each other (Lim and Seo, 2009). Climate change poses a risk to the population of every country and research is needed

to compare how governments and media communicate this risk. Being a unique, long-term issue, there are no other topics to compare it to. However, for more short-term risks, some research exists. The computer bug Y2K⁵⁷ provides “an exceptional opportunity to examine how governments respond to risks that include industry, governments, regulators, and the media, with potential health, safety, and economic consequences”, according to Quigley (2005, p.288). He compares the handling by the UK and US governments of the threat posed by the bug. His definition of the type of risk fits quite well with that of climate change – except that the Y2K threat ended with the beginning of the new century. The Y2K example demonstrates a successful government campaign to induce preparation for possible problems. While in a worst-case scenario the consequences of a computer breakdown would have been widespread and dangerous, it can still be assumed that they would have been only temporary – and therefore different from the consequences of climate change.

With climate change being a long-term issue, it is not surprising that newspaper coverage changes over time. This is demonstrated by a study of Danish television news coverage (Petersen, 2007), where a change in public discourse from “survivalist framing of the environment” (p.226) to “a discourse of ecological modernisation” (p.226) can be detected. While environmental problems have constantly grown, concern for them seems to have decreased. Unfortunately, this study does not look into the way that government communication evolves at the same time, which would have given interesting indications for the present thesis. Results similar to the Danish study are found in Canada where, despite an increase in coverage since the late 1980s, there is a “decontextualization” (Young and Dugas, 2011, p.20) of climate change, i.e. climate change is mentioned in context with other daily issues and is ultimately trivialised. Even though the study did not make an empirical comparison between media coverage and government communication, it is concluded that “media treatment of climate change has paralleled the approach of successive federal governments to the issue since signing the Kyoto Protocol in 1997 – a lot of talk but precious little substance” (p.20). Therefore, case studies need to be done where climate change has a direct visible effect – like in India in the study by Billett (see Chapter 2), but also in the developed world.

Unfortunately, there are only few studies that provide insight in media and government relations regarding climate change. In addition, the definition of the word “frame” is different

⁵⁷It was feared that computers were unable to distinguish e.g. “2001” and “1901”, as it had been practice to only enter the last two digits (01) (see Quigley, 2005, p.267f.).

in practically every study. The existing literature provides many interesting findings and ideas. There is a lack of studies that comprise more than one type of media and a lack of studies that empirically scrutinize the relationship of media and government frames.

The media play a decisive role as source of information for audiences in a democracy and their role is to critically observe the government's work. For climate change, this is particularly important, as it affects the entire world population and therefore everyone in every newspaper's or TV channel's or website's audience. It is therefore essential that the media report continuously and extensively, not depending on whether the issue is in the current focus of the policy makers or not. By using a clear and narrow definition of framing, this study shall explore the relationship between newspaper and government frames. The results shall then be discussed in the light of media functions in a democracy and to what extent the media of this study live up to such standards.

In the following, this chapter will discuss framing definitions and put the issue of framing into a cultural context.

4.2 DEFINING FRAMES

In the context of communication studies, framing is a mass media effect. Potter defines a mass media effect as "a change in an outcome within a person or a social entity that is due to mass media influence following exposure to a mass media message or a series of messages" (2011, p.903).

In order to define what frames and framing are, we need to determine what different actors intend with their usage of certain frames. The three relevant actors for this thesis are the government, the media – specifically newspapers – and the audience, in this case in a passive role of the receiver of the message. The government wants to deliver information that explains and favours their policies and activities. The frames they want to use, as far as they can influence them, will be to support their goals. The media should aim to inform their audience as broadly as possible. The – unreachable – ideal would be to deliver unframed information. However, frames derive from the cultural environment and therefore there is no such thing as unframed information. The audience is looking for information that provides them with the necessary knowledge to make decisions, both in their daily lives and on occasions such as elections. The question of course is to what degree it is acceptable for the media to choose a selection of frames, since it is impossible to include an infinite number of frames in the coverage. Ideally, the audience would scrutinize all frames, which is, however, just as unrealistic

as the media covering all the frames. Therefore, the media is expected to select some frames, but it must be examined to which degree they do so and if that is acceptable. Scheufele establishes journalists as the “link between individual frames and media frames” and explains their susceptibility to frames. Here he refers mainly to them being influenced by other media frames rather than by elite frames (Scheufele, 1999, p.117). Lim and Seo point out the differences between government and media frames. Hence, governments frame according to their policy aims and preferences. Media frames, however, derive from the practices that prevail in the respective newsrooms regarding the style of coverage (Lim and Seo, 2008, p.206).

As shown above and in Chapter 2, framing has been the focus of many essays and studies in political science and communication research. Thereby, scholars draw on a range of sources from different scientific areas: sociology, psychology, economics, political science etc. (Borah, 2011, p.246). By examining this research, one quickly realises two things: firstly, there exist a seemingly infinite quantity of definitions for framing and secondly, the use of the word “frame” is rather imprecise and can in many cases be replaced with terms like “issue”. For example, Good (2008) simply counts words in a quantitative content analysis and calls them “frames”⁵⁸. Counting words can be a first step in a framing analysis, but the information retrieved from it is very limited. An article mentioning the Kyoto Protocol does not necessarily employ a “Kyoto Protocol frame” (Good, 2008, p.242).

By using frames as mere replacements for elements such as topics or attributes, their ability and aim to construct meanings is disregarded by researchers. Further, these approaches do not take into account that a frame is not restricted to one issue and that one issue can have several frames (Carragee and Roefs, 2009, p.218). While words are certainly needed to create, describe and possibly activate frames, words themselves are not frames (Lakoff, 2010, p.73). In addition, the concepts of agenda setting, framing and priming are often used interchangeably.⁵⁹ Even though they are related, they are each concepts of their own. Agenda setting is related to the frequency with which an issue is taken up by the media. It says nothing about how the media treat the issue and is therefore not directly related to framing (Borah, 2011, p.250). Entman (2007, p.164) sees agenda setting as a way to outline problems relevant for the public, the first of four criteria which define frames (see below in this chapter).

⁵⁸ She acknowledges the limitations of this method (p.249).

⁵⁹ See Scheufele, 1999.

However, a social actor can unsuccessfully promote an issue and frame it – this happens independently from whether or not the issue makes it to the agenda.

Very broadly, frames can be seen as “a core organizing idea for making sense of real-time events or issues” (Lim and Seo, 2009, p.205). This, however, does not give any indication of who creates them and how they are created. Nevertheless, the term “making sense” already implies that frames have to fit into a bigger picture, i.e. the cultural background. Nisbet (2009, p.15) states that all information delivered by the media is framed. This implies as well that frames cannot be seen without a cultural context, which has been discussed in Chapter 3. Reese’s definition of framing is one of the most popular ones: “Frames are organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world” (Reese, 2001, p.11). Reese has an important point when he says that using the word “principles” “avoid[s] rooting frames in some static feature of either media texts or individual psychological elements” (2007, p.150). A frame must be somewhat universal, it must relate to a greater context and cannot be restricted to words or sentences. Nevertheless, Reese’s definition seems rather broad and serves as a starting point, but not as final word. He criticizes Entman’s definition, who establishes that using frames is “selecting and highlighting some facets of events or issues, and making connections among them so as to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation and/or solution” (2004, p.5). The important part of Entman’s definition is the reference to “connections”. Connecting different aspects of an issue will result in a frame, which, much like an actual physical picture frame, will give stability to the picture in an individual’s mind. This picture obviously also fits Reese’s “organizing principles”. The question is, however, whether a frame needs to be “socially shared and persistent over time”. Of course, technically, a frame is a frame without these two characteristics. For a successful frame it is important to be socially shared. Persistence in time, according to Lakoff (2010, p.73), is a prerequisite for a frame, since otherwise it will be impossible to influence the perception in the audience, in other words, the frame will not fit into the cultural background. Therefore, for a frame to be socially shared, it must be persistent in time. Carragee and Roefs (2009, p.216) state that the success of a frame depends, among others, on the situation of the promoter and their familiarity with newsroom routines, as well as the frame’s reference to general political values. To sum up these last elements, it is important for a frame, in order to be successful, to fit into the cultural environment.

After examining a range of different studies (see also Chapter 2), the following research gaps can be summarised:

- There exist a number of studies on climate change (see also Chapter 2). They usually treat the amount of coverage in one or several countries or changes in coverage over time. There is a lack of comprehensive studies that go beyond the national level and beyond the study of one type of media. As some of the studies above show, local media coverage can give different insights than national coverage – also a point too few researchers take into account.
- The definitions of “frame” and “framing” vary greatly and can often be substituted by words such as “issue”. There is a need for a clear definition for this thesis, which shall be done later on in this chapter.
- Generally, there is a lack of studies that explore the relationship between the media and governments regarding the topic of climate change. It is the aim of this thesis to attempt a first step towards filling this gap in research.
- Particularly striking is the lack of studies that not only discuss the results of their specific case but which try to embed the results in a greater socio-political context. The prime example for a study which actually does take such an approach is the one by Herman and Chomsky.

A definition of frames and framing should be narrow and precise in order to avoid confusion with other concepts and in order to avoid the “improper” use of the concept itself. It should establish where the frame comes from and what its intentions are. The present thesis will therefore use the following definition for frame:

A frame is a construct of words, images and emphases, promoted by a social actor, which embeds an issue in a cultural context, and, deliberately or subconsciously, tries to direct issue interpretations.

This definition combines strong components of existing definitions: firstly, it includes the origin of the frame, i.e. a social actor. Secondly, it represents the image of the actual picture frame, much like in Entman’s definition and therefore avoids the usage of frames as replacement for other elements. Finally, it elaborates on the indication by Carragee and Roefs (2009, p.216) that the promoter of the frame has to have “economic and cultural resources”. It is very important for this thesis in particular, because the empirical part will compare different countries and therefore different cultural environments. The interjection “deliberately or subconsciously” shall distance the frame and framing process from connotations such as

manipulation. A more detailed discussion on the question of framing as manipulation tool will be provided below.

After defining what a frame actually is, the next step is to look at the nature of frames and framing processes. Framing research will usually look at the employment of frames by social actors, such as politicians, and by journalists and their media products, and at the reception of the frame by the audience (Carragee and Roefs, 2009, p.215).

4.3 THE FRAMING PROCESS

Scheufele (1999) developed a “process model of framing” (p.114). This includes “frame building, frame setting, individual-level effects of framing; and a link between individual frames and media frames” (p.114f.). Frame building is the process where journalists put together the information available to them into media frames (Scheufele, 1999, p.115). Scheufele attributes importance to cultural factors. However, his focus on frame building lies on the journalist and ignores the origins of the frame. Frame setting deals with the “salience of issue attributes” (Scheufele, 1999, p.116), meaning the establishing of which aspects of a topic are important. His definition of frame setting is essentially what many use as general definition for a frame. Individual-level effects are behavioural, attitudinal and cognitive effects⁶⁰ on the audience members.

It is also important to differ between “frame” and “framing”, since the former can involve just one actor, whereas the latter is an interaction between two actors (for example politicians and journalists). A frame can be a result of the action of a single actor, whereas “framing involves the social construction of meaning” (Carragee and Roefs, 2009, p.217), in other words it only occurs when the frame can be inserted into an already existing construct of cultural, political and economic dimensions. Going back to the definition suggested above, the first part “**A frame is a construct of words, images and emphases, promoted by a social actor**” defines the frame whereas the second part “**which embeds an issue in a cultural context, and, deliberately or subconsciously, tries to direct issue interpretations**” refers to the process of framing.

Entman sees framing as the main tool for politicians and journalists to try and influence each other as well as the audience (2003, p.417). Journalists are, of course, part of the politicians’

⁶⁰Individual-level effects are not the focus of this thesis and are mentioned here to give a complete overview. Scheufele (1999) faults the lack of studies that deal with the processes that link inputs and outcomes on the individual level.

audience and vice versa. Bennett (1990) does not mention the word framing, but introduces a phenomenon he calls “indexing” (p.106ff.).⁶¹ In his hypothesis about press-government relations he predicts that journalists organize the number and prominence of viewpoints they present according to how they are reflected in government debates. In the process of framing, this solely represents the role the journalists play and does not assume active framing from the media side. This is a very gloomy outlook on framing procedures, similar to Herman and Chomsky’s idea of the relations between media and government. This also has to be put into a cultural context.

According to Entman (1993), frames can be found in different stages of the mass communication process: with the communicator, the text, the receiver and the culture. Therefore, frames are created based on the respective cultural background, and then used by communicators in the media content (text) they produce and finally reach the receiver where they potentially cause an effect. This cycle demonstrates that framing research is a very important tool for the analysis of mass communication, since it bears the ability to examine the entire process (Dan, 2011, p.84). Before a frame arrives to the general public, it will, in most cases, have gone through the cycle at least twice: A social actor, e.g. the government, (communicator) uses a frame in a text, which is then received by a journalist. Then, the journalist becomes the communicator and through the text that is consequently produced, the effects of the frame from the first cycle can be determined. This is also in accordance with Entman’s cascade model (2004), which describes the frame flow between elites, media and audiences.

When the focus of a study is the “communicator”, scholars often approach it with labels such as strategic framing (Dan, 2011, p.84). Dan (2011, p.85) claims, however, that framing might not necessarily be a deliberate process in order to suppress other frames or to win power, but simply to present events in a way the communicator sees them. If the communicator is the government, it is certainly doubtful that any communication efforts are not strategic or deliberate. Therefore, it can still be assumed that communicators, in many or most cases, actively frame the communication they deliver. As Nisbet puts it, “most successful communicators are adept at framing, whether using frames intentionally or intuitively” (2009, p.15). However, framing cannot be equated with “media manipulation of information”, as Culley et al. (2010, p.499) do. One communicator attributes different levels of importance to certain aspects of an issue than another communicator does and therefore frames it in a

⁶¹See also Chapter 2.

certain way, but this does not mean that the information delivered is false. Obviously the journalist will have a certain view of the world and might want to bring a message across in a certain way. It has been established that there is no such thing as unframed information and that is also valid for the journalist. However, if we assume that he or she acts under certain ethical principles, framing will not be used to create an advantage for the journalist and therefore should not be called manipulation. If he or she does use framing to gain advantage, framing is obviously a method of manipulation. This issue goes hand in hand with the request for objectivity in reporting, which has been discussed in Chapter 3. The situation is slightly more complicated when the communicator is not the journalist but the politician. He or she will always try to gain advantage from their communication to the public. Yet, the politician is expected to act ethically and not distribute false information. Therefore, the basic assumption is that the issue is communicated to the best of their knowledge.

Hänggli and Kriesi (2010), referring to Entman's framing definition, claim that actors should aim to create or use frames that will serve as what Entman calls "substantive frames" (p.143). This implies a high level of activity in the framing process by the communicator, but stays away from any negative connotations. Further, they attribute the leadership in frame building to the political elites, who therefore play a major role in the construction of reality. The news media occupy the position of the mediator and the way in which they do so depends on a range of cultural aspects (Hänggli and Kriesi, 2010, p.144). In Druckman's perspective, the audience even expects elites to select some frames out of many possible ones and help them in their choice of frames (2001, p.1041). From this point of view, framing is a mutually beneficial action. Nagar (2010) sees media frames as "product of an interaction between [...] gatekeeping practices and extra-media influences" (p.534). This is certainly a very broad definition, but it grants the neutrality of framing itself as a concept. It is the "interaction" that needs to be examined in order to define the nature of the relationship and therefore of the frame.

The audience frame and its development, together with the media frame, has been part of the focus in framing research. Studies have shown that media frames influence the audience frame and therefore the decision-making-process (Borah, 2011, p.248). The ultimate goal, be it consciously or subconsciously, of the communicator is to "shape and alter the audience members' interpretations and preferences through priming" (Entman, 2007, p.164). Therefore, ideally, frames try to change the way the audience feels or thinks about an issue. George Lakoff (2010) describes the way frames need to be in order to actually provoke an effect with the audience. They need to evoke connotations that are deeply embedded in the cultural

background of the audience and Lakoff points out that many communicators make the mistake of using short-term tactics to attempt a change of the audience frame or even to create a new frame from scratch (2010, p.73f.).

To come back to the question of how different actors see and use frames, the ideal for the government would be for the press to “select and highlight” the issues or parts of issues that the government itself chooses to highlight. Ideally, the press would pay equal attention to all sides of the issue or to the ones that are deemed most important for society. This is related to the tasks and functions generally attributed to the press in a democratic society, which will be discussed later in this chapter. Among other factors, the behaviour of the press depends on the definitions of professionalism in each country, which can differ from each other quite markedly. In order to understand how frames develop, it is important not only to look at the actions of the government and the press, but also to take a look at the environment they are part of, since “[i]mplicit and often explicit in the country comparisons is the assumption that national media systems and news cultures affect news frames” (Vliegenthart and Van Zoonen, 2011, p.107).

4.4 CONCLUSION

Framing is an important part of media coverage, being both a tool and an effect of communication. It has been a popular object of study in the Social Sciences, but often the definitions that are used are very broad and do not give full credit to the usefulness of framing as a tool to analyse media coverage and other texts. This chapter has evaluated different studies as well as different definitions of frames and framing. I have suggested a definition that combines the strongest elements of different existing ones. This definition will be useful for the empirical part of the thesis, since frames are my dependent variable. With regards to climate change, there is a particular challenge in framing. Environmental frames often have connotations such as recycling, energy saving light bulbs and organic food (cf. Lakoff, 2010, p.76) – things which, while constituting honourable attempts, will not help to seriously mitigate climate change, because they have too little impact on overall emissions, unless very drastic and unrealistic changes happen, for example if everyone immediately stopped driving cars and eating meat. Climate change frames, in particular in the Western world, are often in relation with developing countries or the melting ice of the poles and therefore give the image of the issue actually being far away. This points to another issue to be kept in mind: journalists differ from country to country in their definition of professionalism, based on their cultural background, their education, their newsroom traditions and routines and on the general

degree of institutionalisation of the profession in their respective countries. The media and political system they act in also differs from country to country and so does the relationship between journalists and politicians. Both have the intention of bringing a message across and to shape the audience's thinking in a certain way. Again, this must not be confused with manipulation. Frames may not include a "balanced" representation of an issue, but they are not to be equated with lies etc. The audience is integrated in a certain cultural background and audiences in different countries will react differently to different frames. Frames are expected to be most successful when they fit into the cultural background of the audience (Hänggli and Kriesi, 2010, p.143). When politicians and journalists try to activate, alter or communicate new frames, they have to take into account the respective cultural situation. When speaking of culture, the term is meant here in its broadest sense, "culture is everything" (Hanusch, 2015, p.192). Culture consists of many factors, the political, the economic, religion, tradition etc. (see Hanusch, 2015 for an overview of different studies on culture in journalism). It is beyond the scope of this thesis to take into account every aspect of cultural influences. Hallin and Mancini's categorisation, as outlined in Chapter 3, provides a good basis as it considers the influence of the political culture on journalistic professionalism.

In a pluralistic system, the media's primary and overarching role is to inform. Obviously, it is impossible for the media to inform about everything. Therefore, decisions have to be made. By selecting what the report on, the media exercise power not only about the agenda setting, but also about the way the issues in questions are reported (Kollmuss and Agyeman, 2002, p.172). Choosing and reporting on issues of public relevance is a demanding task and by doing so, journalists should ideally take into account the specific ideal roles that are attributed to them: creating a public sphere and contributing to public opinion, criticizing and controlling, contributing to a pluralistic and democratic opinion formation and creating transparency (Pürer, 2003, p.429). As outlined in Chapter 2, the fulfilment of this role is only possible with a certain amount of cooperation from the people and organisations, which the media are supposed to scrutinize. Journalists in different countries are educated in different ways and therefore what they see as the "overarching value" will depend on how they see their role as journalist. The next chapter will outline the methodology for the thesis, present the research question and the sample of the study.

5. METHODOLOGY

The preceding chapters have outlined the media systems of the countries in question, the general relationship between media and politics, the state of climate change coverage and the specific issue of framing. The concept of framing, as outlined in Chapter 4 will be used to structure the texts by identifying frames and comparing newspaper and government frames. In this chapter, after presenting the method, some epistemological deliberations will ground the project, a qualitative content analysis, in its underlying philosophy and explain the concept.

5.1 METHODS

The method used is a comparative case study through qualitative content analysis. The four countries studied are the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, and India. The comparison contains the government communication and newspaper coverage for two non-consecutive months in 2011 and 2012 regarding climate change. In 2011, the timeframe covers the Durban climate change negotiations, and in 2012 the Rio+20 conference.

5.1.1 VARIABLES

5.1.1.1 POLITICAL PARALLELISM

Initially, the independent variable of this thesis was only political parallelism, i.e. the degree to which media, in this case, newspapers, support a certain political ideology and therefore a political party. As has been explained before, Germany and the UK traditionally have relatively high political parallelism, while the US has low political parallelism. India, as the literature cited in Chapter 3 has shown, has developed its own type of political parallelism mixed with other influences such as paid news, which is sponsored by some political or economic actor, but the viewer or reader is not made aware of this. The expectation is that the higher the level of political parallelism, the more the respective newspaper will support or oppose (if its ideology opposes the current governing party) government actions⁶². The relationship between newspaper frames and government frames therefore depends on the level of political parallelism. Political parallelism originates in the concept of press/party parallelism, first described by Seymour-Ure (1974). He defined press-party parallelism as the close link of a newspaper with a single party. He also suggests the existence of a parallelism of the entire

⁶²Of course, it needs to be kept in mind that the opposition of one party does not automatically result in the support of another. Here, the concept of political parallelism provides guidance, based on tendencies observed for years or decades.

press and media system (Mancini, 2012, p.263; van Kempen, 2006, p.407). Since the situation of newspapers being owned and directly controlled by parties, and even of being directly aligned to parties has changed over the last decades, Hallin and Mancini suggest the term political parallelism rather than press-party parallelism which expresses a general ideological orientation but not a specific party connection (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, p.27f.). De Albuquerque (2013, p.743) notes that political parallelism is only possible in a system where there exists competition between political parties and a stable relationship between media and politics. These criteria are met in this study. Political parallelism, according to Hallin and Mancini, is defined by the following characteristics: firstly, through organisational connections between the media and either the parties or to a third organisation such as trade unions or churches which makes a link to a political party. As has been explained, these links have weakened throughout the 20th century, but Hallin and Mancini still argue for an influence of the former patterns on the current media. Secondly, the active involvement of journalists in politics; Hallin and Mancini also deem this uncommon today and replace it by an influence of the political orientation of a journalist on her or his career⁶³. Thirdly, the political affiliation of the media audience is an indicator for political parallelism. Lastly, the journalists' understanding of their role can be determinant for political parallelism. As it has been already discussed in Chapter 3, different countries have different journalistic traditions and therefore journalists interpret their role accordingly, and most importantly the extent to which commentary and news reporting have to be separated (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, p.26ff.). The newspapers in this study are classified, where possible, following the propositions of Hallin and Mancini, who based their research on a wide range of empirical studies (see de Albuquerque, 2013, p.747).

5.1.1.2 NATIONAL LOYALTY

Following the evaluation of the sample, a second independent variable, in particular with regards to international coverage has come to light: national loyalty. That this may be an issue has been indicated by studies discussed in previous chapters, such as the one by Kunelius and Eide (2012), which shows that during the Copenhagen conference something that could almost be called a global media sphere lasted only until problems arose. Then the media went back to supporting their countries' actions and blaming other countries for the failure of the conference. This variable, as can already be said from the observations made, can be more powerful than political parallelism, which different countries show to different degrees.

⁶³Such as her or his choice of a workplace or her or him being chosen because of political orientation

Chapter 3 gave a detailed explanation of the definition of national loyalty. It has also addressed the phenomenon of in-groups and out-groups, explaining that the out-group does not necessarily need to be external to the nation. The empirical part will explore how national loyalty in the case of climate change coverage interacts with political parallelism. National loyalty is divided in three subcategories: national interest, focus on national coverage, and comparison to other countries. The material will be screened for incidents where national loyalty supersedes or interacts with political parallelism. Indicators can be, for example, the positive evaluation of the newspaper's country or its country's alliance or the negative evaluation of other countries. Positive behaviour in international negotiations can be expressed by terms such as leadership, strong stance or success, whereas negative behaviour might be indicated by blocking, inflexibility, failure and similar expressions. In the case of disagreement of the newspapers with government actions, national loyalty can still be expressed through comparison, for example by either the denouncement of other countries' actions or by suggesting better solutions to profit the respective country. National interest can be indicated by the focus on country-specific consequences of climate change or climate change mitigation both by international and national actions and policies. Focus on national coverage is determined by the lack of references to international policies or consequences of national climate change impacts, policies, or other issues. This list of indicators is not exhaustive and will be further developed and adapted along the way.

5.1.1.3 FRAMES

As explained in Chapter 4, the independent variable of this study are frames, or more precisely the relationship of frames between newspapers and the government. The government frames will be established by going through the material following the definition of framing presented in Chapter 4: **A frame is a construct of words, images and emphases, promoted by a social actor, which embeds an issue in a cultural context, and, deliberately or subconsciously, tries to direct issue interpretations.** Newspaper contents are then compared to the established frames and congruence or opposition to government frames are recorded. Alternative frames proposed by the newspapers will also be discussed. All governments propose different frames, with the exception of a leadership frame, put forward by all four governments. The UK government provided five frames in the first phase, and three in the second phase, the German government three and two respectively, the US government three in both phases, and the Indian government four and three respectively. By comparing government and newspapers frames, it was possible to establish that political parallelism does not seem to play an

important role when it comes to the relationship of frames regarding climate change. As mentioned above, the study was then extended to discover national loyalty frames.

5.1.2 CASE SELECTION

When it comes to choosing cases, researchers face the problem that they need cases which are similar enough to be comparable, but differ in a significant independent variable. According to Gerring (2009, p.53), the views on the choice of cases are fairly divided between advocates of the idea that the societies in the comparison have to be similar in their culture and history in order to gain meaningful results, whereas others argue that focusing on a narrow region is unjustified and does not gather meaningful results. Gerring then brings the solution to this dispute back to the researcher's ontology: "What one finds is contingent upon what one looks for, and what one looks for is to some extent contingent upon what one expects to find" (2009, p.53). Small-n studies have also been criticised, for example by Lieberson (1991) who refutes the idea of a causal explanation by small-n research but advocates large-n research in order to receive unequivocal results. Besides the fact that this is rendered very difficult by the complexity of social reality, qualitative methodologists do not necessarily attempt to produce generalisations but are, in fact, interested in one or few particular cases and their interaction of causes (Bennett and Elman, 2006, p.458). Qualitative methods can thus be seen as exploratory and also as complementary to quantitative study, for example to validate results.

Causality is a difficult concept in social science research, and those sceptical of researching non-similar cases may be right when they say that too many differences in independent variables increase the difficulty of causal conclusions. On the other hand, hidden or unnoticed variables are likely in any kind of social science research, where controlling all variables is, most of the times, much more difficult than in the natural sciences (see Gerring, 2009, p.170ff.). Gerring (2009, p.171) claims that "It is the satisfaction of *ceteris paribus* assumptions, not the use of a manipulated treatment or randomized control group, that rightly qualifies a research product as methodologically sound". Yet, this satisfaction is incredibly hard to reach, since, if countries are the entities being studied, even the most similar ones will show differences, if not tangible in the form of political systems then through their cultural uniqueness. Anticipating some explanations that will follow later on, in the case of this thesis, political parallelism has been chosen as the independent variable, expected to influence the relationship between newspaper and government frames. We have three relatively similar countries⁶⁴ of the industrialised, Western hemisphere, and one developing country. Yet, all four countries are

⁶⁴Differences in political and media systems have been outlined in Chapter 3.

democracies and have a free press, which is the condition to research the relationship between the press and the government. India, while making the cases less similar, adds great value to this study as an important actor that is very vulnerable to climate change. Problems with small-n research have been discussed extensively (see e.g. Barasko et al., 2004, p.199f.; Rueschemeyer, 2003, p.332f.; Ebbinghaus, 2005, p.141f.), and throughout the empirical analysis the researcher needs to be aware of the limitations, in particular with regards to inferences. This is further reinforced through an exploratory approach. Inferences cannot be made from the “explored” data, but the (theory-generating) results must be tested with a new set of empirical material in order to make any inferences (Ebbinghaus, 2005, p.143).

Hallin and Mancini, whose model for media systems has been an important part of this thesis, have explained the reasons for their choice of countries in their comparative analysis and the implications of the relatively narrow region chosen have been discussed, as well as the applicability of the model outside of the Western European and North American scope. It has been explained how the model can be applied to India (see Chapter 3). India cannot be put into one of the groups defined by Hallin and Mancini, and the scope of this thesis does not allow finding out whether other countries could build a group with India. Nevertheless, the categories by Hallin and Mancini are useful to analyse the India media system, or specifically its press for this study. The differences between India and the other three countries have been explained and acknowledged in Chapter 3 on media systems and they are taken into consideration throughout the analysis and the discussion. Despite the many differences between India and the Western countries of the study, the media system is not all that different. As Roy (2013, p.2) puts it: “In fact, many believe that, like our IT software sector, [our media] is comparable with media in some of the most advanced nations”. It can be already said that the Indian newspapers do not stand out in any way that would qualify them as incomparable to the newspapers of the other three countries.

5.1.3 SAMPLE

As noted above, the study material will come from newspapers and government communication of four countries, Germany, India, the United States, and the United Kingdom.

The timeframe for the analysis will be from 21 November 2011 to 21 December 2011 and June 2012. The first month is around Durban Climate Change Conference, COP 17, which lasted from November 28 to December 11. The second month marks the approximate “halftime” between Durban and the next conference in Doha in November and December 2012. This second time period was chosen in order to compare a month with no specific (planned) event to draw

media attention on climate change.⁶⁵ The Rio+20 conference falls into the second time frame. However, this event was not officially a conference on climate change but on sustainable development. As the empirical chapters will show, while most governments and newspapers did report on Rio with regard to climate change, it did not attract the same attention as the Durban conference. The longitudinal viewpoint for this study was important, as it allowed to discover differences in the two phases. Firstly, it showed the decline in government communication in all four countries from the first to the second phase, as well as a decline in newspaper articles for all countries except India. Secondly, it indicated a change in tone in the newspapers from the first to the second phase.

As the previous chapters have shown, there is already much scholarly work on the Copenhagen Conference in 2009. Durban has been chosen because “after the trauma of Copenhagen and the struggle to rescue the multilateral climate regime in Cancun, negotiators in Durban turned a corner” (International Institute for Sustainable Development, 2011, p.31). COP17 therefore stands for a new beginning in the history of climate change conferences.

The following material will count as government communication: press releases and official statements, speeches, and op-eds, by the respective heads of government and environment ministers and, if the task seems to fall under a range of ministries, their respective ministers, too. This will be one of the aspects that the process of categorisation will help to establish.

With regards to media material, this study includes only print media, more specifically two “quality” newspapers and one mid-market or “popular” newspaper per country. For the scope of my thesis it was not possible to include more elements, aiming at a complete representation of a media system. Therefore, conclusions drawn for this study must not be regarded as representing entire media systems, but as a snippet of the printed press landscape of the respective countries. Future research will be able to widen the scope of the research by including different types of media, showing also differences between types of media within a country.

For each country, two national quality newspapers were chosen according to their circulation, their political orientation, if any, and their availability in the university portfolio. In addition, one popular or mid-market newspaper was chosen for each country. The quality of newspapers has long been distinguished by their size, i.e. broadsheet and tabloid format. However, this

⁶⁵The exact time would have been May 21-June 21, but to avoid overlap with the Bonn Climate Conference, the month of June was chosen.

distinction has become outdated, firstly because quality newspapers in tabloid format exist, and secondly, because “tabloids” grouped together newspapers of different quality of content. Sparks (2000, p.15) calls higher quality “tabloids”, such as the *Daily Mail* in the UK or *USA Today* in the US “serious-popular press”, pointing out the similarities to both popular and quality newspapers. I will use the term “mid-market newspapers” in my thesis, as opposed to “popular newspapers”. Both mid-market and popular newspapers devote more content on soft news and personal stories, rather than details on political and economic issues and processes (Sparks, 2000, p.10). However, mid-market newspapers “still demonstrate all, or a significant part, of the same inventory of news values” (Sparks, 2000, p.15) as quality newspapers.

Political orientation of newspapers in Germany and the UK is relatively easy to determine and has often been confirmed by scholars (e.g. Carvalho, 2005; Carvalho and Burgess, 2005; Hallin and Mancini, 2004). The UK has seen changes in readership shares in the 1990s, such as the *Telegraph* increasing their share of readers voting for Labour, whereas the *Guardian* has diminished its already small share of Conservative readers. The *Sun* had switched from a majority of Conservative readers to a majority of Labour voters⁶⁶ (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, p.211f.) but then returned to supporting the Conservative party in 2009 (Wring and Deacon, 2010, p.438). Popular newspapers in general are known for their populist stance, often right-wing – the most prominent example may be Germany’s *Bild* – but in Britain they are also very partisan, which complements their populism. *Bild* does not openly support a specific party (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, p.211). The partisanship of the British press, however, is not necessarily stable, as the example the *Sun* mentioned above shows. In the US, the situation is different, with the norm of balance being dominant, which interferes with the idea of political partisanship. The *New York Times* has been known to have liberal tendencies, whereas the *Washington Post* is considered slightly more conservative, though still left of centre (Groseclose and Milyo, 2005).⁶⁷ Generally, US newspapers aim for balanced coverage, which also becomes visible for the sample of this thesis. There is an ongoing scholarly debate over whether the prestige press in the US has a general bias towards one of the major parties (see e.g. Boykoff

⁶⁶This success for the Labour party is often attributed to the efforts of Tony Blair’s spin doctor Alastair Campbell.

⁶⁷In their study, Groseclose and Milyo find that the *Washington Times* and the *Washington Post* are situated right and left of centre at the exact opposite. The *Washington Times* was not included in this study as it was not available on the university database. Its low circulation and fairly extreme views in comparison to the conservative papers chosen for the other countries might also not have made it the best choice in case of availability.

and Boykoff, 2004, Eisinger et al., 2007, Nyhan, 2012). *USA Today*, according to Groseclose and Milyo (2005, p.1222), is a fairly centrist newspaper⁶⁸. By contrast, there is little documentation on the political affiliation of Indian newspapers. Chakravarty and Roy (2013) address the issue of political parallelism in India for television, but there is no equivalent case study for newspapers. Schäfer et al. (2014) study media attention for climate change in Germany, Australia and India and choose a liberal and a conservative paper in each country. For India, they also chose the *Times of India* and the *Hindu*, but pointed out that research on the media system is still relatively scarce and they do not give any further explanation as to where they acquired the information on the political orientation of the newspapers. Despite most newspapers' apparent subscription⁶⁹ to a political ideology, current research seems mostly concerned with the phenomenon of paid news (Bhushan, 2013) and the contradiction of current developments with the Ghandian ideal of journalism (Vilanilam, 2005). Both topics can be discussed in the realm of political parallelism, but so far this does not seem to be the case. For this study, the scarce information on political orientation will have to suffice.

Regarding the choice of newspapers, in India, the highest circulated newspapers are in Hindi, therefore the highest circulated English newspapers were chosen. Further, a popular or mid-market newspaper was chosen for each country. *USA Today* may both in format and content differ slightly from the newspapers in the other three countries. Yet, given its national reach and its difference in style from the other two newspapers, it seems an adequate choice. For India, the popular newspaper *Mid Day* was chosen. According to Sheth (2014), it is the second most read English popular newspaper in India. The *Mumbai Mirror* is the most read one, but was not available in the Nexis Database. As explained above, research on political orientation of newspapers in India is relatively scarce, and research for popular or mid-market newspapers seems almost non-existent. A search for “tabloid newspapers” and “India” on Academic Search Complete⁷⁰ yielded zero results. The Indian media market has become highly focused on advertising and TV channels particularly reflect this by turning away from serious reporting to placing an emphasis on scandals and entertainment (Roy, 2012, p.13). The quality newspapers may not be affected by this but nevertheless, new tabloid⁷¹ newspapers are appearing on the

⁶⁸For a critique of their approach see Nyhan, 2012.

⁶⁹As suggested by websites such as worldpress.org

⁷⁰Search conducted on July 18, 2014.

⁷¹The lack of research and the fluctuation on the Indian “tabloid” market makes it difficult to establish how many of the newspapers are popular and how many are mid-market. The article by Ramesh and

market (Ramesh and Jha, 2007). For lack of more detailed information, I attribute the Indian popular newspaper a populist stance with no specific political orientation.

The final sample contains the following newspapers:

1. Germany: *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (Centre-left), *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Sonntagszeitung* (Conservative)⁷², *Bild* and *Bild am Sonntag* (Popular, Right-wing)⁷³
2. India: *Hindu* (Centre-left)⁷⁴, *Times of India* (Conservative), *Mid Day* (Popular, populist)⁷⁵
3. UK: *Guardian* and *Observer* (Centre-left)⁷⁶, *Daily Telegraph* and *Sunday Telegraph* (Conservative)⁷⁷, *Sun* and *Sun on Sunday*⁷⁸ (Popular, Conservative)⁷⁹
4. US: *New York Times* (Centre-left)⁸⁰, *Washington Post* (Centre-Left)⁸¹, *USA Today* (Mid-market, Centrist)⁸²

The articles for the UK, the US, and India, with the exception of the *Hindu*, have been acquired through the LexisNexis database. All sections of the papers were taken into account, with the exception of letters to the editor that were not written by a member of the government or parliament. The *Hindu* was accessed through its archive, which is available online for free and

Jha (2007) leads to think that there is a very strong orientation towards soft news, i.e. there are more popular than mid-market newspapers.

⁷²Cf. Schäfer et al., 2014, p.159. I avoid the word “liberal” since it has different connotations in all countries.

⁷³Cf. Hallin and Mancini, 2004, p.211.

⁷⁴Cf. Schäfer et al., 2014, p.159. I avoid the word “liberal” since it has different connotations in all countries.

⁷⁵See explanations above.

⁷⁶Cf. Carvalho, 2007, p.226.

⁷⁷Cf. Hallin and Mancini, 2004, p.213.

⁷⁸Launched in February 2012

⁷⁹Cf. Wring and Deacon, 2010, p.438.

⁸⁰Cf. Groseclose and Milyo, 2005

⁸¹Cf. Groseclose and Milyo, 2005

⁸²Cf. Groseclose and Milyo, 2005, p.1222.

without registration. The German newspapers were accessed through their respective online archives. The two broadsheet papers were available through the university, whereas an individual contract had to be made for the *Bild*. Search words used, as far as a search was possible, were *climate change*, *climate*, and *global warming*. For Germany, *Klimaschutz* (climate protection) was added. If this term had been used in an English text, it would have been shown through the search for *climate*.

Depending on the search engine, the search for the key words could be done simultaneously or an individual search had to be repeated for each keyword, in which case the articles or items were checked for doubles immediately. The articles found on LexisNexis were downloaded and then sorted for relevance. The articles accessed through the individual archives were sorted immediately and relevant articles were downloaded.

The articles published by the German government have been acquired through the government portal bundesregierung.de and the portal of the Federal Ministry for Environment bmu.de. Those for the UK government were acquired through gov.uk. The Indian government articles were found on the site of the Press Information Bureau pib.nic.in. A search was not possible on this site, so on the chosen dates, all items were screened for relevance and handpicked. The US items were taken from state.gov and whitehouse.gov. The respective speeches at the Durban conference were taken from unfccc.int, except for the US one, which was only available through the national portal. All government items were sorted for relevance immediately and the relevant ones were downloaded. The resulting articles were then copied into NVivo10, which was used for coding. The final article count is shown in the table below. It is quite striking how drastically both governments and newspapers reduce their climate change communication in the second phase, with the exception of Indian newspapers. These numbers will be discussed in more detail at the beginning of each section for the individual countries.

	Phase 1		Phase 2	
	Government	Newspapers	Government	Newspapers
UK	28	122	5	69
Germany	28	64	9	29
US	12	63	6	39
India	9	118	2	112

Figure 2: Number of government items and newspaper articles.

The coding process established a number of topics, which helped establish the frames. During the coding and first analysis of the articles the importance of national loyalty as an

independent variable became apparent and significantly shaped the second analysis of the sample.

A side note on coalition governments

When analysing the newspaper coverage, the specific government situation of each country has to be kept in mind, with an emphasis on the UK. Whereas coalition governments are the norm in Germany and India, in 2010 it had been the first time since 1931 that a coalition government was in place in the UK (Anstead, 2012). Coalitions are a regular, unavoidable topic in German news coverage (see for example Reinemann, 2013, p.86ff.; Krewel et al., 2011). From 1989 until the 2014 elections, India has had a series of coalition governments (Farooqui and Sridharan, 2014, p.557). These differ from the German – and British – coalition in that they usually consist of a multi-party coalition and that besides the formal coalition there are issue-based coalitions. In addition, despite being coalitions all governments from 1989 until the 2014 elections have been minority governments, therefore depending on a divided opposition to make issue-based coalitions (Sridharan, 2012). Research on the issue of media coverage on coalitions in India does not seem to exist, to the best of my knowledge. Research on the media coverage of the most recent coalition government in the UK, which ended in May 2015, is also scarce. Anstead (2012) sums up the dilemma that media face dealing for the first time with a coalition government, saying that the usual approach of attacking politicians for breaking promises made in an election is questionable when a coalition is in power since a coalition will always require a compromise. On the other hand, politicians should still be held accountable. This clearly presents a challenge to media that are not used to covering coalition governments. As said, for my research this issue is of particular importance for the UK. This particularity is taken into account when establishing whether newspaper frames are congruent with government frames. With the newspapers being of different political orientations and the government of different parties, this might lead to the support of the frames promoted by one governing party but not by the other.

5.2 CONTENT ANALYSIS

5.2.1 CONTENT ANALYSIS AND PHILOSOPHY

The theoretical part of this thesis has already pointed out an important indicator for the situation of my research: knowledge depends on culture. There is a natural world that exists independent of human perception and mind (Sjoberg et al., 1991; Gorski, 2013). This is not the case for social reality, which consists of human actions and interactions – without being as transient as a single human action. Social structures include physical elements as well as

relationships of power that are more or less stable over time (Gorski, 2013). These structures are created through a range of factors: social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic and gender. The resulting structure is assumed as real, but in fact could be changed by changing the factors that created the reality (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, p.110). This is possible only if biological factors are not dominant in determining a certain outcome, in which case it is not the factors that are changed but their perception. The logic of natural science is to create universal laws. Making generalisations is therefore limited in its application in social science research. Sjoberg et al. distance themselves further from natural science research with regards to the relationship between the social scientist, her or his cultural environment and the cultural environment of his or her research, which can, but need not be, the same. This can also be argued for natural scientists, as their research also does not occur in a value-free place. It is impossible for researchers to detach themselves from their cultural environment, therefore the objectivity they may claim to achieve is always to be seen within this context (Sjoberg et al., 1991, p.35f.). This must be kept in mind when drawing conclusions and evaluating results.

Similarly, Gerring suggests that “social science research is not a purely empirical endeavor” (2009, p.53). The positivist idea of directly applying the methods of natural science to social science seems unrealistic, also because the sharp separation of conjecture and refutation can often not be held up, and results are produced through a dilution of this separation (Gerring, 2009, p.40). More specifically for this thesis, Bennett and Elman further stress the complex view on social reality that qualitative methodologists usually have: “path dependence, tipping points, interaction effects, strategic interaction, two-directional causality or feedback loops, and equifinality [...] or multifinality” (2006, p.457).

For this study, it is assumed that a natural world exists independent of the human mind. Social realities are constructed through social interactions, which result in (intentional and unintentional) social structures that are more or less long lasting (Gorski, 2013; Maxwell, 2012). Empirical research has to be conducted keeping in mind that the researcher is also working in her or his own conception of reality. Research in social science focuses on interactions and always includes an interpretative element that will inevitably be influenced by the researcher’s view of the world (Maxwell, 2012). The way we know both the natural and social world depends on “a reiterated sequence of perceptions, cognitions, and inferences, all of which may be questioned, rejected, and revised” (Bruhn Jensen, 2012, p.269). The object of my research, newspaper articles and government communication are created in specific environments. Their authors aim to communicate in this specific environment and people inside and outside of this

environment might have very different perceptions of the message. It has been established that drawing conclusions is a challenge due to the exploratory character of the study, but any such conclusions must also take into account these factors of cultural specificities.

Content analysis as a research technique fits well into this epistemology. Krippendorff (2013) attributes a non-manifest part to content analysis: "I would suggest that context is always constructed by someone, here by content analysts, no matter how hard they may try to objectify it. [...] One cannot deny content analysts' interest and conceptual participation in what their analysis reveals" (p.31). Without context, content analysis becomes meaningless, since the results have to be connected to their implications for society, which may be hard to objectify. For quantitative analysis in particular it becomes apparent that the counting of words or terms does not have any meaning without context (Krippendorff, 2013, p.34). Krippendorff also puts into question the distinction between qualitative and quantitative content analysis, as "all reading of texts is qualitative, even when certain characteristics of a text are later converted into numbers" (2013, p.22). However, what is commonly referred to as qualitative analysis goes beyond the mere counting of certain attributes of the text and includes an interpretative element. Examples are discourse analysis, social constructivist analysis, ethnographic content analysis and conversation analysis (Krippendorff, 2013, p.22f.). The quantitative and qualitative distinction nevertheless remains relevant, since a research project that just asks "if" and "how many" is different from the one that adds the question "how". The "how" is the most important aspect of my research, therefore qualitative content analysis is the ideal tool. Krippendorff further establishes abductive inference as the main process of content analysis, as opposed to inductive and deductive inference. The hypothesis chosen, in this logic, is the best one to explain the data and with the help of the hypothesis, deductions can be made in order to answer the research questions (Krippendorff, 2013, p.43).

5.2.2 CONTENT ANALYSIS AS RESEARCH TECHNIQUE

Besides context sensitivity, content analysis has the advantage of being an unobtrusive technique (as opposed to interviews or experiments) and of being able to deal with unstructured matter and with large volumes of data (Krippendorff, 2013, p.45ff.). The latter is restricted either to quantitative studies, often computer assisted, or to groups of researchers working together on a qualitative study. Merten (1995, p.59) defined a content analysis as "a method to collect information about social reality by projecting characteristics of a manifest

text onto characteristics of a non-manifest context”⁸³. This refers to the point that I have made throughout the previous chapters: a text has to be read in the context of its cultural environment, or as Brosius and Koschel (2005, p.142) say, in a “certain spatiotemporal context”. Mass communication, according to Krippendorff, is “the archetypal domain of content analysis. Communication researchers tend to be interested in communicator conceptions, media biases and effects, institutional constraints, implications of new technologies, audience perceptions, public opinion, and how certain values, prejudices, cultural distinctions, and reality constructions are distributed in society – relying on mass-media messages as their causes or expressions” (2013, p.33). This specific type of content analysis, besides being a comparative case study, which will be discussed below in more detail, is what Krippendorff calls “Linguistic Re-Presentations” (2013, p.66ff.): “Qualitative content analysts clearly recognize the need to respond to texts as connected discourse”. A qualitative content can indicate what correlations there may exist and it can interpret the results in the social context. This underlines the realist concept of a social reality that is subject to the perceptions of the human mind.

5.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

After introducing the method and some philosophical background for this study, I will present and explain the research questions in this final section of the chapter.

The overall research question is

What is the relationship of newspaper and government frames regarding climate change coverage?

The previous chapters have outlined research on media systems and their relationship to the political system in different countries. The importance of political parallelism has been explained specifically in Chapter 3, and the present chapter has further operationalised and described the concept. Political parallelism is seen as a key influence on the relationship between the media and the political system, in this case specifically between newspapers and the government. However, a first analysis of the empirical material has shown the inefficiency of political parallelism as an explanatory variable in this case and the variable of national loyalty has been introduced (see above and Chapter 3). The empirical chapters (6 to 9) will answer the following questions:

⁸³Similarly, Krippendorff (2013, p.24) defines content analysis as follows: “Content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use”.

1. Does political parallelism influence the relationship between newspaper and government frames on climate change, i.e. can it be confirmed that the lower political parallelism the greater the difference between government and newspaper frames?
2. In which instances does national loyalty supersede political parallelism in the context of climate change? How do the two variables interact⁸⁴?
3. Which aspects of national loyalty (national interest, comparison, focus on national coverage) are evoked most often in the context of climate change?

Based on Hallin and Mancini's model, the first question was first expected to be answered positively. This would then mean that Germany and India would show a strong congruence of newspaper and government frames for their respective political orientations, the UK slightly less so, and the US the lowest level of congruence (see also Chapter 3). After a first evaluation of the sample, there were indications that political parallelism might not play a very strong role in the coverage of climate change. Through the introduction of the new variable, namely national loyalty, the exploratory character of the thesis has been increased. To further test the results on different data sets, it will be indispensable to establish trends in the coverage of climate change. From existing literature, such as Kunelius and Eide (2012), or Statham (2007, for both see Chapter 3), the difference between national and international coverage seems to be an important factor, as well as the existence of conflict. My research will attempt to define the role of national loyalty so it can be tested in future research.

5.4 CONCLUSION

This study is a qualitative content analysis conducted as a small-n case study. The following chapters will examine the frames for the Indian, British, German, and US government and three newspapers in each country to determine the relationship of frames. Frames, as outlined in Chapter 4, are dependent on the context and therefore go hand in hand with the ontology presented above. By establishing frames, the research questions will be answered. The addition of national loyalty as a variable has increased the exploratory aspect of the thesis. If national loyalty can be determined as influence strong enough to interrupt the usual pattern of political parallelism, this can firstly inspire research on a broader scale, and secondly, may give reason to revise models of the relationship between the media and the political system in general.

⁸⁴ This means, which of the two is the stronger variable in which instances? Can they coexist?

6. UNITED KINGDOM

This first chapter of the empirical part will look at the UK government communication and news coverage. As mentioned, the newspapers of this study are the *Guardian* (centre-left), the *Daily Telegraph* (conservative), the *Sun* (conservative), and their Sunday equivalents. The UK government at the time of study is a coalition government of the Conservative party and the Liberal Democrats. As outlined before, UK newspapers were expected to show relatively high levels of political parallelism. The previous chapter explained that political parallelism may not be sufficient to explain the news coverage on climate change, therefore national loyalty has been introduced as a second independent variable. After presenting some basic quantitative observations, the chapter is divided in two sections, covering the first phase in November-December 2011 and the second phase in June 2012 respectively.

6.1 DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS⁸⁵

In the first phase, the government published 28 relevant items, the *Sun* 12, the *Guardian* and *Observer* 55 and seven respectively and the *Telegraph* 48. For the second phase 5 government items, 8 for the *Sun* and the *Sun on Sunday*⁸⁶, 27 for the *Guardian*, ten for the *Observer*, and 24 for the *Telegraph* and the *Sunday Telegraph* were chosen as relevant.

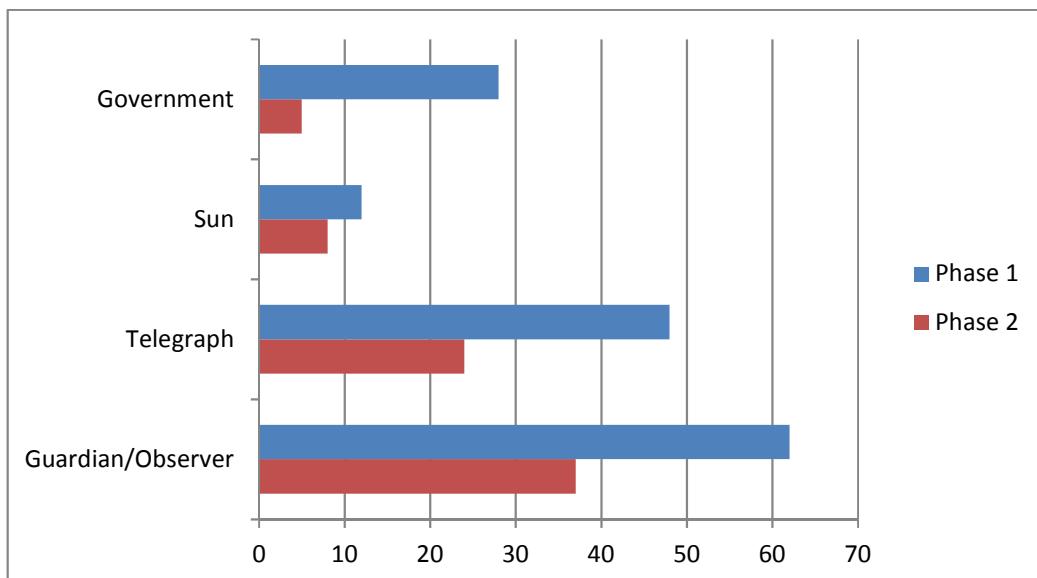


Figure 3: Comparison of the number of UK government communication items and newspaper articles in the two phases

⁸⁵ All newspaper articles and government communication items are listed in the Appendix.

⁸⁶ In February 2012, the *Sun on Sunday* replaced *News of the World*, which had been discontinued in the July 2011 (Mulunda, 2012)

The *Guardian* published the highest number of articles addressing the topic of climate change in both time periods⁸⁷. All newspapers published about half the articles in June 2012 compared to the time around the Durban conference.

For the government, 28 relevant communications were found in the first phase, compared to five in the second phase. The implications of this will be discussed further in the qualitative evaluation. For now, it can be said, that despite the Rio +20 conference and the G20 meeting, there was no substantial amount of references to climate change.

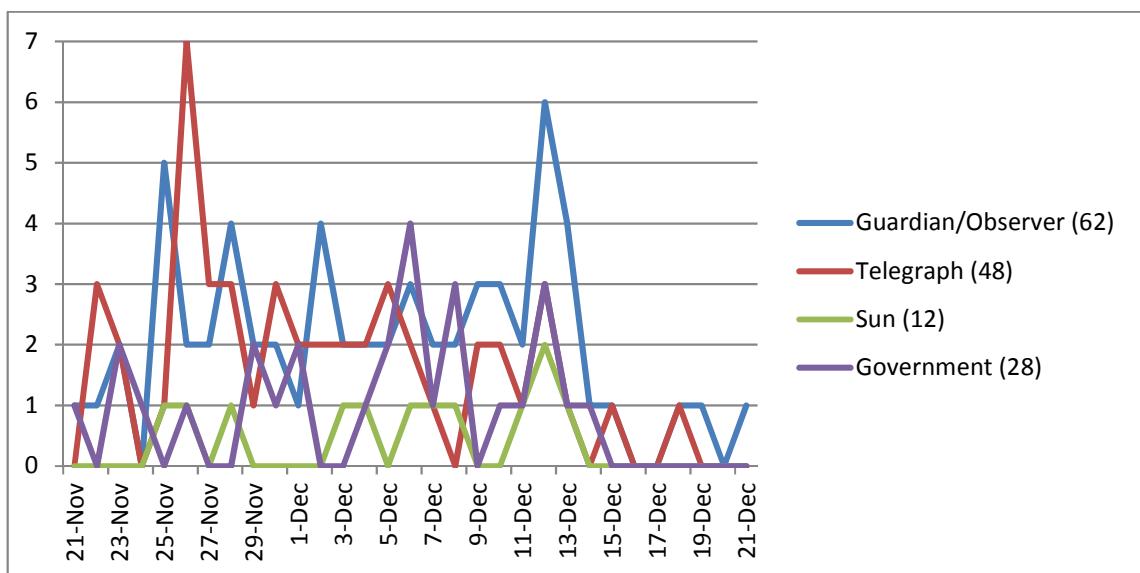


Figure 4: Number of items published by the UK government and newspapers in the course of Phase 1

As can be seen in the graph, the coverage of the *Telegraph* in the first phase peaks on November 26, whereas the *Guardian* has the highest number of articles on December 12, after the end of the Durban conference. The *Observer* publishes two articles on every Sunday except December 18, where there is only one article. The *Sun* also “peaks” on December 12, but this peak only counts two articles and only one of them actually refers to the conference. The end of the conference also generates a relatively high amount of government communication.

The *Telegraph*'s highest number of articles were published on November 26; on the weekend of November 26 and 27 it published a total number of ten articles, which makes for 20 percent of the entire coverage of the first phase. While one may expect that the *Telegraph* would exploit the topic of “Climategate II”, a new round of leaked emails by climate scientists⁸⁸, this was not

⁸⁷It has the highest number of articles even without adding the *Observer* to the count.

⁸⁸Climategate I happened just before the Copenhagen conference in 2009, Climategate II before Durban. The name stands for the leaking of private e-mails, including documents, aiming to expose disagreements between scientists and the covering up of information.

the case. Most articles were part of a feature on the upcoming conference, including pieces by UNEP's Achim Steiner and the Climate Change Secretary Chris Huhne. Climategate was the topic in one article on Saturday and was, not surprisingly, also mentioned in an article on Sunday by Christopher Booker, a known climate sceptic. Nevertheless, from a mere descriptive point of view, the reason for the number of articles was the upcoming conference in Durban paired with some general news items. And even though the *Guardian* published six articles after the conference ended, the *Telegraph* also offered four articles. The *Guardian* also uses the days running up to the conference to prepare its readers. On Friday and Saturday, a total of seven articles, five of which deal with the Durban conference, are published. Both *Guardian* and *Telegraph* continue their coverage on the opening day of the conference, and the *Sun*, which so far had not covered the topic, also mentions the conference by announcing a planned financial boost for fighting climate change in Africa.

After the end of conference, we can observe a decline in articles for all three newspapers as well as government communication. The *Sun* completely stops referring to the issue two days after the conference, while the *Telegraph* and the *Guardian* and *Observer* continue publishing the occasional article. The *Guardian*, in particular, provides four articles two days after the conference, evaluating the results, while the *Telegraph* seems to have already moved on and just mentions the Canadian dropout of the Kyoto Protocol. The *Sun* did the same.

Altogether, the *Guardian* published at least one article on every day except three of the days, the *Observer* publishes at least one article every Sunday. The *Telegraph* has nine days without relevant articles. The *Sun* publishes relevant items on eleven days. 41 of the *Guardian* articles were news stories, and there were three editorials, four Op-Eds and seven guest articles. The *Observer* published six news stories and one Op-Ed. The *Telegraph* had 38 news stories, eight Op-Eds and two guest articles. The *Sun* published four Op-Eds and eight news stories.

On the government side, Chris Huhne and Caroline Spelman in particular are busy promoting the Durban conference, but only few days after the conference, government communication moves away from the topic – as do the newspapers. This may be a first indicator of the connections between newspaper and government communication.

In the June phase, the long awaited Rio+20 conference could not attract newspaper attention similar to the Durban conference, at least not in the context of climate change. Officially, climate change was not on the agenda there, yet it is hard to imagine a debate on sustainable

development without addressing climate change – which has been done by both the newspapers and government officials, in limited ways.

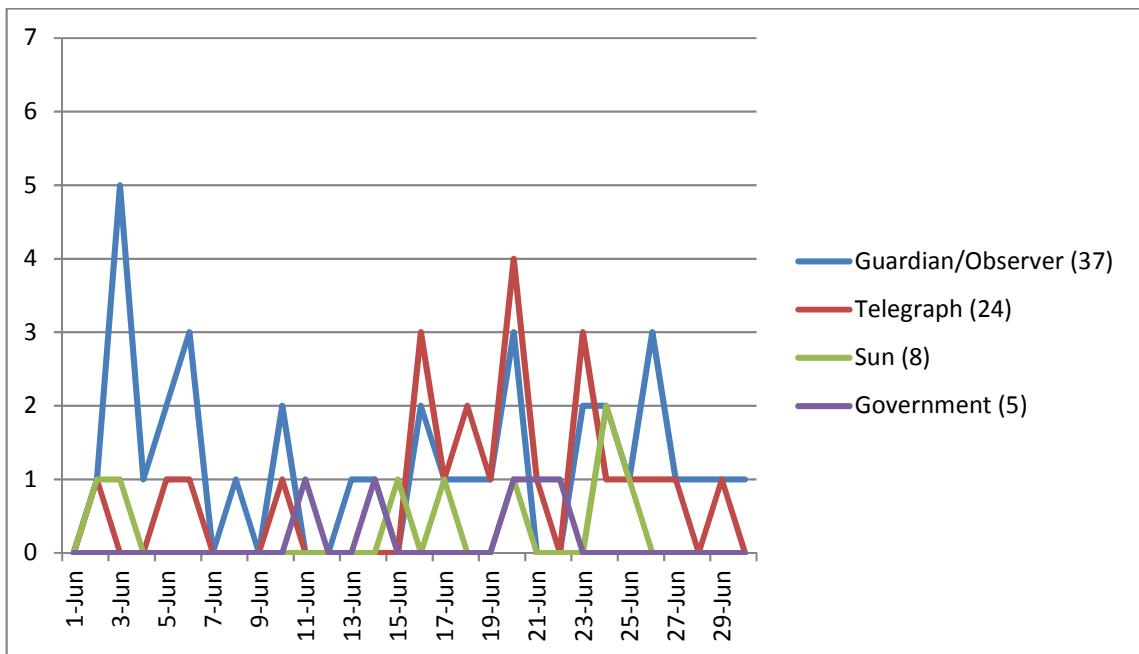


Figure 5: Number of items published by the UK government and newspapers in the course of Phase 2

The June phase does not show a clear peak, except for June 3, where the *Observer* publishes five articles. Both the *Guardian* and the *Telegraph* have three days with three or four articles, overlapping only on June 20. June 20 marked the beginning of Rio+20, and the *Guardian* focuses all of the day's climate related coverage on it, whereas of the *Telegraph*'s four climate-related articles only one talks about the conference. The *Sun* also mentions the beginning of the conference, not without using model Helena Christensen as a peg. Other than that, the *Sun* does not mention the conference, but does dedicate three articles to a group of climate activists being arrested in front of Buckingham Palace. The *Guardian* and the *Telegraph* comment on the end of the Rio+20 conference with one article each, the *Guardian* one written by George Monbiot and the *Telegraph* one by Christopher Booker.

The other peaks (June 6 and 26 for the *Guardian*, June 16 and 23 for the *Telegraph*) do not seem to be triggered by a special event, since all articles treat different issues, except for two articles on Rio by the *Telegraph* on June 16. The *Guardian* has one article on Rio on the same day.

In the second phase, 23 of the *Guardian*'s articles were news stories, two interviews and two Op-Eds. The *Observer* had six news stories, one interview, two Op-Eds, and one guest article. The *Telegraph* published 17 news stories, and four Op-Eds and three editorials. All of the *Sun*'s eight items were news stories.

In the June phase, the *Guardian* goes eight days without any relevant articles. The *Telegraph* has 13 days without articles, and one of four Sundays without articles. The *Sun* publishes on 7 days, three of which are Sundays. The *Observer* publishes five articles on June 3, all on different issues, two on June 10 and 24 and one on June 17, none of which are on the Rio conference.

6.2 FRAMES – PHASE 1

6.2.1 GOVERNMENT

The government provides several frames, with competing frames provided by Climate Change Secretary Chris Huhne and by Chancellor George Osborne. Huhne's frame focuses on UK leadership in climate change negotiations combined with a certain emphasis on urgency. The counterframe by Osborne stresses the necessity to protect heavy industry against climate policies.

Chris Huhne is very active in the time around Durban, providing eight items of communication where he speaks or writes himself. Further he is quoted in several press releases, issued by his own department but also by others. Chris Huhne is reaffirming the UK's commitment to climate change, which also leads to a conflict situation with Chancellor George Osborne. Through his actions, Chris Huhne tries to promote a frame of urgency (**Government Frame 1: Urgency paired with optimism**), combined with the emphasis on the importance of the UK leadership (**Government Frame 2: Leadership**). This is supported by expressions such as "tackle dangerous climate change" (Department of Energy & Climate Change⁸⁹, 2011b), "climate change is the biggest market failure the world has ever seen" (DECC, 2011c), "the Climate Change Act shows UK leadership" (DECC, 2011e), "above all, we must show leadership" (DECC, 2011d), "the UK stands for more ambition now" (DECC, 2011c). Further, Huhne also presents the UK as the driving force in the EU negotiations: "we have led on the EU to move to a 30% commitment" (DECC, 2011c), "the UK, with our EU partners" (DECC, 2011m), "[the members of the British delegation] played a key role in many of the detailed negotiations, sometimes on behalf of the entire EU" (DECC, 2011l). To a critical article in the *Guardian* (Harvey, 2011j), he promptly reacts with a letter; he also publicly responds to a paper by a sceptical think tank. Further, he specifically mentions the importance of the cooperation with the EU for the British interest: "By working together with our European partners, we were able to deliver more effectively - for the British national interest, and for our shared ambitions" (DECC, 2011l). Huhne does not discuss whether climate change is happening or not, this is a fact for him. In his opinion, acting

⁸⁹ Will be referred to as DECC in the following.

to fight climate change is in the British interest (**Government Frame 3: Climate Action is in the British Interest**). The frame of the UK as leader in the climate change conference and among the EU has not been taken up by the *Guardian* and the *Sun* and only to a limited extent by the *Telegraph*.

Chris Huhne encounters difficulties when he gets attacked from inside the government. Chancellor of the Exchequer George Osborne announces in his Autumn Forecast Statement (HM Treasury, 2011) that he is “worried about the combined impact of the green policies adopted not just in Britain, but also by the European Union, on some of our heavy, energy-intensive industries” (**Government Frame 4: Protecting UK Industry**). For Climate Secretary Huhne, who had proudly announced that “the UK is walking the walk” (DECC, 2011g) to a low carbon industry, setting an example at the Durban conference, this is a problematic counterframe.

Osborne attacks Huhne’s frame endorsing urgency and climate leadership with a counterframe of competitiveness concerning energy intensive industry; he is somewhat echoed by Business Secretary Vince Cable who expresses fear of carbon leakage and is “disappointed by the negative attitude of some green groups to our action on energy intensive industries” (Department for Business, Innovation & Skills, 2011). The newspapers, however, do not pick up on that. Environment Secretary Caroline Spelman reinforces the involvement of businesses on the way to low carbon and promotes UK leadership, much like Chris Huhne: “the UK is working hard to secure a new deal on climate change” (Department for Environment, Food & Rural Affairs⁹⁰, 2011d), “the UK played a key role in securing a new deal on climate change” (Defra, 2011e).

The lack of reference to Cable and Spelman shows that Huhne is seen as the major actor on climate change. In this particular incidence, he has encountered strong opposition by Osborne and has to defend his frames. The party- or coalition-internal conflict is turned into a question of competence by the newspapers, as the following sections will show.

6.2.2 THE GUARDIAN AND THE OBSERVER

The general tone of coverage of the Durban conference in the *Guardian* is negative and gloomy, which opposes the government frame of success and leadership. The authors, apart from Chris Huhne and other guest writers, expected the conference to fail and despite a little bit of a lighter mood when the conference ended with some kind of an agreement, they go back to

⁹⁰ Will be referred to as Defra in the following.

exploiting the problems and identifying missing pieces of the agreement. The following are just a few examples of the disaster, according to the *Guardian*, which the world was moving towards:

- Rich nations ‘give up’ on new climate treaty (Harvey, 2011j)
- Why are the big emitters gambling with our fates (Vidal, 2011d)
- Another global climate debacle is likely (Bidwai, 2011)
- Durban limps towards failure (Wilby, 2011)
- Ambition gap (Climate change: Ambition gap, 2011)

The *Guardian* frames the Durban conference as a hopeless undertaking. It promotes the frame of the EU as an actor on climate change and additionally a frame on the importance of a climate deal as well as the urgency of it. The urgency, unlike Huhne’s frame, is not paired with optimism. However, Chris Huhne had presented the UK as the leader in the European Union, whereas the *Guardian*, while referring to his remarks from time to time, sees the EU as a whole in the negotiation process. When UK leadership is addressed, it is often directly referred to what Chris Huhne said, whereas in general the UK was seen as part of the European team, instead of “the UK and Europe”:

- Europe now leads nearly 100 mostly small countries (Harvey and Vidal, 2011g)
- the EU reiterated its demand (Harvey, 2011d)
- Connie Hedegaard, the EU’s climate chief, has been hailed the hero of the Durban meeting (Harvey, 2011b)

It can be seen as taking over the Leadership frame in parts, as the UK is part of this EU team, but it does not promote the frame of the UK leading *within* the EU. This aspect of the coverage already indicates the *Guardian*’s special stance when it comes to the issue of national loyalty discussed in Chapters 3 and 5. Not only in comparison to Huhne but also in comparison to most other newspapers it adopts a truly international outlook on the negotiations. Huhne’s UK leadership frame is not adopted by the *Guardian*.

However, there was no particular blaming of the UK as an actor, except regarding the plan, leaked before the conference, to possibly accept a delay of action until 2020 (Harvey, 2011j). Many references were made to developing countries, pointing out the need for financial aid and the dangerous physical threats to certain countries caused by climate change. On the other hand, fewer references were made to the implications for British citizens, and if so, most were related to energy prices – a highly contested topic, as coverage of the *Telegraph* will show. Whereas the *Telegraph* focuses on costs for taxpayers (see next section), the *Guardian* is more concerned by the costs of pollution:

- About 60% of rises in the past year have been the result of the higher cost of fuel imports (Harvey, 2011e).
- Industrial air pollution costs Britain up to £15bn a year (Vidal and Gersmann, 2011)

References to science were scarce, only two articles spoke about scientific research outside of the scope of political negotiations (Goldenberg, 2011). Generally, articles on scientific research are scarcest in the UK, as the following chapters will show. The focus on developing countries can lead to “distanciation” (McManus, 2004, see Chapter 2), in other words, the issue is framed as being far away. On a domestic scale, the issue is then framed as mostly economic.

Huhne, coming back from Durban, claims that the UK has achieved all of the aims they had set for the conference (DECC, 2011l). This is a further emphasis on the leadership frame promoted before and throughout the conference. The *Guardian* grants the outcome some recognition, such as “Hope at last in Durban” (Jacobs, 2011) and “Global climate deal in sight after Durban breakthrough” (Harvey and Vidal, 2011a) but does not take up Huhne’s frame of successful leadership. The shortcomings of the agreement are back in the spotlight quickly:

Overcoming bitter opposition, especially from India, whose headline growth figures disguise a poverty level still running above 40%, was Durban's big success. In return, the Kyoto terms have been extended: that means the emerging economies get up to nine more years of penalty-free polluting. But with the ground cleared for a future deal covering all emissions whatever their source (and that means China too), the US has been deprived of one of its main arguments against signing up. There is little else to cheer from Durban. (Climate Change: Ambition gap, 2011)

When Chris Huhne is attacked by George Osborne's Autumn statement, the *Guardian* stands by his side, claiming that “Economic crisis has given the Treasury a stranglehold on Decc [sic] ministers' efforts to promote the green economy, and it is short-sightedly jeopardising the chances of Britain being a leading player in a field that can only grow” (Climate Change: Brownfield thinking, 2011) (**Opposition to Government Frame 4**). A few days later, in the commentary section, it is explained that “Osborne is an urban animal who, apart from the odd week on yachts in the Mediterranean or ski slopes in Switzerland, has spent nearly all his life in London” (Wilby, 2011) and therefore he is out of touch with nature and is not willing to act on climate change (**Opposition to Government Frame 4**). According to the article, this willingness would be important to encourage other countries to act. By taking a clear stance against George Osborne, the *Guardian* clearly supports the frame of Chris Huhne, who sees action against climate change in the interest of Britain (**Government Frame 3**). This frame also constitutes an attack on Chancellor Osborne's qualifications to judge the situation. A competency frame can also be observed in the *Telegraph*, as will be shown below, but in the opposite direction.

The *Guardian*, besides its emphasis of the EU as an actor instead of the UK, also points out the importance of other players, in particular the United States, China and India. This further displays a contrast to the UK leadership frame, as the UK, according to the *Guardian*, does not play a role as important, as suggested by Huhne.

- That leaves Europe in a head-to-head battle with emerging economies - chiefly China, but also India, Brazil and this year's hosts, South Africa. (Harvey, 2011g)
- But the EU's manoeuvring has been masterly, because it is forcing a decision from China, the most important player. (Harvey, 2011c)
- China, India, Africa and the EU were at loggerheads last night. (Harvey and Vidal, 2011d)
- The EU can play a valuable role if it neutralises the US and brings other ditherers on board while starting talks on future obligations for the emerging economies. (Bidwai, 2011)
- For the US, it will be impossible to accept any deal unless it is equally legally binding - or non-binding - on all major emitters. (Harvey and Vidal, 2011e)

The *Observer*, just like the *Guardian*, generally provides negative and gloomy coverage about the Durban conference and is strongly opposed to Osborne's propositions. It also demonstrates its international outlook on the negotiations by siding with the developing countries. The *Observer* addresses a report accusing Britain, the EU, and other developed countries of "bullying" developing countries at the Copenhagen conference by threatening to withdraw financial aid depending on their position concerning the accord, and predicts that this would influence the upcoming Durban conference (Vidal, 2011f). One week into the conference, coverage does not give much detail about the Durban meeting but focuses on the implications of Osborne's autumn statement, meaning the loss of Britain's leadership possibilities at Durban (We can't afford to go cool on climate change, 2011). This stands for congruence with Huhne's leadership frame (**Government Frame 2; Opposition to Government Frame 4**). A second article goes further into the perceived anti-environmental route proclaimed by Osborne and how green groups react (McKie and Helm, 2011). The *Observer*'s opposition to George Osborne's policies shows support of Chris Huhne and is therefore, as it was for the *Guardian*, the only occasion where there is clear alignment with a party.

The *Observer*, similar to the *Guardian*, promotes a frame of hopelessness for the Durban conference. Towards the end of the conference, the title of an article reads "Climate summit in disarray as exhausted ministers row: Delegates clash over an attempt to make an agreement legally binding" (Vidal and Harvey, 2011b). A second article is less dramatic but also predicts failure: "as darkness fell it looked increasingly uncertain that the 194 countries involved would reach agreement in the final hours" (Vidal and Harvey, 2011a). The last article in the first phase is a story on Antarctica, mentioning how penguin populations are indicators for climate change.

Generally, the *Observer* coverage is similar to the *Guardian*, being very pro-climate action and against Osborne's attempts to protect heavy industry. Huhne's frame of UK leadership is only taken up when Osborne attacks him.

As has been stated in Chapters 3 and 5, political parallelism has limited capacities to explain coverage in the scope of this international topic. Something that is striking throughout the coverage of all countries is the constant focus on the nation state as the centre of reporting despite the global scope of the issue. Political parallelism as an explanatory variable alone may therefore not suffice. Chapter 5 has explained the definitions of national loyalty and its categorisation and what they mean for media coverage.

Each newspaper takes a different approach to this and the *Guardian* and the *Observer* remain the papers with the least expression of national loyalty but which rather keep the issue in its global context. While sometimes the issue of British competitiveness and interest is touched upon, this remains in the field of green growth, which is ultimately an advantage not just for British citizens.

The *Guardian* writes, for example:

- Britain has 16 of Europe's top 100 polluting plants, second only to Germany with 17. Longannet, Cottam, Ratcliffe-on-Soar and West Burton power stations together emit more than 30m tonnes of CO₂ and other pollutants and cost the economy up to £2.3bn a year. (Vidal and Gersmann, 2011)
- Economic crisis has given the Treasury a stranglehold on Decc ministers' efforts to promote the green economy, and it is short-sightedly jeopardising the chances of Britain being a leading player in a field that can only grow. (Climate change: Brownfield thinking, 2011)
- The construction of new renewable energy generation capacity has fallen dramatically, as the big six energy suppliers pursue a "dash for gas" policy that could put the UK's climate change targets out of reach and leave households with higher bills. (Harvey, 2011e)

This clearly adds a competitive aspect to the issue both in the sense of being the least polluting and the "best" in green energy. The national interest is clearly framed from an environment-friendly point of view, promoting green growth and renewable energy. This is also reflected in the concern of reputation loss in Europe: "The opposition to the European plan puts the UK in a minority among EU countries and will be deeply embarrassing as a new round of global negotiations on tackling climate change begins in Durban, South Africa today" (Carrington, 2011e). According to the *Guardian*, it is in the interest of Britain to be less polluting for both its economy and its reputation. Climate policy, especially on the national, but also on the international level is displayed as a kind of competition among countries – the most polluting, the leader, targets.

As indicated already, the *Guardian* also takes an international angle, pledging for the poorer countries as well as for the British interests. Its approach going beyond the national interest is shown by the following examples. Criticism of the EU approach is rare but two articles are quite critical. On November 29, the *Guardian* published an article by author Praful Bidwai. The same article is published in the *Hindu* on November 30. It is interesting to see this published in the *Guardian*, since the article essentially represents the Indian view of the Durban conference. The *Guardian* certainly has shown to be very critical of the British government, but does not generally criticise the EU's climate strategy:

But the global north, responsible for 75% of accumulated CO₂ emissions, has made far less substantial pledges than the south, which is least responsible for climate change but whose people are the most at risk. It's unlikely that India will agree to binding commitments. The issue is a potential deal-breaker. [...] The EU initially played a positive role in the climate talks but has since turned conservative. (Bidwai, 2011)

This is interesting also in reference to the study mentioned in Chapter 5 (Statham, 2007) that indicated that journalists of EU countries tend to defend their nation against EU policies when there is disagreement but in this case someone from outside the EU defends their own country while lashing out against the EU – in an EU newspaper. But the article above falls into the same line as the *Guardian*'s pre-conference attack on rich countries:

Resentment was further stoked this week when the *Guardian* revealed that rich countries had decided to shelve plans for a global agreement within the next few years, instead pushing for an agreement by the end of 2015 or 2016, and not coming into effect until 2020 despite scientists saying that this risked catastrophic climate change. (Vidal, 2011e)

This is a clear positioning of the *Guardian* as the defender of an interest, i.e. a global agreement that goes beyond but includes national interest. This makes the government the out-group to the national interest.

The *Observer* pledges for the British government to act, therefore making the government the out-group as it is implied that action will benefit everyone, including the British people and that the government is going against this interest:

Those who looked to Britain for a lead will have noted the signals sent out by our chancellor: there is no rush and we have other priorities. Like Canada, the US and several other developed nations, Britain appears to be happy to sit back and watch as hopes of reaching a binding international deal to cut carbon emissions fade away. [...] If Britain will not act, most other developed countries will not bother either. The government's refusal to address environmental issues is therefore deeply worrying. An admission of failure and a pledge to restore past promises is urgently needed. We should be under no illusions about the impact of climate change. A true global meltdown awaits us. (We can't afford to go cool on climate change, 2011)

In addition, this is one of the rare occasions where actual action is demanded by a newspaper from their government. This is to some extent congruent with the leadership frame proposed

by Huhne, except that the leadership remains hypothetical. Britain could be a leader, but it does not show leadership. Huhne's competence is undermined.

In this first phase, the *Guardian* and the *Observer* show commitment to climate action and to an international outlook on the issue. They do not take up the government frames of UK leadership though, to some extent they are in agreement with Huhne's emphasis on the urgency of the issue and they clearly oppose the frame put forward by Osborne. Huhne's leadership frame is somewhat supported only when he gets attacked by Osborne. Keeping in mind that frames need to have a certain persistence over time (see Chapter 4), the audience might integrate this more into the general urgency frame rather than as a frame supporting Huhne. The most prominent frame in this phase is the one promoting the hopelessness of Durban. This, together with the frame of "distanciation" might create a feeling of apathy. The emphasis on the international, both of the EU as actor instead of the UK and of the global scope of the issue, show the specific orientation of the *Guardian* and the *Observer*.

6.2.3 DAILY TELEGRAPH AND SUNDAY TELEGRAPH

The *Telegraph* is much less decided on whether the outcome of Durban will be good or bad. It approaches the conference with a more relaxed outlook on the conference that gradually gets more negative during the conference. Space is also given to climate sceptic articles. There is a focus on financial issues, in particular the costs paid by British citizens caused by renewable energy or climate policies.

While the *Guardian* is already predicting disaster days before the conference, the *Telegraph* publishes an article titled: "With the Kyoto emissions agreements running out next year, a sense of urgency hangs over the UN climate change talks in Durban, says Geoffrey Lean" (Lean, 2011f) on the first day of Durban. The next day is followed by "Storm clouds gather over deal at climate change summit" (Laing and Gray, 2011b) and a few days later we learn that "US refusal to negotiate 'could derail climate change summit'" (Sanchez, 2011). On December 6, the *Telegraph* notifies its readers "Global warming plans 'may be too late'" (2011), and after the more uplifting news that "World close to a deal on global warming" (Gray, L., 2011c), it is written that "Climate change summit threatens to descend into farce" (Gray, L., 2011b). All in all, the *Telegraph* does not give an outlook as gloomy as the *Guardian*. Further, it counterweights the worrying articles with information written by climate sceptics such as Christopher Booker (*Is this the greatest delusion in history?*, 2011b; *The EU dream and Kyoto will die together*, 2011a) and those written about Lord Lawson (Gray, L., 2011f) and Conservative politician Lord Leach of Fairford (Walker, 2011). This space given to climate

sceptics already shows a different approach to the national interest and national loyalty than seen in the *Guardian* and the *Observer*. The *Telegraph* differs from Huhne's frames, as it does not include the sense of urgency promoted by the minister. The urgency only appears towards the end of the summit. The presentation of climate sceptical views introduces an entirely new frame.

In addition, there are mixed messages distributed about the costs of climate change mitigation and the investment in renewable energy. Windfarms are heavily criticized, shale gas is discussed with pros and cons, and the “£250m package to boost heavy industry” (Russell, 2011) is reported on without evaluation (**Government Frame 4**). The costs of international climate change action and the financing of climate mitigation in Africa is viewed critically whereas the announcement of “Britain sends £10m to save Brazil forests” (2011) goes uncommented.

- Our need for affordable energy can't be met by endless wind farms (Warner, 2011)
- Field of dreams, or an environment nightmare? (Gilligan, 2011)
- ...but Government still finds £1bn to help combat climate change in Africa (Gray, R., 2011b)
- Climate change drive costs taxpayer £650m (Gray, R., 2011a)

There is a strong emphasis on the economic aspects of climate change. Aside from wind farms, which are opposed fairly strongly, the discussion varies in terms of views on climate change and energy issues.

This is also visible with regards to Osborne's Autumn statement, the *Telegraph* has a more balanced approach than the *Guardian* which clearly opposed Osborne's proposition. It publishes articles both criticising and supporting Osborne. It starts with an article titled “Green targets ‘pricing out firms’” (Ross, 2011), and mostly paraphrases and quotes the Chancellor (**Government Frame 4**). Only at the end, they quote a representative of an environmental organization who condemns George Osborne's approach. The *Telegraph* follows up on the issue on December 6 with “Coalition clash over climate change” (Gray, L., 2011d), explaining Chris Huhne's plans for Durban and why environmentalists are upset with George Osborne. The article ends with a paragraph about Huhne's speeding allegations, not failing to mention the fact that he had left his wife for another woman. This evidently has nothing to do with the issue and may indicate an attempt to rob Huhne of his credibility and competence. A similar attempt could be observed in the *Guardian* (see above), which described Osborne as a “city dweller” and therefore incompetent to understand climate issues.

Later, Geoffrey Lean writes how Osborne's statements cost Britain the highest score in a ranking of the best action on climate change among high emitters (**Government Frame 3; Opposition to Government Frame 4**). The conclusion of the article is that the year 2011 may have been Britain's final chance to top the ranking since Denmark was introducing major actions (Lean, 2011c). This shows that the *Telegraph* presents varied viewpoints on climate issues, giving space to sceptics and "believers". The sceptics frame differs from the government, since despite Osborne's disputed actions, he is not a climate sceptic. The *Telegraph* makes more use of Huhne's frame of British leadership, but also grants space to the importance of other actors.

- US refusal to negotiate 'could derail climate change summit' (Sanchez, 2011)
- The stumbling block is China and India's reluctance to sign up to the proposals (Gray, L., 2011b)
- For most of the talks [the US] had blocked almost everything (Lean, 2011a)
- The bid - spearheaded by Chris Huhne, the Energy and Climate Change Secretary - offers the best hope of success (Lean, 2011f)
- Britain, Europe and the new alliance (Lean, 2011a)

The strong frame of the British financial interest is striking, often referred to as "taxpayers' money" that is somehow spent irresponsibly by the government, which is clearly put in the position of the adversary acting against the British interest:

- One way or another, gas is going to end up a much more important part of the energy mix for the next 10 to 20 years than the Department of Energy and Climate Change cares to admit. We can't have the shiny, new, all carbon-free infrastructure that idealists aspire to; it's unaffordable and will only make the UK economy still less competitive. (Warner, 2011)
- The UK is set to pour around £1 billion of taxpayers' money into helping African countries fight climate change. [...] The move, however, is expected to attract intense criticism at a time when the British economy is widely considered to be at risk of a "double-dip" recession. (Gray, R., 2011b)
- Hundreds of millions of pounds of taxpayers' money has been spent trying to get foreign countries to tackle climate change in the past five years, according to figures. Britain has spent more than £600million on securing an international agreement on climate change and promoting green technologies in developing countries since April 2006. Official government spending figures do not include the Foreign Office, which has an entire department dedicated to climate change, nor the amount given in aid to foreign countries for climate change projects by the Department for International Development. (Gray, R., 2011a)
- Chris Huhne, the Energy and Climate Change Secretary, has spearheaded the European Union's push to get large economies including America, China and India to sign up to a "road map" towards cutting their greenhouse gas emissions, and a climate change aid fund for developing nations, which could cost British taxpayers billions of pounds. The EU has been pushing for taxes on flights and shipping, which would increase the cost of freighted goods, while Britain's contributions to a proposed Green Climate Fund are expected to cost taxpayers £6billion by 2020. (Gray, L., 2011b)

The last example is particularly interesting as on one hand, Britain's leadership at the negotiations is pointed out, while on the other hand it criticises that, as a result of this

leadership, the British taxpayers face increased costs. It combines the leadership frame with a financial anti-government frame.

The national interest in this case is clearly economic, the advantages of climate measures are not taken into account. We learn how much money has been spent but not what resulted from this investment. While the *Guardian* shows signs of national interest coverage, its view mostly keeps an international angle whereas the *Telegraph* focuses on the “British taxpayer”. In addition, the in-group/out-group phenomenon, with the government being the out-group, is particularly strong in the *Telegraph*. This provides a strong frame against government actions. This frame is more present than the frame on UK leadership as it keeps coming up throughout the coverage.

6.2.4 THE SUN

The *Sun*, in the few articles it publishes, shows both scepticism and support of climate action. Wind energy is criticized (Clarkson, 2011b) (**Opposition to Government Frame 3**), as is the climate secretary, also for his wind energy policies (**Opposition to Government Frame 3**) and for his financing climate mitigation in Africa (Liddle, 2011; £1bn aid for Africa, 2011). On the other hand, although quite late, the *Sun* displays the urgency of a climate deal (Climate policies urgent, December 11), which is in line with Huhne’s frame. It further reports on a Labour MP blaming the US and Canada for the stalemate in the negotiations (Prescott in climate deal blast, 2011) and finally complains about the outcome of the conference (Dixon, 2011). There are two odd articles: one which begins by referring to an Argos catalogue and somehow finishes by pointing out the dangers of climate change and the failure of the Durban conference (Shereen, 2011). The other one commits the common mistake of confusing climate and weather by arguing that the mild weather of the time was very enjoyable, despite what “global warming enthusiasts” were saying (Clarkson, 2011a).

The *Sun* clearly opposes Huhne, who presented the Durban conference as successful (Dixon, 2011) by quoting and disagreeing with him. It furthermore did not pick up on his leadership frame, by saying “European ministers were racing against the clock last night to secure the strong climate deal they have been seeking from the latest global warming talks” (Climate policies urgent, 2011). However, there is no further discussion of Europe’s role in general as we could find in the *Guardian*. When considering the importance of persistence in time and of culture in framing, this frame might not be very strong. The *Sun* does not provide a strong frame, also because its articles show so many different approaches. It is certainly obvious that it disagrees with Chris Huhne’s actions, but does not suggest any alternative paths. From a

framing point of view, the *Sun* readers may end up confused as to what should and should not be done.

With regards to the issue of national loyalty, in the few relevant articles by the *Sun* we see a focus on the national economic interest:

- So we're spending a fortune on windmills that do nothing when they are working. And nothing when they aren't. And to make matters worse, the Government admits that, by 2020, all of us will be shelling out an extra £280 a year just to fund these monstrosities. (Clarkson, 2011b)
- The first is that we bung third world countries a billion quid so they can battle climate change. This is because we in Britain have far too much money at the moment and it's environmentally important that we get rid of lots of it. (Liddle, 2011)

This kind of anti-government frame is similar to the *Telegraph*'s. There is generally little coverage in the *Sun*, but if this is a theme that can be discovered throughout topics beyond climate change, it might be a successful frame. As in the *Telegraph*, the government is presented as the out-group to British interests.

6.2.5 SAME ISSUE, DIFFERENT STORY?

A curious observation can be made on December 6, after the publication of a Met Office report, pointing out the risks of global warming. Chris Huhne once more emphasises the urgent need for emission reductions (DECC, 2011h). All three newspapers report on it, and everyone chooses a different angle. The *Guardian* calls its article "Met Office warning" (Vidal, 2011c), the *Telegraph* "Global warming will make British farms more fertile" (2011), and the *Sun* "Water Shortage Fear" (2011). The title of the *Guardian* article does not state what the warning is for, but already frames the article in a negative way, which is confirmed by the content, even though the positive developments for British farmers are mentioned as well. The *Guardian* article starts by explaining the risk of water shortage, then the possible positive influences of the warmer weather on farming and concludes by pointing out that parts of the UK "are already facing pressure on water resources". With its focus on the risks, the *Guardian*'s frame is the same as Chris Huhne's reaction to the report (**Government Frame 1**). While the content of the *Telegraph* article is not as different, the title gives an entirely different frame by emphasising the positive angle. The *Telegraph* first lays out the benefits that British farmers will see, as opposed to other countries, which will lose productivity due to the increased heat. It then goes on to explain the issue of water scarcity for British households. The *Telegraph*'s frame does not display the urgency promoted by the government. As for the *Sun*, in addition to the alarming title, the article uses strong wording ("monsoon-like bursts of rain") and does not refer to the positive aspects. There is no reference to emission reductions or other solutions, therefore the *Sun* frame is only partly congruent with the government frame that advocates

reductions and climate action. These three articles display clearly how the same information can be framed differently for the particular message each newspaper wants to bring across.

Similarly, when the government announces one billion pounds of aid to developing countries to tackle climate change (**Government Frame 5: Aid for developing countries is needed**), reporting is very different. The government frames this aid as an important contribution to tackling climate change and as a moral obligation. The *Sun* and the *Telegraph* frame the issue as being against British interests. The *Sun* writes “The first is that we bung third world countries a billion quid so they can battle climate change. This is because we in Britain have far too much money at the moment and it's environmentally important that we get rid of lots of it” (Liddle, 2011) (**Opposition to Government Frame 5**). The *Telegraph* also views the aid critically: "...but Government still finds £1bn to help combat climate change in Africa" (Gray, R., 2011b) (**Opposition to Government Frame 5**), whereas the *Guardian* does not comment on this specific aid announcement but bur regularly includes financial aid in its coverage, for example: “offering billions of euros of financial inducements to developing nations” (Harvey, 2011g). The *Sun* and *Telegraph* oppose the government frame with a national interest frame, once more defining the government as out-group. The *Guardian* offers a neutral perspective, not picking up on the government’s emphasis on the spending but also not opposing it.

The two examples clearly demonstrate how different frames are put forward by the government and the three newspapers on the same issues. The *Guardian*, in the first example promotes the same frame as Chris Huhne, but, considering the *Guardian*’s general political orientation this might be due to its environmentalist attitude rather than political parallelism. The *Telegraph*, emphasising the advantages of climate change but also explaining the disadvantages does not show any political parallelism and the *Sun* seems to be driven by sensationalism. In the second example, however, while the *Guardian* stays neutral, the *Telegraph* and the *Sun* both evoke national loyalty, in this case paired with political parallelism. The UK newspapers are the only ones that show national loyalty not just in the coverage of international negotiations but also on the national level. Whereas political parallelism seems to just disappear in international coverage, on the national level it is used together with political parallelism to frame issues.

6.3 FRAMES – PHASE 2

6.3.1 GOVERNMENT

Phase 2, as explained above, has much less relevant items of communication from the government. Chris Huhne had resigned as Climate Secretary and was replaced by Ed Davey. For both government and newspapers, one may have expected an increased number of articles due to the Rio conference. This, however, was not the case.

In the five speeches and articles, the government does stay true in particular to its frame of “UK leadership” (**Government Frame 1**) in particular:

- Britain will urge rich and poor nations alike (Department for International Development, 2012a)
- The UK played a central role not only brokering a deal but also increasing its ambition (DECC, 2012b)
- the leadership of the UK promoting scientific understanding (DECC, 2012a)

This promotion of UK leadership, however, is lacking in Deputy Prime Minister Clegg’s speech at the Rio+20 Conference (Cabinet Office and Deputy Prime Minister’s Officer, 2012). Clegg speaks about commitment but does not portray the UK as standing out or leading the way. He puts a strong emphasis on developing countries, a tendency already seen in the first phase (**Government Frame 2**). He announces a new British aid package and the country’s commitment to increasing development assistance. In June 2012, a single reference is made to impacts of climate change on Great Britain, by Climate Change Minister Greg Barker who speaks about “increased risk of flooding, hotter summers and impaired water resources” (DECC, 2012a). This is in reference to a report that had been launched in December 2011, i.e. during the first phase and had caused varied coverage in the three newspapers. With only little material available, it is difficult to discover a trend in the June coverage. The fact that there is little material, of course, can already be a frame in itself: the issue of climate change has lost importance in comparison to the time around the Durban conference. Clegg’s speech in front of the Parliament after the Rio summit does not mention climate change, therefore it has not been taken into account for this study. It is interesting, however, how one can talk about sustainable development without talking about climate change.

6.3.2 THE GUARDIAN AND THE OBSERVER

With the Prime Minister absent from the conference, the *Guardian* does not attribute any agency to the UK at the Rio conference. This did not seem to be the case at the Durban conference, where Huhne was negotiating for the UK and the UK, even if as part of the EU, was a significant player.

Interestingly, the *Guardian* finds material to support this line also from the Conservative party, when it became public that several Conservative party members urged the Prime Minister to follow up on his climate promises (Jowit, 2012a). This is also interesting with regard to the coalition-internal conflict from the first phase, when Chancellor George Osborne and the then Climate Secretary Huhne took different approaches. The *Telegraph* does not report on this, but does speak about Osborne's plan to cut subsidies for wind energy (see below). These subsidies constitute a further coalition internal conflict, even though at this point opinions are not presented in official statements. Following the revelation of the conflict by the *Observer* (Carrington and Helm, 2012), both the *Guardian* and the *Telegraph* report on it once (**Government Frame 3: Cut Subsidies for Renewables**). The *Guardian* opposes Osborne's plans (**Opposition to Government Frame 3**):

Tory leaders clearly feel opposition in the shires is damaging their chances of re-election, hence Osborne's attack on the subsidies makes perfect political sense. The fact it does not make economic sense seems to matter less. (Carrington, 2012b)

The biggest surprise of the June phase is an interview with James Lovelock, a scientist who once predicted that by the end of the century the only inhabitable place will be the Arctic and most of humankind will have died, but since changed his mind and, as he says in the interview, is not worried about sea level rise, and does not think sustainable development is a good idea (Hickman, 2012). A few days later, Simon Hoggart follows up and writes "I have no idea who is right about climate change, but Lovelock has a point" (Hoggart, 2012). In comparison with the usual condemnation of climate scepticism, these two items are very unusual for the *Guardian*. These are the only two instances in this study where the *Guardian* follows in the scepticism frame, which generally contradicts government frames on climate change. With regards to persistence in time, this frame is not prominent in the *Guardian* coverage.

On the first Sunday during the second phase, the *Observer* has a focus on energy issues: "Osborne in bid to slash spending on windfarms" (Carrington and Helm, 2012) (**Opposition to Government Frame 3**), "Over the past three years the number of "microhydro" applications has quadrupled, letting more people than ever generate and sell their own electricity" (Deveney, 2012), and an interview with Jarvis Cocker concerning the exploitation of the Arctic for oil (Siegle, 2012). Further, there is an article on the melting glaciers in Africa and one on oceans and ways to reduce and reverse human impact on them.

June 10 has only two relevant articles, one on penguins as indicators for climate change and a brief comment by representatives of Greenpeace, WWF and Friends of the Earth concerning the plans to cut windfarm subsidies announced the previous week. One week later, the only

article addressing climate change is a short “lab note” on new research making analogies between the extinction of the mammoth and the threats for species nowadays (LAB NOTES, 2012).

Finally, on the last Sunday, the 24th of June, there is an article linking the Rio conference and climate change, as well as accusing the Republican Party as well as other climate sceptics of denying reality (Hutton, 2012). The second article deals with the problem of representing complex issues, in this case the melting of the ice caps, in concise ways without misleading the audience (Pritchard, 2012). The problem of possibly misleading the audience by simplifying an issue is a common problem for media reporting on climate change. The *Observer*, however, is the only newspaper acknowledging this issue during the time frame of this study.

For the *Guardian*, the month of June is marked by a very critical attitude towards the government, and by, not unlike the Durban conference, a gloomy outlook on the Rio conference. The examples show that in many instances the *Guardian* frames the government as an out-group to the British people and its interest:

- The British government prepared for the Earth summit by wrecking both our own Climate Change Act and the European energy efficiency directive. (Monbiot, 2012b)
- The government has been trying to water down key environmental regulations in Brussels despite trumpeting its commitment to green issues at home, leaked documents show. (Harvey, 2012)
- But Rio+20 is full of absences. Francois Hollande will be there for France, but Barack Obama, David Cameron, Angela Merkel and most other G20 leaders are snubbing it⁹¹. (Vidal, 2012b)

George Monbiot directly attacks the new Climate Secretary: “David Cameron will not be attending the Earth summit. Nor will Ed Davey, the energy and climate change secretary (which is probably a blessing, as he's totally useless)” (2012b). Monbiot, writing after the conference, is confirmed in his expectations: “The efforts of governments are concentrated not on defending the living Earth from destruction, but on defending the machine that is destroying it” (2012a) (**Opposition to Government Frame 1**).

This presence of in-group vs. out-group is very striking in comparison to the Durban coverage where this kind of government criticism was relatively scarce. The government is framed as being against the British interest, to the point of being incompetent.

⁹¹ **Opposition to Government Frame 1**

6.3.3 DAILY TELEGRAPH AND SUNDAY TELEGRAPH

In both the *Guardian* and the *Telegraph* we can find several articles on public opinion and consumption behaviour – maybe as an attempt to appeal to the readers' personal responsibility. The *Guardian* publishes an opinion poll indicating that people have not changed their beliefs whether climate change is happening or not, however, prosperity is more important on their list of priorities (Clark, 2012). Further, an article on meat consumption and on research on lab-created meat products points out the impacts of current meat consumptions patterns on the environment (Hanlon, 2012). The *Telegraph* also reminds its audience that "Westerners need to cut half the meat out of their diet to prevent global warming caused by agriculture, scientists warn" (Collins, 2012), as well as that the growing obesity of, among others, the British population "increases energy consumption, meaning heavier countries use more resources, driving deforestation and the release of greenhouse gases" (Gray, L., 2012b). Lastly, there are recommendations on converting climate sceptics by appealing to their sense of community through the benefits of sustainable development (Ways to sway global warming skeptics, 2012). Such relatively concrete information directed towards the public did not occur in the first phase and therefore marks a difference in the coverage. On the other hand, while the *Telegraph* took a less negative attitude towards the Durban conference than the *Guardian*, for Rio its articles do not show any hope: "

- We are sleep-walking into environmental disaster, says Prince [of Wales]. (Harding, 2012)
- Rio 2012, unlike its predecessor, is not designed to produce any binding agreements and yet negotiators have spent weeks deadlocked over even the "aspirational" document it is supposed to produce. (Lean, 2012d)
- Any hope that today's summit would do much about any of this died long ago. (Lean, 2012b)
- Rio's Earth Summit is a washout (Lean, 2012a)

Climate sceptic Christopher Booker supplies more fuel by writing that "The great global warming scare has long been dying on its feet" (2012a), going on to describe how upon asking about 50 MPs to explain to him how the switch to a low carbon economy would actually work, nobody (according to Booker) could properly answer the question. The *Telegraph* also informed its readers that "British households are unknowingly giving millions of pounds to climate change campaigners through the European Union" (Family cash pays for green activists, 2012) and yet another article by Christopher Booker explains that the UK is facing the problem of water scarcity in a very wrong way (2012b).

The *Telegraph* keeps up its attitude against windfarms and welcomes George Osborne's attempt to cut subsidies (Wind of Change, 2012; Mason, 2012), and therefore shows a clear

support of Osborne's frame (**Government Frame 2**). However, it also promotes action on climate change (Greenhouse gases fall, but it's due to the mild weather, 2012).

Altogether, the message sent by the *Telegraph* seems to say: action on climate change is good, but those in charge do not do a good job and we do not like it when it costs money. The frame of UK leadership is highly challenged, but there is no particular counterframe, which may result in the frame that the individual does not have any power to act on climate change.

The *Telegraph* stays true to promoting the national economic interest with reference to climate change, and the taxpayers:

- British households are unknowingly giving millions of pounds to climate change campaigners through the European Union, according to the TaxPayers' Alliance. (Family cash pays for green activists, 2012)
- British businesses will be forced to report their greenhouse gas emissions from the beginning of the next financial year, Nick Clegg has announced. The new layer of bureaucracy was criticised by business leaders who said the scheme risked becoming an extra burden and could make firms uncompetitive. (Gray, L., 2012a)
- But the "epic failure" of Rio, as Friends of the Earth called it, is an apt cue to recall how this leaves Britain as the only country in the world committed by law to cut its emissions of carbon dioxide by 80 per cent in less than 40 years. The Climate Change Act, on the Government's own figures, faces us with a bill of up to £18 billion every year until 2050, making it by far the most costly law ever passed by Parliament. (Booker, 2012a)

These examples represent, once more, cases of government vs. the interest of Britain, i.e. in-group vs. out-group. As in the first phase, there is a focus on costs but little information on the benefits of certain policies. As described above, the *Guardian* also shows a degree of in-group/out-group coverage but defines the national interest differently.

6.3.4 THE SUN AND THE SUN ON SUNDAY

In June 2012, a *Sun* reader did, in general, receive very little and in particular very little serious information about climate change. Pamela Anderson and Helena Christensen both served as a peg for stories. A protest outside Buckingham Palace by four people is titled "Eco Mob" (Eco Mob at palace, 2012) and three articles are dedicated to the protesters and their arrest (Enviro protest at palace, 2012; Palace Raps, 2012). Hilary Clinton's trip to the arctic to explore "the way climate warming is changing the Arctic, opening the region to competition for vast oil reserves" (Clinton's Arctic Trip, 2012) is reported on without comment, but with a positive tone. An announcement of financial help to African farmers by the Scottish government is also published without any evaluation except for a quote indicating the harsh realities of climate change (£4m aid to Africa, 2012). The *Sun*, once more, does not promote a strong frame. The articles on the protesters show an ironic view of such actions and may therefore contribute to

the “ridiculisation” of climate activists or climate actions in general. The fact that Clinton’s remark of the “potential for exploration and extraction of natural resources” (Clinton’s Arctic Trip, 2012) are not commented on in any way shows that when it comes to environmental issues, the *Sun* does like to be very selective in how to present them. The *Guardian* also brings up the issue of the Arctic and its oil reserves twice, and not surprisingly, has a less neutral approach to it (Macalister, 2012c; Vidal, 2012a). However, it provides the information in a broad context and allows different voices.

In general, the most relevant frame for the *Sun* may be that there is almost no coverage on climate change – even the Rio conference is almost completely ignored. In the little coverage provided, there was no reference to national loyalty, which is in contrast to its approach the first phase.

6.4 CONCLUSION

The difference between the two phases, when looking at pure numbers, is quite striking. The government reduces its communication items from 28 to 5, whereas the newspapers more or less half their coverage. Durban had an effect that was not triggered by the Rio conference, which of course was not a climate change conference. The government promotes the following frames:

- The UK is a leader in the European Union and in the UNFCCC negotiations.
- Climate action is urgent.
- Climate action is in the British interest.
- Helping developing nations is a task for the UK.
- The UK must protect heavy industry at home.
- Subsidies for renewable energy should be cut.

The government, in both phases, emphasised UK leadership. In the first phase, internal conflicts may have compromised its credibility, but the Climate Secretary stood up for his path. While this did not only earn him favourable coverage, the UK’s credibility as a leader in the climate change negotiations could be maintained. In the second phase, this leadership promise was not followed up by action, communication was limited and the newspapers did not report positively on the UK’s approach to Rio. The newspapers’ frames sum up as follows:

- The *Guardian* promotes a frame of urgency and hopelessness in both phases, expecting both Durban and Rio to fail. It frames the UK as part of the EU and supports the government frame only in opposition to Chancellor George Osborne.
- The *Telegraph* supports climate action as well, but also frames climate financing and policies as a high cost for British taxpayers. It gives partial support to the leadership frame and to Osborne's frame.
- The *Sun* both promotes climate action and tries to frame it as ridiculous or exaggerated. It does not support any government frames.

All three newspapers share that there is little reference to how any of the issues will affect British citizens. The only major topic that keeps coming up is energy or energy prices and there are deep divides within the government as well as between the newspapers.

	1. Urgency		2. Leadership		3. Climate Action in British Interest		4. Protect Heavy Industry		5. Aid for developing countries is needed		Total	
	Support		Opposition		Support		Opposition		Support		Opposition	
Guardian/Observer	1 (1.61%)	0	0	0	3 (4.83%)	0	0	3 (5.45%)	0	0	4 (6.45%)	3 (5.45%)
Telegraph	0	0	2 (4.08%)	0	0	0	2 (4.08%)	1 (2.04%)	0	1 (2.04%)	4 (8.16%)	2 (4.08%)
Sun	0	0	0	0	0	1 (8.33%)	0	0	0	2 (16.67%)	0	3 (25%)

Figure 6: Number of times UK newspapers picked up government frames in Phase 1 (percentages refer to number of total articles per newspaper per phase. Yellow fields represent instances of political parallelism through support or opposition.

	1. Leadership		2. Aid for developing countries is needed		3. Cut Subsidies for Renewables		Total	
	Support		Opposition		Support		Opposition	
Guardian/Observer	0	2 (5.41%)	0	0	0	2 (5.41%)	0	4 (10.82%)
Telegraph	0	0	0	0	2 (8.34%)	0	2 (8.34%)	0
Sun	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Figure 7: Number of times UK newspapers picked up government frames in Phase 2 (percentages refer to number of total articles per newspaper per phase. Yellow fields represent instances of political parallelism through support or opposition.

The tables above sum up the instances, in which newspapers directly support or oppose government frames. It has been shown that there are traces of political parallelism but that the newspapers in general do not hesitate to also criticise politicians of their “camp”. The UK newspapers find themselves in the unusual situation of a coalition government and it might be because of this – although this is impossible to verify through this study – that it is very difficult to determine which instances cause national loyalty coverage that replaces political parallelism. There is only one incident where the *Guardian* clearly aligns itself with the Liberal Democrats whose voters make up the second-biggest share of its readers after Labour voters. When George Osborne, the Conservative Chancellor of the Exchequer, puts forward his Autumn statement (see above) the *Guardian* rejects the, according to its view, climate-unfriendly

policies that also contradict the work of LibDem Climate Secretary Chris Huhne. The *Telegraph*, on the other hand, does not take a one-sided stance and publishes articles in favour and against both sides. This incident marks a coalition-internal conflict whereas in all other cases the distinction between the parties is not made. It must be kept in mind that the *Guardian's* political orientation is not aligned with the LibDems but rather with the Labour Party.

It could be a general trend for the UK that when the newspaper defines a national interest differently than the government (or its corresponding political party) it promotes its own view of national interest and present the government as an outsider. This could also be specific to climate change coverage. Certainly this type of behaviour is in contrast to the government-loyal tendencies that were discovered in other studies, such as the one by Statham (2007) or Kunelius and Eide (2012). It must be kept in mind is that the coverage does not take up on instances that respond to criticism by other countries or actors so it is not a direct defence against an external actor. However, in this regard it is striking that the *Guardian* printed an article that was originally from the *Hindu* and is quite critical of the EU. But this remains an isolated incident. Further, we could simply infer an alignment with an ideology rather than with a party and therefore the defence of this ideology against potential attacks by the government or parts of the government that act against this ideology.

The *Guardian* and the *Observer*, together with the German quality papers, are the most internationally oriented newspapers of this study. Nevertheless, traces of national loyalty are found even there – not surprising when one considers the national attachment of most news organisations. There are, however, clear references to an international agreement and the benefits for Britain as well as global benefits. We can see a difference between the two phases with the second phase being much more critical of the government than the first one and therefore the government being seen as the “out-group” more often. At the *Telegraph* and the *Sun* there was a much stronger focus on monetary costs of climate policies, in particularly also short- and mid-term interests. The *Telegraph* especially often depicts the government as out-group, i.e. going against British interests, in both phases. However, criticism of Britain does not occur in the coverage of international negotiations. While decisions, such as aid to developing countries, are criticised, in the immediate coverage of the conference Britain is supported or the coverage is relatively neutral.

7. GERMANY

This chapter looks at the communication of the German government and the coverage of the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (SZ, centre-left), the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (FAZ, conservative) and the *Bild* (right-wing) and the respective Sunday papers. The German government at the time of the study is a coalition between the Christian Democrats (CDU/CSU) and the Free Democratic Party (FDP). An important keyword for the German government is “Energiewende”, which means energy transition. This process was speeded up remarkably after the accident of the nuclear power station in Fukushima in March 2011: within six months of the accident, almost half of Germany’s nuclear reactors were shut down permanently and regulations had been drawn up to phase out nuclear energy by 2022⁹². As the material will show, the government sees the Energiewende as an important solution to climate change. Political Parallelism was expected to be relatively high, as outlined before in accordance with Hallin and Mancini’s model. Chapter 3 explained that political parallelism may not be sufficient to explain the news coverage on climate change, therefore national loyalty has again been introduced as second independent variable. As with the UK section, this chapter is divided into a descriptive part and the analyses of the two phases.

7.1 DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS⁹³

The German government has published 28 relevant items in the first phase, the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (SZ) 33, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung* (FAZ) 25 and the *Bild* and *Bild am Sonntag* 6. For the second phase, there were nine government items, 12 for the SZ, 11 for the FAZ, and 6 for the *Bild*. As for the UK, the more left-oriented newspaper published the highest number of articles in both phases and the difference between the leftist and conservative newspaper decreases in the second phase. The SZ does not have a Sunday edition, but FAZ and *Bild* do. In both phases, two of the FAZ articles are published on a Sunday, but none of the *Bild* articles.

The SZ reduces the number of relevant articles by almost two thirds in the second phase. The FAZ publishes one article less than the SZ in the second phase, which is less than half of the articles it had published in the first phase. The *Bild* has the same number of articles in both phases.

⁹² Cf. Feldhoff (2014)

⁹³ All newspaper articles and government communication items are listed in the Appendix.

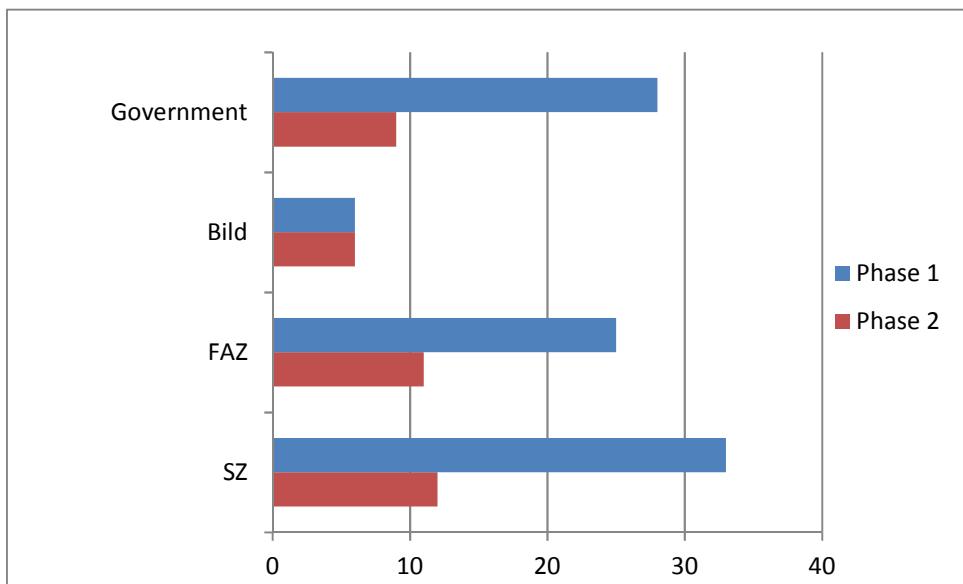


Figure 8: Comparison of the number of German government communication items and newspaper articles in the two phases

The German government shows a decrease in communication comparable to the one in the UK, from 28 to 9. Similar to the results for the UK, the Rio+20 conference in June 2012 did not cause an increased coverage on climate change issues.

In the first phase, the *SZ* peaks on December 12, whereas the *FAZ* on November 29. *Bild* publishes half of its six articles on December 2. The *SZ* peak therefore falls after the end of the Durban conference, whereas the *FAZ* peak is on the second day of the conference. *Bild* peaks on December 2, which is not triggered by a particular event. It does not report on the Durban conference until that day, so four days into the conference it explains the situation to its readers. The *FAZ* and *SZ* spend little to no space on Durban before the start of the conference. Compared to the UK newspapers, which provided about 20 articles on the three days before the conference, the *SZ* publishes four, two of which are about Durban, and the *FAZ* one article. The *Bild* jumps in late with its coverage of Durban, not unlike its British counterpart the *Sun*, which introduces Durban on the first day of the conference, but has no pre-conference coverage.

After the conference, coverage fades quickly. The *FAZ* almost immediately moves away from the topic of climate change after December 12, the last article in the first phase is published on December 15 and discusses the analysis of Durban by a German climate scientist. The *FAZ* does not at all speak about Canada leaving Kyoto, whereas the *SZ* dedicates two, the *Bild* one article to the issue. The *SZ* finishes the climate coverage in the first phase on December 17 with a

piece on the Environment Minister's stance on solar energy. *Bild*'s last article for the first phase is published on December 14 and discusses Canada leaving Kyoto.

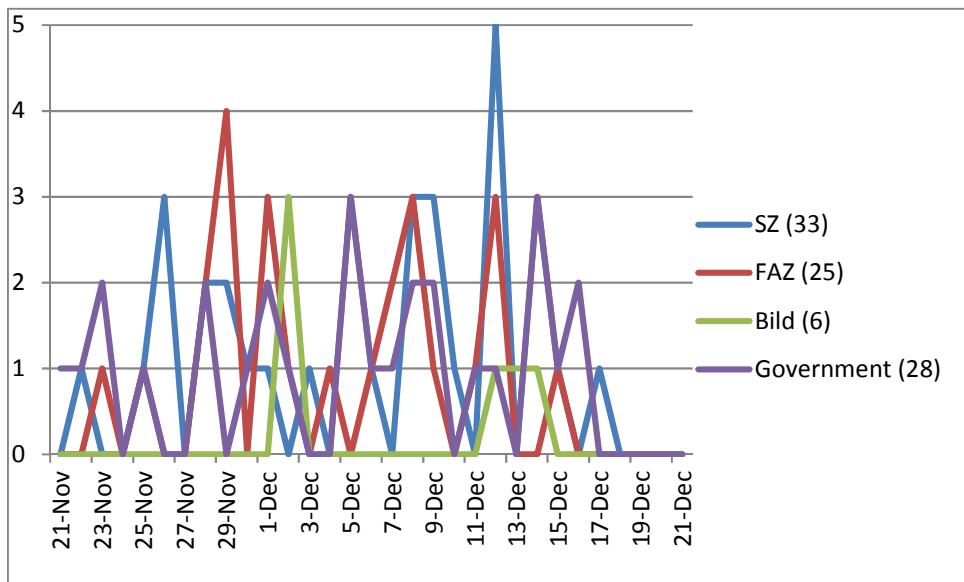


Figure 9: Number of items published by the German government and newspapers in the course of Phase 1

Of the 25 *FAZ* articles of the first phase, 16 were news stories, six were Op-Eds, one was from a guest writer and two were interviews. The *SZ* had 21 news stories, three Op-Eds, four editorials, three guest writers and two interviews. *Bild* published four news stories, one Op-Ed and one interview.

The *SZ* did not publish any relevant articles for ten of the days during the first phase, plus Sundays. The *FAZ* goes 15 days without any articles and two out of four Sundays. The *Bild* published relevant articles on four days and none on Sundays. In comparison to the British newspapers, the German publications have significantly more days without any coverage of the topic.

On the government side, the main actor is Environment Minister Norbert Röttgen. Besides occasional remarks by the Chancellor Angela Merkel or the government's spokespersons, there is no other minister competing for attention or promoting different opinions on climate change policy. Unlike British Climate Secretary Chris Huhne, Röttgen faced no internal conflict. Government communication ends on December 16 with a statement by Röttgen and a government press release on the conference. The former is picked up on by the last *SZ* article on December 17.

Like the British government and newspapers, the German counterparts decrease their communication on climate change in the June phase. During that time, the *SZ* publishes relevant articles on ten days, the *FAZ* on nine days and one Sunday, and the *Bild* on four days.

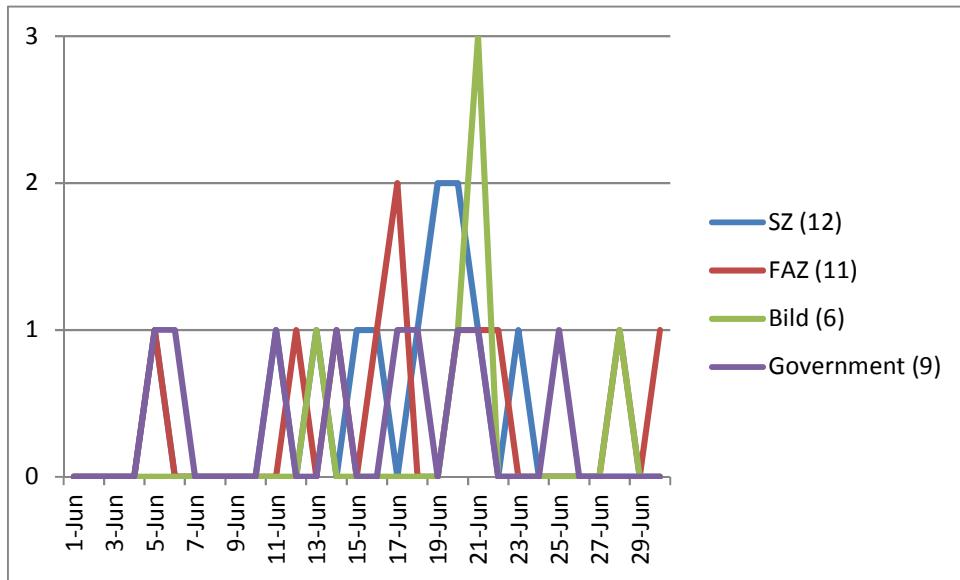


Figure 10: Number of items published by the German government and newspapers in the course of Phase 2

The peaks in phase two occur around the Rio+20 conference and all except one article by the *Bild* on the respective peak dates deal with the conference. For the rest of the month, the articles are distributed evenly and it is striking that there are not more days with more than one article published. It can be estimated therefore, that without the Rio conference, we may have seen this trend continue throughout the month. Despite the general similarity to the decrease in articles with the UK newspapers, a difference can be observed: the UK newspapers' peaks were spread out along the month. For *Bild*, the two articles on 21 June referring to the Rio conference are the only ones that address the topic throughout the month. The other two newspapers discuss the conference more frequently, also outside the "peak zone".

For the second phase, the *FAZ* had nine news stories and two interviews. The *SZ* had eight news stories, one Op-Ed, one editorial, one guest writer and one interview. *Bild* published five news stories and one Op-Ed. The new Environment Minister Peter Altmaier is represented with only one interview during the second phase, although his ministry publishes several press releases. Chancellor Angela Merkel is, once more, also actively communicating on climate change. Notably, she is making references to the G20 meeting and the Rio conference, pointing out the connections. This had not been observed in the UK.

In general, there is no obvious display of climate scepticism, for example by sceptical guest writers or columnists. How climate scepticism is represented in the German newspapers will be evaluated in the qualitative analysis.

From a descriptive point of view, parallels can be drawn with the UK coverage mostly in the first phase, when the *SZ*, just like the *Guardian*, publishes the highest number of articles, followed by the *FAZ* and *Bild*. The number of articles, however, is about half the number for each of the UK counterparts. In the second phase, the quantity is further lowered for the two broadsheet newspapers and the difference in sheer numbers is basically eliminated between them, while the *Bild* stays at a constant six articles.

The implications of these figures will be evaluated in relation with the qualitative analysis.

7.2 FRAMES – PHASE 1

7.2.1 GOVERNMENT

“Energiewende” is an important keyword in German politics on climate change and the communication of both phases reflect this. The Energiewende is framed as the solution to climate change (**Government Frame 1: Energiewende**). In the first phase, the relationship between climate change mitigation and energy policy was emphasised:

- On the occasion of the Durban climate conference, the BMU⁹⁴ has commissioned a research consortium to evaluate the measures decided in the realm of the Energiewende. Result: Current policies have already shown to be effective.⁹⁵ (Bundesministerium für Umwelt, Naturschutz und Reaktorsicherheit⁹⁶, 2011d)
- The Energiewende does not just benefit climate protection, it also makes sense economically.⁹⁷ (BMU, 2011)

The Energiewende was further framed as underlining the German leadership regarding climate change (**Government Frame 2: Leadership**). German government communication presented Germany not just as a leader, but also as an example for other countries on how to make the change towards a new energy system. While doing so, the government also emphasised its role

⁹⁴Bundesministerium für Umwelt = Federal Ministry of the Environment

⁹⁵Anlässlich der Klimakonferenz von Durban hat das BMU ein Forschungskonsortium beauftragt, die bisher im Zuge der Energiewende beschlossenen Maßnahmen zu bewerten. Ergebnis: Die aktuelle Politik zeigt bereits Wirkung.

⁹⁶Will be referred to as BMU in the following.

⁹⁷Die Energiewende nützt nicht nur dem Klimaschutz, sie ist auch ökonomisch sinnvoll.

in the European Union. Here we can already see a small difference between the UK and Germany. In the UK, it has been shown that while acknowledging its membership of the EU, its special role was often pointed out by phrases such as “the UK and the EU”. Interestingly, Germany received the “Country-Leadership-Award” by the World Climate Summit⁹⁸, taking place during several days in Durban, alongside the conference. The German Environment Minister commented that this “award, given by leaders of the business world, shows that globally active industrial enterprises have recognized that growth and competition have to be detached from the use of resources”⁹⁹ (BMU, 2011f).

The dominant word in the government’s climate vocabulary seems to be “Klimaschutz – climate protection”, a tendency that was not picked up on with the same intensity by the newspapers:

- Germany leads in investments in climate protection¹⁰⁰ (Die Bundesregierung, 2011c)
- Germany headed to fulfil 2020 climate protection goals¹⁰¹ (BMU, 2011d)
- Germany stands for credible climate protection policies¹⁰² (Die Bundesregierung, 2011n)
- Röttgen: Big success for climate protection¹⁰³ (BMU, 2011k)
- Durban adds an important step to international climate protection¹⁰⁴ (Die Bundesregierung, 2011f)
- The Energiewende does not just benefit climate protection, it also makes sense economically.¹⁰⁵ (BMU, 2011l)
- Durban – a success for global climate protection¹⁰⁶ (Die Bundesregierung, 2011h)

⁹⁸The World Climate Summit promotes solutions to climate change through cooperation of the private and public sector.

⁹⁹Ein Preis, der aus dem Kreis von Wirtschaftsführern verliehen wird, zeigt, dass weltweit agierende, große Industrieunternehmen erkannt haben, das Wachstum und Wettbewerb sich vom Ressourcenverbrauch abkoppeln müssen.

¹⁰⁰Deutschland führend bei Investitionen in Klimaschutz

¹⁰¹Deutschland bei Klimaschutz-Zielen 2020 auf Kurs

¹⁰²Deutschland steht für eine glaubwürdige Klimaschutzpolitik.

¹⁰³Röttgen: Großer Erfolg für den Klimaschutz

¹⁰⁴Durban bringt wichtigen Schritt für internationalen Klimaschutz

¹⁰⁵Die Energiewende nützt nicht nur dem Klimaschutz, sie ist auch ökonomisch sinnvoll.

¹⁰⁶Durban - ein Erfolg für den globalen Klimaschutz

This provides a stark contrast to the wording used by the British government and newspapers, who usually speak of “climate deal” and “climate change”. The word “protection” suggests that the climate is something important and valuable, as well as vulnerable, since it needs protection. From a pure media analysis, it cannot be determined whether the public perceives it in such a way, but it does point out the differences in communication between two governments and the possible consequences. The dominant use of the term “climate protection” can be observed in particular with press releases, rather than with oral communication by Röttgen. We can see the use especially in instances where, from a logical point of view, it is not necessary to add the word “protection”, such as “climate (protection) goals”, “climate (protection) treaty”, “climate (protection) measures”, “climate (protection) potential”. It is interesting that Röttgen, in interviews or oral statements, did not seem to force the intensive use of the term “climate protection” and raises the question – which is difficult to answer – whether there is a strategy behind it or whether he simply has not internalized its automatic use.

Another question, which can be answered, is whether the German newspapers followed the same line as the government press releases. In general, the answer is yes: “climate protection” is a major keyword for the newspapers, but terms in the style of the British newspapers are also in use:

- climate goals¹⁰⁷ (e.g Bauchmüller, 2011b)
- climate treaty¹⁰⁸ (e.g. Spiel mit dem Globus, 2011; EU will globales Klimaabkommen jetzt bis 2020, 2011; Kanada steigt aus Kyoto-Protokoll aus, 2011)
- climate conference¹⁰⁹ (e.g. Bauchmüller, 2011a; Die Ergebnisse der Weltklimakonferenz in Durban, 2011)
- climate summit¹¹⁰ (e.g. Keine Lösung – nirgendwo., 2011; Ist das Klima jetzt wirklich gerettet?, 2011)
- climate policy¹¹¹ (e.g. "Es fehlt der politische Wille", 2011)

The newspapers picked up on the emphasis on “climate protection” by the government in its communication, but did not use it with the same intensity.

¹⁰⁷Klimaziele

¹⁰⁸Klimaabkommen

¹⁰⁹Klimakonferenz

¹¹⁰Klimagipfel

¹¹¹Klimapolitik

Before and during the Durban conference, the German government did not promote a very optimistic message (**Government Frame 3: Low expectations for Durban**). In her speech of November 23 in front of the parliament, Chancellor Merkel emphasised the strong stance Europe is planning to pursue during the Durban conference, but did not express any expectations for the outcome of the meeting (Die Bundesregierung, 2011i). Environment Minister Röttgen offered more detail: “Our goal is to commit the big emitters – emerging economies and the USA – to this schedule. We want to achieve this goal and we are putting all our energy into it”¹¹² (Die Bundesregierung, 2011k). Towards the end of the conference, he provided a more reserved view and, surprisingly, also seemed to award the EU a more passive role: “Let us wait and see what will happen. China does not want to be seen as responsible for preventing an agreement at the end of the conference. This can set a lot of things in motion”¹¹³ (Die Bundesregierung, 2011l). His seeming passivity had been preceded by a comment by Merkel who, one week into the conference, announced that she did not see a possibility for an agreement of the Kyoto Protocol during the Durban meeting (Bauchmüller, 2011b).

When Röttgen reports on the conference to the parliament, he sounds more positive:

A new regulatory system was the central goal of our negotiations, a – we know this expression from the pre-negotiations and negotiations of Copenhagen – binding legal instrument for all. This is a fundamental new order for international climate politics.¹¹⁴ (Die Bundesregierung, 2011m)

Röttgen, as far as the government is concerned, did not have any competition regarding the policies he wanted to push. He and Chancellor Merkel did not disagree in their communications and he saw himself as part of the EU, while still pointing out German leadership. The newspapers in general did not specifically disagree with Röttgen’s position, but neither did they promote his role nor is he mentioned very often. He was sometimes quoted, it was reported that he attended the conference, but there was no reference to what he actually did. Instead, the EU was seen as the major actor.

¹¹²Das Zwei-Grad-Ziel muss mindestens erreicht werden. Unser Ziel ist es, die großen Emittenten – die Schwellenländer und die USA – auf diesen Fahrplan zu verpflichten. Dieses Ziel wollen wir erreichen, und daran arbeiten wir mit allen Kräften.

¹¹³Warten wir ab, was noch passiert. China will am Ende der Konferenz nicht als Verhinderer dastehen. Das kann noch einiges in Bewegung setzen.

¹¹⁴Es war das zentrale Ziel unserer Verhandlungen, dass es ein Regelungssystem gibt, ein – wir kennen die Redewendung aus den Kopenhagener Vorverhandlungen und Verhandlungen – bindendes Rechtsinstrument für alle. Das ist eine fundamentale Neuordnung der internationalen Klimapolitik.

The frame put forward by the government, showing some similarity to the UK, was urgency, paired with the strong conviction that the German way is the right one, in particular expressed through the Energiewende. At the same time, the government does not go into the Durban conference with very high hopes, but does describe the conference as a success.

7.2.2 SÜDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG

Expectations for Durban were low, but not always as gloomy as in the *Guardian*. The evaluation of the conference was also different in tone. While not overly praising the results, the *SZ* did not describe the conference as a failure. The *SZ* attributes no specific role to the German government, while the EU was seen in a positive light. Similar observations could be made for the UK newspapers, in particular the *Guardian*, which did not emphasise the leadership role of the UK as much as the government. In Germany we can see this taken to another level. While slightly different than the UK, as explained above, the government did emphasise the leadership role of Germany, but the newspapers did not refer to it once. In addition, this is one of the instances that show the traces of national loyalty, even if in this case through the EU. Its representation as the “winner” of the conference shows the competitive edge given to the international negotiations by the newspaper.

- Nobody is counting on a successful outcome of the Durban climate conference, which starts on Monday.¹¹⁵ (Rubner, 2011d)
- But the starting point for the conference is complicated¹¹⁶ (Bauchmüller, 2011j)
- A dynamism comparable to the one in Copenhagen is possible, with massive loss of trust and high diplomatic tensions.¹¹⁷ (Bauchmüller and Schrader, 2011)
- The range of possibilities goes from an agreement on a climate treaty next year to a postponement without result.¹¹⁸ (Spiel mit dem Globus, 2011)
- If one judges progress by the necessary, also the climate conference in Durban is a disappointment. [...] Nothing is easy to solve, it is always about principles. That is why one cannot simply erase the positive message of this climate summit. For the first time in the history of climate diplomacy, all states want to agree to a legally binding treaty.¹¹⁹ (Bauchmüller, 2011f)

¹¹⁵Mit einem Erfolg der Klimakonferenz von Durban, die am Montag beginnt, rechnet niemand.

¹¹⁶Doch die Ausgangslage für die Verhandlungen ist ausgesprochen kompliziert

¹¹⁷Denkbar ist eine Dynamik wie in Kopenhagen 2009, mit massivem Vertrauensschwund und diplomatischen Hochspannungen.

¹¹⁸Das Spektrum reicht von der Vereinbarung eines neuen Klimaabkommens schon im kommenden Jahr bis hin zur ergebnislosen Vertagung.

¹¹⁹Misst man den Fortschritt am Notwendigen, gerät auch die Klimakonferenz in Durban zur Enttäuschung. [...] Nichts davon lässt sich einfach lösen, stets geht es ums Prinzip. Deshalb lässt sich

- For debates about content, for example the exact goals of countries in climate protection, there was no time at all left during that night.¹²⁰ (Bauchmüller, 2011g)
- First steps on the way [to a follow-up treaty] and measures to moderate the consequences of climate change were decided in Durban.”¹²¹ (Rubner, 2011b)
- It is only thanks to the effort of the EU that it did not end worse.¹²² (Bauchmüller, 2011f)
- It is this willingness to face a showdown that makes Europe the secret winner of the conference in the course of the following night.¹²³ (Bauchmüller, 2011g)

One of the dominating issues throughout the coverage are greenhouse gases. The SZ dedicates space to explaining the effects and importance of these gases. Neither the German government nor the UK government and newspapers had put any emphasis on these basic scientific aspects.

- [CO₂] alone is responsible for more than 50 percent of global warming.¹²⁴ (Lawrence, 2011)
- In May 2011 [...] there were already more than 394 ppm [of CO₂ in the atmosphere]. Before the industrial revolution, it had been 280 ppm.¹²⁵ (Schrader, 2011)
- One can talk about roughly 750 gigatons of carbon dioxide that humankind is allowed to emit until 2050 if we want to avoid dangerous climate change. In 2010 33.5 gigatons were emitted so this budget will obviously be enough for 25 years – but on today’s level, without economic growth!¹²⁶ (Bauchmüller and Schrader, 2011)

die positive Botschaft dieses Klimagipfels nicht einfach wegwischen. Erstmals in der Geschichte der Klimadiplomatie wollen sich alle Staaten auf ein rechtlich verbindliches Abkommen einlassen.

¹²⁰Für inhaltliche Debatten, etwa über die genauen Ziele der Staaten im Klimaschutz, bleibt bei so viel Taktik in dieser Nacht gar keine Zeit mehr.

¹²¹Erste Schritte auf dem Weg [zu einem Folge-Abkommen] und Maßnahmen, welche die Folgen des Klimawandels abmildern sollen, sind in Durban beschlossen worden.

¹²²Dass es nicht schlimmer kam, ist einzig dem Einsatz der EU zu danken.

¹²³Es ist diese Bereitschaft zum Showdown, die Europa im Laufe der nächsten Nacht zum heimlichen Sieger der Konferenz macht.

¹²⁴[CO₂] trägt allein zu mehr als 50 Prozent der gesamten Erderwärmung bei.

¹²⁵Im Mai 2011 [...] waren es schon mehr als 394 ppm. Vor der industriellen Revolution hatten 280 ppm Kohlendioxid in der Luft gelegen.

¹²⁶Ganz grob kann man von 750 Gigatonnen Kohlendioxid sprechen, die die Menschheit bis 2050 noch freisetzen darf, wenn gefährlicher Klimawandel vermieden werden soll. 2010 wurden 33,5 Gigatonnen emittiert, da kann man sich an den Fingern abzählen, dass das Budget noch für knapp 25 Jahre reicht - aber auf heutigem Niveau, ohne jedes Wirtschaftswachstum!

- [Buying time] is only possible through reforestation of globally at least ten million square kilometres within the next five years. This way, according to calculations by Rademacher, one can extract 200 million tons of CO₂.¹²⁷ (Schäl, 2011)
- In reality, the percentage of aviation in the worldwide emissions of Kyoto gases is two to three, the percentage of all transport is 13.¹²⁸ (Anspach, 2011)

In general, scepticism seems to have no room in German coverage. The *SZ* reported on the “4th International Conference on Climate and Energy”, an event entirely dedicated to climate sceptics and their theories, and the article clearly ridicules it by pointing out that the scientists presenting their work often contradict each other (Illinger, 2011). Neither of the other two newspapers reported on this conference. The *Bild* has no reference to climate sceptics at all, whereas the *FAZ* speaks of sceptics in connection to the United States and its “think tanks opposed to climate protection”¹²⁹ (Minkmar, 2011). Scepticism is not mentioned by the government, which means that to them it is not an issue. The extremely scarce coverage on it shows that the newspapers agree.

The Energiewende, the “showpiece” of the German government, does not take up very much of the coverage. It is mentioned, but only in relation to what the government says about it. The *SZ* frame therefore differed strongly from the government frame by neither emphasising German leadership nor the importance of the Energiewende. Climate change is accepted as a fact and is reported on, but there is no frame of urgency or of gloomy prospects for the future. Durban was not perceived as the solution to the problem but neither was it displayed as a horrible catastrophe. Scientific details are considered important, but there is little reference to what they mean for everyday life. The fact that the government is not held responsible may evoke two frames: either that climate change is taken care of and that there is no need to worry, or that nothing is being done and nobody knows what to do. Traces of national loyalty are visible throughout the coverage, with the particularity of a EU focus. The special role of the EU is discussed in a previous chapter, explaining both its situation of sometimes being contested from within but also being increasingly accepted as a united actor on the international arena. For this particular case, the *SZ* shows support of the EU, similar to the *Guardian*.

¹²⁷Dies sei nur möglich durch eine Aufforstung der Waldbestände um weltweit mindestens zehn Millionen Quadratkilometer innerhalb von fünf Jahren. Auf diese Weise könnte man nach den Berechnungen Radermachers der Welt 200 Milliarden Tonnen CO₂ entziehen.

¹²⁸Tatsächlich liegt der Anteil der Klimawirkungen des Luftverkehrs an den weltweiten Kyotogas-Emissionen bei zwei bis drei Prozent, der Anteil sämtlicher Verkehrsträger zusammen bei 13 Prozent.

¹²⁹klimaschutzfeindliche Thinktanks

- Some want to act, some want to wait. While the EU and the host South Africa want to assume negotiations for a new treaty as soon as possible, countries like the US, Russia or India take their time.¹³⁰ (Bauchmüller, 2011j)
- The debates during the last night of the summit, during which states like India, China and the US tried to water down the legal shape of a future treaty, does not give hope for the next phase. It is only due to the efforts of the EU that it did not get worse. In rare unity and with high risk it made the deal of Durban possible.¹³¹ (Bauchmüller, 2011f)
- For the first time, big emerging countries like China were willing to sign a legally binding treaty. The EU had significantly contributed to this. ‘Europe was the defining constructive bloc’, so Röttgen.¹³² (Röttgen hält an Solar fest, 2011)
- Until the end the Indian delegation demanded to leave the legal form rather open-ended. Only under the pressure put by the EU, India agreed to more binding wording.¹³³ (Bauchmüller, 2011h)

The EU was clearly shown as a powerful, positive force in the climate negotiations, and responsible for the outcome. **This is in line with Government Frame 2.** The EU was depicted in contrast to India and the US, which were portrayed as blocking the process. While it is not spelled out specifically, from the context, it becomes clear that the SZ sees it as beneficial for Germany and the EU to have a climate treaty, but like the *Guardian* it goes beyond the pure national interest: the treaty is seen as benefiting the entire world.

On rare occasions, the SZ also praises specifically the German achievements, echoing Minister Röttgen (**Government Frame 1**):

The US, which even under Barack Obama has not signed up for climate protection, continue to take out loans; they expand deep water drilling for oil and press even the last cubic metre of gas out of their soil. If this warms the earth, the alchemists of climate are on. [...] It seems obvious that the Europeans act smarter. With climate goals they anticipate shortage; they force companies and consumers to switch to other, climate friendly forms of energy before the conventional ones become scarce and expensive. The German Energiewende, if successful,

¹³⁰, „Die einen wollen handeln, die anderen abwarten. Während etwa die EU oder Gastgeber Südafrika möglichst bald Verhandlungen über ein neues Abkommen aufnehmen wollen, lassen sich Staaten wie die USA, Russland oder Indien noch Zeit.“

¹³¹, „Die Debatten der letzten Gipfelnacht, in der Staaten wie Indien, China und die USA versuchten, die rechtliche Form eines künftigen Abkommens zu verwässern, lassen für die nächste Phase nichts Gutes ahnen. Dass es nicht schlimmer kam, ist einzig dem Einsatz der EU zu danken. In seltener Geschlossenheit und mit hohem Risiko hat sie den Deal von Durban erst möglich gemacht.“

¹³², „So seien erstmals auch große Schwellenländer wie China zu einem rechtlich verbindlichen Abkommen bereit. Maßgeblich habe dazu die EU beigetragen. „Europa war der prägende, konstruktive Block“, so Röttgen.“

¹³³, „Bis zuletzt hatte die indische Delegation gefordert, die rechtliche Form weitestgehend offenzulassen. Erst auf Druck der EU willigte Indien in eine verbindlichere Formulierung ein.“

could be the Gesellenstück¹³⁴ for conversion, radiating beyond the borders of Europe.¹³⁵
(Bauchmüller, 2011i)

Other countries were criticised openly, implying the positive behaviour of Germany or the EU.
Firstly, there was an alignment with the government when Canada leaves the Kyoto Protocol:

Canada's decision to leave the Kyoto-Protocol for climate protection early has triggered critique globally. This is a fatal step in the wrong direction and does not own up to the responsibility of an important industrialised country', said the president of the Federal Environment Agency.¹³⁶
(Bauchmüller and Rubner, 2011)

However, the move also triggered strong criticism of the UN, which includes Germany and the EU. As the section on the FAZ will show, criticism of multilateralism is more common there:

For everyone who believed that global warming could be slowed down through the means of the United Nations, this is a bitter realisation. Canada leaving the line has taken away the last credibility left of the UN conference circus.¹³⁷ (Rubner, 2011c)

Finally, there was outspoken criticism of the US, which implies the necessity of a climate treaty as promoted by the EU.

For years the US has managed to organise the resistance against climate protection, together with China. [...] The best thing the US could do in Durban is to get out of the way. Instead, Stern's delegation does not spare any effort to sabotage any progress.¹³⁸ (Bauchmüller, 2011e)

¹³⁴ A "Gesellenstück" is the piece of work of an apprentice, for example a carpenter, created to show his or her talents and abilities as part of an exam to obtain a first official accreditation.

¹³⁵, „Die USA, die sich auch von Barack Obama nicht auf den Klimaschutz einschwören ließen, nehmen weiter Anleihen; sie dehnen die Tiefseebohrung nach Öl aus und pressen noch den letzten Kubikmeter Gas aus ihren Böden. Falls dies die Erde erwärmen sollte, müssen die Alchemisten des Klimas ran. [...] Alles spricht dafür, dass die Europäer klüger agieren. Mit Klimazielen nehmen sie die Verknappung vorweg; sie zwingen Firmen und Verbraucher, auf andere, klimafreundlichere Energieformen auszuweichen, noch ehe die herkömmlichen knapp und teuer werden. Die deutsche Energiewende, so sie gelingt, könnte zum Gesellenstück des Umbaus werden, mit Strahlkraft weit über Europa hinaus.“

¹³⁶, „Die Entscheidung Kanadas, vorzeitig aus dem Kyoto-Protokoll zum Klimaschutz auszusteigen, hat weltweit für Kritik gesorgt. „Das ist ein fataler Schritt in die falsche Richtung und wird der Verantwortung eines bedeutenden Industrielandes nicht gerecht“, sagte der Präsident des Umweltbundesamtes“

¹³⁷Für alle, die glaubten, man werde die Erderwärmung mit den Mitteln der Vereinten Nationen bremsen können, ist das eine bittere Erkenntnis. Kanadas Ausscheren hat dem UN-Konferenzzirkus die letzte Glaubwürdigkeit genommen.

¹³⁸Über Jahre hinweg gelang es den USA, den Widerstand gegen den Klimaschutz zu organisieren, gemeinsam mit China. [...] Das Beste, was die USA in Durban unternehmen können, ist schlicht, aus dem Weg zu gehen. Stattdessen scheut Sterns Delegation keine Mittel, den Fortschritt zu torpedieren.“

Visibly there is no national interest frame applied but the nation is put into comparison and defended. Like the *Guardian*, the *SZ* applies an international perspective on the issue. However, it is much more critical of other countries than the *Guardian*.

7.2.3 FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG AND SONNTAGSZEITUNG

Like the *SZ*, it seemed important to the *FAZ* to include detailed information regarding greenhouse gases in their coverage:

- [Since 1843] the emission of greenhouse gases, especially carbon dioxide (CO₂), but also methane or chlorofluorocarbons, has sharply increased. Even in comparison to 1990, when the problem was no longer discussed solely in circles of scientists anymore, CO₂ emissions have augmented to 30.4 billion tons for last year.¹³⁹ (Mihm, 2011a)
- [The greenhouse effect] is created by carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases, which prevent the radiation of solar heat from earth into space.¹⁴⁰ (Appelle vor dem Klimagipfel, 2011)
- CO₂ emission increase by three billion tons every year, but until 2050 only 600 billion tons can be emitted to limit global warming to two degrees, as promised by governments in Copenhagen.¹⁴¹ (Weiguny, 2011)
- According to [a white book by the South African government], greenhouse gas emissions should decrease by 34 percent by 2020 and by 42 percent by 2025 compared to a business-as-usual scenario.¹⁴² (Südafrikas "schwarzes Gold" gerät ins Zwielicht, 2011)

The *FAZ* is also not expecting miracles from the Durban conference. This is somewhat in line with the government communication, which was not particularly hopeful for Durban. The *FAZ* frame is, interestingly enough, more negative.

- Durban, as reliable sources claim, is not going to achieve advancements in climate protection.¹⁴³ (Müller-Jung, 2011b)

¹³⁹Seither hat der Ausstoß von Treibhausgasen, vor allem Kohlendioxid (CO₂), aber auch von Methan oder

Fluorchlorkohlenwasserstoffen, rasant zugenommen. Selbst gegenüber dem Jahr 1990, als das Problem nicht mehr allein in Wissenschaftszirkeln diskutiert wurde, haben sich die CO₂-Emissionen um fast 50 Prozent auf im vergangenen Jahr 30,4 Milliarden Tonnen erhöht.

¹⁴⁰Der kommt dadurch zustande, dass Kohlendioxid und andere Treibhausgase die Abstrahlung der Sonnenwärme von der Erde ins All verhindern.

¹⁴¹Der CO₂-Ausstoß steigt im Jahr um drei Milliarden Tonnen, bis 2050 dürfen aber nur 600 Milliarden Tonnen ausgestoßen werden, um die Erderwärmung auf zwei Grad zu beschränken, wie die Regierungschefs in Copenhagen versprochen haben.

¹⁴²Demnach soll der Ausstoß an Treibhausgasen bis 2020 um 34 Prozent und bis 2025 um 42 Prozent gegenüber einem Szenario sinken, in dem nichts dagegen unternommen wird.

¹⁴³Durban, so heißt es inzwischen aus zuverlässigen Quellen, werde den Klimaschutz kaum voranbringen.

- It is hoped that the debate [about the follow-up treaty of Kyoto] will only be postponed and not called off.¹⁴⁴ (Appelle vor dem Klimagipfel, 2011)
- The global climate conference starting this Monday is ill-omened.¹⁴⁵ (Mihm, 2011g)
- Because nobody here is cherishing the hope that Canada, Russia or America will rethink their completely opposing positions towards internationally binding and stronger goals for climate protection.¹⁴⁶ (Mihm, 2011c)

The evaluation after the conference was also similar to the one by the SZ, and therefore opposing the positive depiction of the government:

- The global climate conference has ended, the result is poor – but there are many successful activities in the countries themselves.¹⁴⁷ (Mihm, 2011f)
- Durban has shown known patterns. There is always reference to good intentions, without inducing binding steps.¹⁴⁸ ("Es fehlt der politische Wille", 2011)

The FAZ adds the additional aspect of questioning the general idea of conferences. While this idea does not dominate the coverage, it adds an interesting aspect of scepticism – not climate scepticism, but scepticism towards multilateralism – a frame clearly not in line with government frames.

- There is no point in continuing to try and solve climate problems of the world in the circle of 195 states.¹⁴⁹ (Mihm, 2011g)
- Problems are flogged to death or postponed on crisis summits, but not resolved. Those responsible do not have to face trouble there.¹⁵⁰ (Minkmar, 2011)
- [It is in the individual countries] where true progress in climate protection is achieved, not in the negotiation halls of the United Nations.¹⁵¹ (Mihm, 2011f)

¹⁴⁴Es wird die Hoffnung genährt, dass die Debatte darüber nur vertagt und nicht abgebrochen werden könnte.

¹⁴⁵Die Weltklimakonferenz, die an diesem Montag in Durban beginnt, steht unter schlechten Vorzeichen.

¹⁴⁶Denn niemand hier hegt die Hoffnung, dass Kanada, Russland oder gar Amerika ihre rundherum ablehnende Position für international verbindliche und schärfere Ziele für den Klimaschutz überdenken könnten.

¹⁴⁷Die Weltklimakonferenz ist zu Ende, der Ertrag ist mager - in den Staaten selbst gibt es jedoch viele erfolgreiche Aktivitäten.

¹⁴⁸In Durban hätten sich lediglich bekannte Muster gezeigt. Stets werde auf gute Absichten verwiesen, ohne verbindliche Schritte einzuleiten.

¹⁴⁹Es hat wenig Sinn, weiter im Kreis von 195 Staaten die Klimaprobleme der Welt lösen zu wollen.

¹⁵⁰Probleme werden auf Krisengipfeln breitgetreten oder vertagt, aber nicht gelöst. Wer den Ärger angerichtet hat, muss sich dort nämlich nicht stellen.

The *FAZ* frame, like the *SZ* one, does not follow the government frame on the importance of the Energiewende. It also shows a similar emphasis on scientific details, without giving much help on what to do with this information. By questioning the mechanism of multilateral climate negotiations, *FAZ* implies a sense of urgency and points out that the problem is not actually taken care of at the level of the United Nations, but should be taken care of at country level. Whether Germany is on the right track remains unclear, as the *FAZ* does not make reference to the Energiewende. It could be seen as an endorsement of national action.

With regards to national loyalty, the *FAZ* did not differ much from the *SZ*. Germany was mentioned slightly more often than in the *SZ*, but not in a context that would separate it from the EU, which is similar to the government frame. Unlike the *Telegraph*, the *FAZ* does not frame climate policies within the national financial interests. It acknowledges the big investment by Germany in the context of the climate fund, promoting Germany as the ideal host country. This is in line with the government who applied for hosting the climate fund.

The *FAZ*'s attitude towards multilateral conferences is quite unique within the scope of this study, there is only one other newspaper, the *Washington Post*, that shows traces of scepticism to multilateralism. Despite this pessimistic view of the UN negotiation structures, the *FAZ* keeps an international view of the issue as it still remains committed to finding a solution to climate change. So unlike the conservative UK newspaper of the study, the *FAZ* does not make reference to "taxpayer's money" and other expressions that shed a bad light on climate action. The *Telegraph* had been especially critical on the costs of the Climate Change Act, whereas the *FAZ* encourages national endeavours.

The *FAZ* positions the EU and Germany relatively clear against countries such as China, the US, and India, emphasising their blocking of the process. There is a tendency to describe the EU and Germany as more reasonable actors in comparison to, for example, the emerging economies. The evaluation of Durban was mostly presented as insufficient due to the fault of others.

- Nobody could dictate emission reductions to emerging economies without recognising one's own historical responsibility. Big parts of the carbon dioxide in the atmosphere had been

¹⁵¹Dort werden die wahren Fortschritte im Klimaschutz erzielt, nicht in den Verhandlungssälen der Vereinten Nationen.

emitted by the Western countries. [...] The EU and Germany in particular should establish themselves as pioneers of green technology.¹⁵² („Es fehlt der politische Wille“, 2011)

- Hosting the climate fund would be a recognition of the internationally big climate protection commitment of Germany.¹⁵³ (Mihm, 2011d)¹⁵⁴
- Germany, with the sums mentioned by Röttgen, is one of the big sponsors of international climate protection.¹⁵⁵ (Deutschland beansprucht Sitz des neuen Klimafonds, 2011)
- China refuses internationally binding requirements for an absolute reduction of greenhouse gases and pursues relative national goals.¹⁵⁶ (Keine Lösung – nirgendwo, 2011)
- Not only the Chinese have to move, most importantly it is the Americans.¹⁵⁷ (Mihm, 2011b)
- The agreed document talks about a ‘protocol or legal instrument’. This is less than the ‘legally binding treaty’ demanded by the EU and the developing countries. [...] Carbon Capture and Storage (CCS), which is deprecated by Germany, is recognised as climate protection measure by the United Nations.¹⁵⁸ (Die Ergebnisse der Weltklimakonferenz in Durban, 2011)
- [It remains open] how long the treaty of Kyoto will be prolonged: until 2017, as the EU offers in order to increase the pressure to agree on a global climate treaty? Until 2020, as demanded by China and India, to delay the date for them to be bound by emission reductions? [...] The South African presidency was too weak to lead the conference and give decisive impulses. Such impulses came, if at all, from the Europeans who, interestingly, got together with the developing nations. The United States, China, India were blocking also in Durban. So everything is just as it was.¹⁵⁹ (Mihm, 2011f)

¹⁵² „Niemand könne aufstrebenden Volkswirtschaften wie China und Indien Sparvorgaben diktieren, ohne die eigene historische Verantwortung anzuerkennen. Das Kohlendioxid, das in der Atmosphäre sei, hätten in großen Teilen die westlichen Länder emittiert. [...] Die EU und Deutschland im Speziellen müssten sich als Vorreiter grüner Technologien profilieren.“

¹⁵³ „Der Sitz [des Klimafonds wäre] eine Anerkennung für das international große deutsche Klimaschutz-Engagement.“

¹⁵⁴ **Government Frame 2**

¹⁵⁵ „Deutschland ist mit den von Röttgen genannten Summen einer der großen Finanzierer des internationalen Klimaschutzes.“

¹⁵⁶ „China verschließt sich international verbindlichen Auflagen zur absoluten Treibhausgasverringerung und verfolgt relative nationale Ziele.“

¹⁵⁷ „Aber nicht nur die Chinesen müssen sich bewegen, in erster Linie gilt das für die Amerikaner.“

¹⁵⁸ „In dem beschlossenen Dokument ist von einem "Protokoll oder rechtlichen Instrument" die Rede. Das ist weniger als das von der EU und Entwicklungstaaten verlangte "rechtlich verbindliche Abkommen". [...] Die in Deutschland verpönte unterirdische Kohlendioxidspeicherung (Carbon Capture and Storage, CCS) wird von den Vereinten Nationen als Klimaschutzmaßnahme anerkannt.“

¹⁵⁹ „[Es] bleibt einstweilen offen, wie lange der Vertrag von Kyoto verlängert wird: bis 2017, wie es die EU anbietet, um den Druck für den Abschluss auf einen Weltklimavertrag zu erhöhen? Bis 2020, wie es China und Indien verlangen, um das Datum für verbindliche Emissionsminderungen ihrerseits hinauszögern? [...] Der südafrikanische Vorsitz war zu schwach, um die Konferenz zu führen und ihr entscheidende Impulse zu geben. Die kamen, wenn überhaupt, von den Europäern, die sich

- Because the emerging countries attribute the industrialised nations the ‘historical responsibility’ for climate change and consequently for the fight against it. The industrialised nations, in particular the EU and Australia, do not want to make new commitments without binding commitments by the emerging countries. However, the agreement on a ‘roadmap’ for the coming years would suffice them.¹⁶⁰(Mihm, 2011c)

The last two examples show a tendency to display the EU favourably as opposed to other countries, by writing that the EU “offers”, whereas others “demand”, and the roadmap would “suffice” them. As the Indian coverage will show, this phenomenon is much stronger there than here, but it is an interesting observation concerning the importance of national loyalty.

The FAZ presents the EU and Germany in a more favourable position than countries such as China and the US. There is only one instance where the government frame is directly supported. Most notably, the Energiewende is not mentioned at all.

7.2.4 BILD AND BILD AM SONNTAG

With only six articles, it is difficult to determine any trends in coverage – beside the fact, that there is almost none. Three articles provide facts about climate change, the Durban conference and its results. Interestingly, *Bild* provides the only article that explains the difference between climate change and weather anomalies. In reference to the dry November of 2011, *Bild* writes: “[...] November is an exceptional case which is probably not related to climate change. [...] The current weather or the weather of a single month does not say anything about a long term climate trend”¹⁶¹ (Stein, 2011). It is further reported, that an agreement in Durban on a second commitment period to the Kyoto Protocol and on a new climate treaty are not probable (Darüber wird verhandelt, 2011). The two articles evaluating the conference are generally negative:

- Has the climate been saved? No!¹⁶² (Ist das Klima jetzt wirklich gerettet?, 2011)

interessanterweise mit den Entwicklungsstaaten zusammengestanden. Auf der Seite der Blockierer saßen auch in Durban die Vereinigten Staaten, China, Indien. Alles wie gehabt also.“

¹⁶⁰ „Denn die Schwellenländer weisen den Industriestaaten die "historische Verantwortung" für den Klimawandel und damit nun eben auch für den Kampf gegen diesen zu. Die Industriestaaten, im Kern die EU und Australien, wollen dagegen ohne verbindliche Zusagen der Schwellenländer für ein weltweites Abkommen keine neuen Verpflichtungen eingehen. Dabei wäre ihnen die Verabredung auf einen "Fahrplan" für die nächsten Jahre schon ausreichend.“

¹⁶¹ „[...] November ist ein Ausreißer, der wohl nichts mit dem Klimawandel zu tun hat. [...] Das aktuelle Wetter oder die Witterung eines einzelnen Monats sagen nichts über einen langfristigen Klimatrend aus.“

¹⁶² Ist das Klima jetzt gerettet? Nein!

- I am totally disappointed by the decisions of Durban¹⁶³ (Wagner, 2011)

The latter article is also the only one that shows traces of doom coverage: "We will die from thirst because of the heat, drown in wild oceans, and starve"¹⁶⁴. Information on the topic is scarce but the tone remains mostly objective. *Bild* jumps in on the Durban coverage quite late and has no pre-conference coverage, which stands in contrast to the frame of urgency promoted by the post-Durban coverage.

With the little coverage available there are only few indicators on *Bild's* approach to national loyalty. There are two instances where the situation in the negotiations is described, accusing other actors of slowing down the progress.

- The goal of Germany and the EU: at least a mandate to negotiate an agreement which can be finished in 2015. In return, China expects an agreement for Kyoto II, but Japan and other industrialized nations demand to give up on Kyoto II. The United States are generally sceptical. No agreement in sight.¹⁶⁵ (Darüber wird verhandelt, 2011)
- Hopefully there will be a small step in the right direction, but as long as the United States refuse to participate, as they have until now, there will not be any real progress¹⁶⁶ (Blome and Breuer, 2011)

All three German newspapers provide at least one article that put the European Union and Germany in a positive light in comparison to certain other countries. There seems to be a general conviction that the way to go about climate change chosen by the EU and Germany is the right one. This is a strong general support for the government, even if one of its strongest frames – the Energiewende – is not taken up.

7.3 FRAMES – PHASE 2

7.3.1 GOVERNMENT

Energy and the Energiewende remain an important topic for the government in the second phase (**Government Frame 1**). With regards to the Rio conference, the new Environment Minister Peter Altmaier remains cautious: "We cannot expect too much from Rio, but it must

¹⁶³ich bin absolut enttäuscht von den Beschlüssen von Durban.

¹⁶⁴Wir werden vor Hitze verdursten, in wilden Meeren ertrinken und vor Hunger sterben.

¹⁶⁵,Ziel Deutschlands und der EU: wenigstens ein Verhandlungsmandat für ein Abkommen, das 2015 abgeschlossen werden könnte. Dafür erwartet aber China das Kyoto-II-Abkommen, Japan und andere Industriestaaten verlangen dagegen einen Verzicht darauf. Die USA sind generell skeptisch. Einigung nicht in Sicht."

¹⁶⁶"Es wird hoffentlich ein kleiner Schritt in die richtige Richtung erfolgen, aber solange die USA sich sperren wie bisher, wird es keinen echten Fortschritt geben."

be made clear that we, as Europeans, stand up for substantial progress in international environmental protection, in sustainability, that we will use every possibility to gain support for this”¹⁶⁷ (Die Bundesregierung, 2012g). The frame of Germany acting within the EU is reinforced (**Government Frame 2: Leadership**). The government also made the connection between Rio and climate change:

The federal government has almost tripled its commitment in climate protection and climate change adaptation in developing countries between 2005 and 2010. [...] The access to sustainable energy is especially important in order to reach the goals of the international community.¹⁶⁸ (Die Bundesregierung, 2012c).

Chancellor Merkel expresses discontent with the results of the conference: “The results of Rio stay behind what would have been necessary given the starting point”¹⁶⁹ (Die Bundesregierung, 2012f). Altmaier evaluates the conference slightly more positively, according to the SZ: “The compromise is better than a failure”¹⁷⁰ (Bauchmüller, 2012b).

In the UK, the G20 meeting, which also happened in the month of June had not been put into the climate change context. Merkel however, in a government statement, said: “We have to find ways to harmonise globally economic growth, climate, and environmental protection”¹⁷¹ (Die Bundesregierung, 2012e).

Altmaier is the only one to call out for media responsibility: “My wish is that on Deutsche Welle, but also on CNN and BBC, Al-Jazeera and other international broadcast and television programmes environmental and sustainability issues would be discussed much more often. I

¹⁶⁷Wir dürfen die Erwartungen für Rio nicht zu hoch hängen, aber es muss schon deutlich werden, dass wir als Europäer für substanzien Fortschritt im internationalen Umweltschutz, in der Nachhaltigkeit eintreten, dass wir jede Chance nutzen, dafür Unterstützung zu gewinnen.

¹⁶⁸Die Bundesregierung hat allein im Klimaschutz und der Anpassung an den Klimawandel in Entwicklungsländern ihr Engagement zwischen 2005 und 2010 nahezu verdreifacht. [...]Der Zugang zu nachhaltiger Energie ist besonders wichtig, um die Ziele der Staatengemeinschaft zu erreichen.

¹⁶⁹Die Ergebnisse von Rio bleiben hinter dem zurück, was in Anbetracht der Ausgangslage notwendig gewesen wäre.

¹⁷⁰Der Kompromiss sei immer noch besser als ein Scheitern.

¹⁷¹Es müssen Wege gefunden werden, mit denen Wirtschaftswachstum, Klima und Umweltschutz weltweit in Einklang gebracht werden können.

think there are more topics than armed conflict interesting enough to be discussed internationally”¹⁷² (Die Bundesregierung, 2012g).

There is an implication of a government internal conflict in June, when possible differences with the then Minister of Economic Affairs Philipp Rösler are pointed out to the Environment Minister in an interview, but Altmaier denied this: “I am convinced that the Energiewende can be successful without giving up the protection of environment and nature. That is also not how I understood Philipp Rösler”¹⁷³(Die Bundesregierung, 2012g). Further, Development Minister Dirk Niebel, in an interview on June 16 claimed that “when it comes to the distribution of money, [the Development Ministry] has long been the real climate ministry”¹⁷⁴. He also looked at the Rio conference with more hope than the Environment Minister and the Chancellor: “The discussion procedure will be very dynamic, so that there is still a good chance that real agreement will be achieved”¹⁷⁵ (Bauchmüller and Weiss, 2012).

The term “climate protection” is still present in the communication, but less frequent than in the first phase, through expressions such as “climate protection commitment” (Die Bundesregierung, 2012f).

Just like the UK government, the German government has issued much less communication on climate change in June than in the time around the Durban conference. The frame of German leadership has been held up, still closely connected to the Energiewende. There is no promotion of urgency, the failure of Rio is anticipated and accepted. The German government made a stronger connection between Rio, the G20 and climate change than the UK government. A slight difference in frames can be found between the Development Minister on one side and the Environment Minister and the Chancellor on the other side. The newspaper analysis shows that this has not had any influence on the coverage.

¹⁷²Und deshalb wünsche ich mir, dass in der Deutschen Welle, aber auch bei CNN und BBC, bei Al Dschasira und anderen international Rundfunk- und Fernsehprogrammen sehr viel mehr über Umwelt- und Nachhaltigkeitsthemen diskutiert wird. Ich glaube, dass es mehr gibt als nur bewaffnete Konflikte, die es interessant machen, darüber international zu diskutieren.

¹⁷³Ich bin überzeugt, dass man die Energiewende zum Erfolg führen kann, ohne auf Umwelt- und Naturschutz zu verzichten. So habe ich Philipp Rösler auch nicht verstanden.

¹⁷⁴Was die Mittelverteilung angeht, ist [das Entwicklungsministerium] schon längst das wahre Klimaministerium.

¹⁷⁵Der Diskussionsprozess wird sich sehr dynamisch gestalten, sodass da noch eine gute Chance besteht, auch zu echten Vereinbarungen zu kommen.

7.3.2 SÜDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG

The SZ has drastically reduced its coverage in comparison to the first phase, from 34 to 12 articles. That is the biggest decrease in comparison to all newspapers. During the first half of June, the SZ publishes articles on a range of different issues: the influence of warmer rivers on electricity production, food waste, the debate about the third runway at Munich airport, and how to reduce the emission of particulates in construction vehicles. For the rest of the month, the SZ publishes articles about Rio, except for one on June 23 about EU agriculture policies. The pre-Rio coverage was not particularly hopeful but also not completely negative:

- The summit in Rio is now actually supposed to take action [against climate change, loss of biodiversity and other issues]. At least that is the goal.¹⁷⁶ (Der Planet leidet für die Menschheit, 2012)
- German negotiators are still hopeful [as opposed to the government]. At least recently there was surprisingly a lot of movement, it was said, for example with regards to a future environment authority of the United Nations.¹⁷⁷ (Bauchmüller, 2012a)
- 'Green growth' is acknowledged in detail. It is, however, left to the individual countries to define what it means.¹⁷⁸ (Bauchmüller, 2012b)

It is interesting to see that the headlines of some articles are much more negative than the article itself:

- The planet suffers for humankind¹⁷⁹ (Der Planet leidet für die Menschheit, 2012)
- Defeat for the environment¹⁸⁰ (Bauchmüller, 2012b)
- The end of Rio¹⁸¹ (Das Ende von Rio, 2012)

The headlines express disappointment and failure, but all of these articles report on Rio by giving both positive and negative aspects and allowing voices of government and of environmental activists to give their opinion. The overall conclusion of Rio was negative: "A bit

¹⁷⁶Der Gipfel in Rio soll nun tatsächlich dagegen vorgehen. Zumindest ist dies das Ziel.

¹⁷⁷Deutsche Unterhändler sehen allerdings noch Hoffnung. Zumindest habe sich zuletzt noch überraschend viel bewegt, heißt es in Verhandlungskreisen, etwa in der Frage einer künftigen Umweltbehörde der Vereinten Nationen.

¹⁷⁸So wird zwar das „grüne Wachstum“ ausführlich gewürdigt. Es bleibt aber den Staaten selbst überlassen, was sie sich darunter vorstellen.

¹⁷⁹Der Planet leidet für die Menschheit

¹⁸⁰Niederlage für die Umwelt

¹⁸¹Das Ende von Rio

of everything but nothing done properly – and in any case it is not enough”¹⁸² (Bauchmüller, 2012c). The article also doubts multilateralism: “[...] Decisions of such non-binding nature can be made by individual countries. We don’t need Rio for that.” The negative evaluation of Rio is in line with the Chancellor’s frame of Rio which did not have many expectations. It does not reflect the more positive evaluation of the environment minister.

The frame promoted by the SZ differs slightly from the one in the first phase. There is little reference to greenhouse gases and other scientific details. There still is no particular agency attributed to the German government.

The second phase coverage differs from the first with regards to national loyalty as the EU is criticised quite openly. Whereas in the first phase the EU was portrayed as one of the most ambitious actors in climate change in the second phase it was described as weak. The SZ keeps its international outlook on the issue.

- Little by little – with active help of the host Brazil – all more or less ambitious wording disappeared. [...] Europe did not protest either, despite all its big goals for an environmentally friendly development.¹⁸³ (Bauchmüller, 2012c)
- Often it is the US or the group of emerging countries G77, who refuse too specific wording. Behind the G77 are countries like China and India.¹⁸⁴ (Bauchmüller, 2012a)
- Instead the Europeans have agreed to a weak compromise; they did not want to risk a failure of the conference, a big fight. But failure could have shown who in the global community wants to take responsibility and who is hitting the brakes.¹⁸⁵ (Das Ende von Rio, 2012)

The last example shows a direct opposition to the Environment Minister’s evaluation, who, in the same article, prefers the compromise to the option of failure.

7.3.3 FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG AND SONNTAGSZEITUNG

The FAZ stayed true to its scepticism towards multilateralism: “The environment summit in Rio is pointless. It causes more damage to the world than help”¹⁸⁶ (UN-Floskelkonferenz, June 22).

¹⁸²Von allem etwas, aber nichts richtig – und in jedem Fall zu wenig.

¹⁸³, „Nach und nach verschwanden – unter tätiger Mithilfe des Gastgebers Brasilien – alle halbwegs ambitionierten Formulierungen aus dem Text [...] Auch Europa hat nicht widersprochen, ungeachtet all seiner großen Ziele für eine umweltfreundliche Entwicklung.“

¹⁸⁴, „Oft sind es die USA oder die Schwellenländergruppe G 77, die sich gegen zu konkrete Formulierungen wehren. Hinter den G 77 verbergen sich Staaten wie China und Indien.“

¹⁸⁵, „Stattdessen haben sich auch die Europäer auf einen schwachen Kompromiss eingelassen; sie wollten ein Misslingen der Konferenz, einen großen Streit nicht riskieren. Dabei hätte gerade ein Scheitern auch belegen können, wer in der Weltgemeinschaft Verantwortung tragen will und wer bremst.“

This conclusion is not surprising after a coverage that qualifies the original Rio conference of 1992 as a failure and did not expect much from the upcoming conference:

- And so, expectations for the summit in Rio are low. A breakthrough is not expected, Federal Chancellor Angela Merkel, as opposed to meetings similar to this one before, will not even travel there.¹⁸⁷ (Scherff, 2012)
- While humans and wealth have spread out, many other numbers show that the 'green change' has not been successful, despite environment politics being more and more present in the media, and despite non-governmental organisations which advertise environmental protection having become politically and financially more powerful since Rio.¹⁸⁸ (Grossarth and Plickert, 2012)

The *FAZ* coverage also touches upon issues outside of the question whether the conference is successful or not, reporting on the loss of biodiversity (Zahl der bedrohten Tiere und Pflanzen steigt weiter an, 2012) and the role of trees with regards to climate change (Bäume länger wachsen lassen, 2012). The *FAZ* further dedicates a long article to the role the International Court of Justice (ICJ) could play in the international climate change negotiations by providing a legal opinion of who is responsible for climate change (Zimmermann and Bäumler, 2012). This is a very unusual topic, certainly containing important information but it gives the message that the individual cannot do anything even further.

Articles that do not cover Rio are about possible actions against climate change (Wie Umweltberater der Regierung zu umweltgerechtem Wirtschaften erziehen wollen, 2012; "Umweltfeindlicher Verkehr wird zu stark begünstigt", 2012), intensified research efforts of the German Meteorological Service (Wie ein Schalenkreuz im Wind, 2012), and the dangers of climate change bringing tropical illnesses to Europe (Carl Beierkuhnlein: "Alle Mücken sind schon da? Klimawandel und vektorübertragene Krankheiten in Europa", 2012). On June 14, the *FAZ* reports on a study by BP announcing the increase of the use of coal. Referring to BP's chief economist, the *FAZ* writes: "The United States, however, are an example for the substitution of

¹⁸⁶Der Umweltgipfel in Rio ist überflüssig. Er schadet der Welt mehr als er ihr nützt.

¹⁸⁷Und so sind auch die Erwartungen an den Gipfel in Rio bescheiden. Ein Durchbruch wird nicht erwartet, Bundeskanzlerin Angela Merkel reist anders als bei ähnlichen Treffen zuvor gar nicht erst an.

¹⁸⁸Während sich der Mensch und der Wohlstand also weiter ausgebreitet haben, zeigen viele andere Kennzahlen, dass die "grüne Wende" nicht gelungen ist, obwohl Umweltpolitik medial immer präsenter wurde und seit Rio die Nichtregierungsorganisationen, die mit Umweltschutz werben, politisch immer mächtiger und finanziell stärker wurden.

coal with gas, the least climate-damaging fossil fuel”¹⁸⁹ (Der Kohleverbrauch steigt kräftig, 2012). The British *Guardian* also reports on this, but leaves out the part of the US being an example: “a fast move away from coal to gas would help reduce CO2 emissions fast” (Macalister, 2012b). The *FAZ* certainly does not have a problem criticising the US, but also does not mind reporting on this – depending on one’s viewpoint – positive development. For the *Guardian*, this would go against the line it is following.

The *FAZ* continues its focus on scientific aspects and in-depth background information on climate change. Like in the first phase, and similar to the *SZ* coverage, the government is not seen as important actor but also does not receive any blame for inaction. The frame promoted seems to be that climate change is quite complicated and that individual countries’ actions are more efficient than international efforts.

As observed in the *SZ*, as well as in the *Guardian*, the *FAZ* was much more critical of the government in the second phase. However, we cannot observe the in-group/out-group dynamic that was present in the UK coverage. In addition, the critique was less straightforward than in the UK, implying the disadvantage of something rather than spelling out every detail. The *FAZ* provided the only article that criticises the government’s post-Fukushima actions concerning the Energiewende. The lack of coverage on this in general is surprising, given the emphasis put on it by the government and the importance of the topic in reference to climate mitigation. It is striking that the only article mentioning the Energiewende at all was also critical of it – this points towards a failure of government communication, at least for the time period studied.

- Altogether, policies in Germany and Europe contribute to the fact that air traffic, hostile to the environment, will be able to continue growing significantly.¹⁹⁰ (“Umweltfeindlicher Verkehr wird zu stark begünstigt”, 2012)
- Due to the Energiewende of the Federal Government, reduction goals will be hard to reach. Because the substitution of nuclear power plants will probably lead to the increased use of climate damaging gas and coal power plants.¹⁹¹ (Scherff, 2012),

¹⁸⁹Die Vereinigten Staaten seien dagegen ein Vorbild für die Substitution von Kohle durch Erdgas, den am wenigsten klimaschädlichen fossilen Brennstoff

¹⁹⁰„Insgesamt trage die Politik in Deutschland und Europa dazu bei, dass der umweltfeindliche Flugverkehr weiter stark wachsen könne.“

¹⁹¹„Die Energiewende der Bundesregierung macht die Reduktionsziele nun kaum mehr erreichbar. Denn der Ersatz der Atomkraftwerke dürfte vorübergehend zum vermehrten Einsatz klimaschädlicher Gas- und Kohlekraftwerke führen.“

- The environment advisors of the Federal Government demand more commitment for a decoupling of economic growth and the use of resources.¹⁹² (Wie Umweltberater der Regierung zu umweltgerechtem Wirtschaften erziehen wollen, 2012)

More action from the government is demanded but with no reference to national loyalty.

7.3.4 BILD AND BILD AM SONNTAG

The *Bild* coverage in June is, in part, mysterious. Two of the articles simply report on money spent on climate research:

- 3.4 million for climate research¹⁹³ (3,4 Mio. für Klima-Forschung, 2012)
- Climate institute uses 17 million [for new building]¹⁹⁴ (Klima-Institut verbaut 17 Mio., 2012)

Why this is reported remains unclear. Is it to point out that too much money is spent on the issue? Is it to show support? This question cannot be answered, but it is interesting to see that this is the only time money is mentioned prominently. By contrast, in British newspapers this could be seen on several occasions with regards to financial aid, taxes and subsidies, but these issues were not discussed in German newspapers in either of the phases.

Bild declares Rio a failure:

- Another failed climate conference!¹⁹⁵ (Protest bei Klimakonferenz in Rio, 2012)
- This is the summit of pointlessness¹⁹⁶ (Kluckert, 2012)

Unlike in the first phase, where there was general information on the Durban summit, there was no further explanation on what happened at Rio and there were just a few short lines, leaning towards sensationalism. Declaring Rio a failure opposes the frame put forward by Environment Minister Altmaier.

What can be taken away from the June coverage of *Bild* is that climate research is expensive and that Rio was a failure. By clearly calling Rio a “climate conference”, *Bild* is different from the UK’s *Sun*, which didn’t frame the conference in such a way. This confirms the general trend in

¹⁹², „Mehr Engagement für eine Entkoppelung von Wirtschaftswachstum und Ressourcennutzung verlangen Umweltberater der Bundesregierung.“

¹⁹³3,4 Mio. für Klima-Forschung

¹⁹⁴Klima-Institut verbaut 17 Mio.

¹⁹⁵Schon wieder eine gescheiterte Klimakonferenz!

¹⁹⁶Das ist der Gipfel der Sinnlosigkeit! (Ambiguity in German: “Gipfel” can mean “summit” but also “limit”)

the German coverage as well as government communication to frame Rio, at least partly, as climate conference.

7.4 CONCLUSION

Government and newspaper frames are quite far apart in Germany. With an emphasis on the Energiewende, the government emphasised the German leadership and its exemplary role. The government frames are as follows:

- The Energiewende is framed as an exemplary solution to climate change.
- Germany is framed as leader, in particular through the Energiewende, but within the EU context.
- Durban is not framed as a great possibility for an agreement.

The *FAZ* and the *SZ* focused more on background information of scientific details of climate change and the *Bild* also gave general information rather than criticising or supporting the government as an actor. The tables below illustrate the instances, in which the newspapers took up or opposed government frames. There are no clear signs of political parallelism. The general “non-critique” of the governmental actors shows that the newspapers seem to be accepting the actions taken by the government. The signs of anti-multilateralism may eventually evoke sentiments of protest among the audience. Whether this is the case can obviously not be determined by a pure media analysis.

The newspapers’ frames sum up as follows:

- The *SZ* points out the problems of the Durban conference but does not show a strong frame of urgency for climate action. This is in line with the government's low-key expectations of Durban. There is an emphasis on the scientific details of climate change. By endorsing the EU as strong player, the *SZ* supports the government frame at least partially.
- The *FAZ* has a frame similar to the *SZ*, adding a notion of scepticism towards the multilateral UN system and therefore framing the conference as not useful. It supports the government frame of leadership when the government applies to host the climate fund. The support for government frames is entirely missing in the second phase.
- The *Bild* shows a certain level of sensationalism and doom coverage emphasising the urgency of climate action, and giving little information. It does not support any government frame.

	1. Energiewende as solution to climate change		2. Leadership (of the EU)		3. Low expectations for Durban		Total	
	Support	Opposition	Support	Opposition	Support	Opposition	Support	Opposition
SZ	1 (3.03%)	0	3 (9.09%)	0	0	0	4 (12.12%)	0
FAZ	0	0	1 (4%)	0	0	0	1 (4%)	0
Bild	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Figure 11: Number of times German newspapers picked up government frames in Phase 1 (percentages refer to number of total articles per newspaper per phase. Yellow fields represent instances of political parallelism through support or opposition.

	1. Energiewende as solution to climate change		2. Leadership (of the EU)	
	Support	Opposition	Support	Opposition
SZ	0	0	0	0
FAZ	0	0	0	0
Bild	0	0	0	0

Figure 12: Number of times German newspapers picked up government frames in Phase 2 (percentages refer to number of total articles per newspaper per phase. Yellow fields represent instances of political parallelism through support or opposition.

With regards to national loyalty, the German newspapers, in particular the FAZ and the SZ show dedication to the European Union and therefore an international outlook similar to the *Guardian*. They express their agreement with the behaviour of the EU at the Durban conference, pointing out the “misbehaviour” of other actors such as the US, China, or India. It is striking that there is basically no reference to the Energiewende which is promoted by the government as the solution to climate change but which, as only one article mentions, might lead to higher fossil fuel emissions due to the phase-out of nuclear energy. The Bild stands out as the newspaper with the least coverage on climate change, but it does not express any climate scepticism. The fact that none of the newspapers allows climate scepticism despite their ideological differences represents the situation in Germany where climate change has been accepted more or less since becoming an issue. Differences within the coalition government concerning actions needed on climate change, as it happened in the UK, do not seem to exist. German newspapers certainly have decades of experience reporting on coalition governments and the lack of praise or criticism of government can hardly be attributed to that. In addition, neither of the governing parties corresponds with the general centre-left orientation of the SZ. The national and EU efforts seem to be accepted as the right way across different ideological spectrums. In the UK there were several examples that depicted the different approach of the three newspapers to the same information. This could not be detected in Germany. There is also no difference in political parallelism when comparing coverage of national issues and international negotiations.

8. UNITED STATES

The following sections look at government communication and news coverage of the United States. The newspapers are the *New York Times* (*NYT*, centre-left), the *Washington Post* (*WP*, centre-left), and *USA Today* (centrist). The US, at the time of this study, is governed by President Barack Obama of the Democratic Party. Government frames refer directly to the Executive branch of the government, not to Congress. Political Parallelism was expected to be low, since according to Hallin and Mancini's categorisation, the US is the prime example for the Liberal Model. This was confirmed, however, indicators of national loyalty could also be found in the US.

8.1 DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS¹⁹⁷

In the first phase, the US government publishes twelve articles, the *New York Times* (*NYT*) 25, the *Washington Post* (*WP*) 32 and *USA Today* six. In the second phase, there were six by the government, 18 by the *NYT*, 16 by the *WP* and five by *USA Today*. The *WP* is the only newspaper that follows the same pattern as all of the British newspaper by halving its coverage from the first to the second phase. In the first phase, four of both the *NYT* and *WP* articles are published on a Sunday, but no *USA Today* articles on a Sunday in both phases. In the second phase, four *NYT* and three *WP* articles are published on a Sunday.

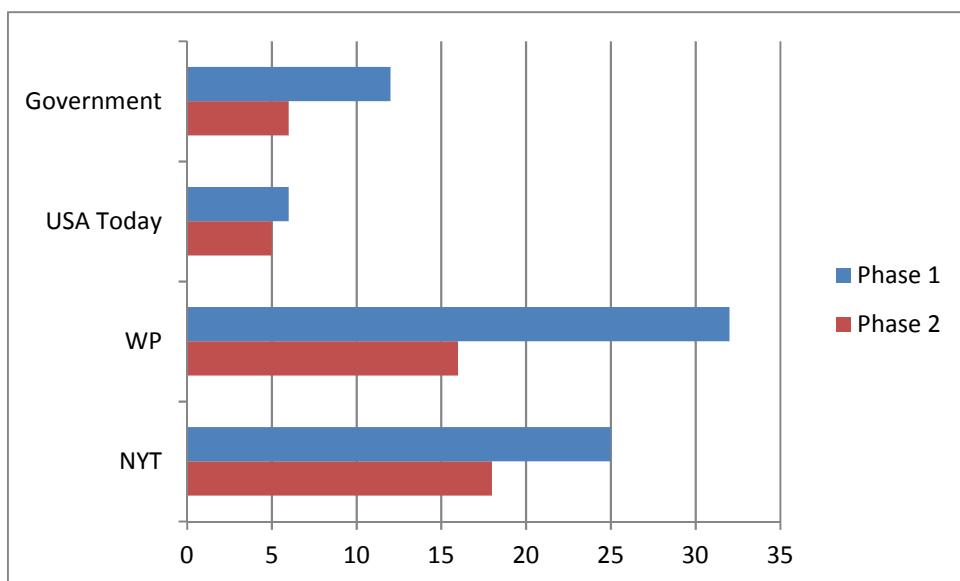


Figure 13: Comparison of the number of US government communication items and newspaper articles in the two phases

¹⁹⁷ All newspaper articles and government communication items are listed in the Appendix.

Peaks in the US newspapers are less clear than those in the UK and Germany. The *WP* has three articles on November 21, November 29, December 5 and December 13. The *NYT* has two articles on November 29, December 4, December 8, December 12, December 13, December 16 and December 17. Two items of government communication were published on November 28, December 2 and December 8. In the second phase, no newspaper publishes more than two items in one day. The *NYT* has two articles on June 1, June 19 and June 24, the *WP* on June 12, June 18, June 19 and June 20. June 22 has the highest number of government communication with two speeches by Hilary Clinton.

There is little pre-conference coverage for Durban. The *WP* had three, and the *NYT* and *USA Today* one article each that deal with or touch upon the topic. The *NYT*'s article is about Climategate but gives no information on the actual issues to be discussed at the conference. *USA Today* published one article introducing the most important points of the upcoming conference but then fails to mention the conference again until December 9 – the day the conference was supposed to end. The *NYT* introduces the details of the conference on its first day, November 28 and the *WP* continued its coverage on the same day. For the *NYT*, the end of the conference does not result in a drastic decrease of climate change coverage, it continues to publish one or two articles regularly. The last peak day of the *WP* is at the end of the conference: After December 13, it published a maximum of one article a day.

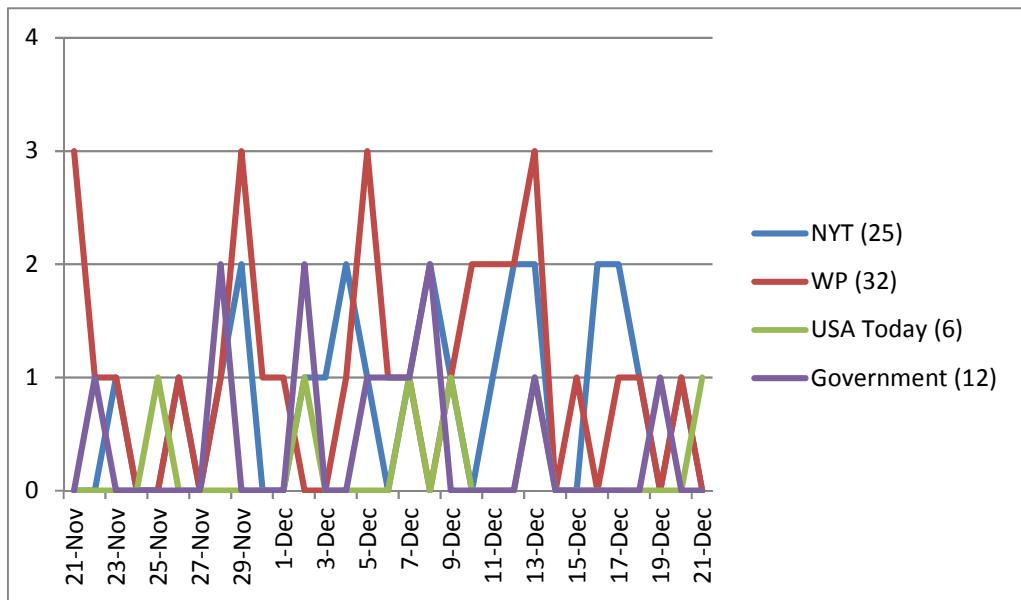


Figure 14: Number of items published by the US government and newspapers in the course of Phase 1

With the US not being part of the Kyoto Protocol, reactions to Canada resigning from the treaty are different than in the European newspapers but also in the government communications.

Both the *WP* and the *NYT* report on it and the government comments, but reactions are not indignant.

Despite the upcoming election in 2012, few of the relevant articles make reference to it indicating that the climate change issue is of little importance in the overall election coverage. Sceptics, and in particular, uncommented opinions of sceptics appeared quite regularly, which is in contrast to both the UK and Germany. Another particularity for the US, at least for the government communication, is a certain emphasis on the success of the Cancun conference of 2010, i.e. the year before the Durban conference. This indicates that the US government might have a different view on the outcomes of the conferences in comparison to the EU. With the US experiencing more extreme weather events than the UK and Germany, such as droughts and hurricanes, coverage on local impacts are more frequent than in the other two countries. This, however, does not mean that these events are exclusively attributed to climate change and that sceptics do not have the opportunity to have their voices heard.

Three of the *NYT* articles were editorials, four were Op-Eds, 17 news stories and two articles from guest writers. The *WP* had three editorials, one Op-Ed, 26 news stories and two guest articles. *USA Today* published five news stories and one guest article. During the first phase, there were 13 days without a relevant article for the *NYT*, and 10 days for the *WP*. *USA Today* publishes on six days. The particularity of the US government is that most communication consisted of press briefings by the Special Envoy for Climate Change Todd Stern or one of his representatives. One press release by the White House, one EU-US statement, the statement by Stern at Durban and one article written by an ambassador are the only exceptions to this. For the UK and Germany, we had seen a mix of different types of communication: speeches, statements, interviews, press releases and guest articles. Press briefings were rather exceptional. For the US, Todd Stern is the main actor concerning climate change. The newspaper analysis will show what other forces come into play.

In the second phase, the *NYT* published four editorials, two Op-Eds, and twelve news stories. The *WP* had three editorials, ten news stories and three guest writers. *USA Today* published five news stories.

The *NYT* had relevant articles on 15 days, the *WP* published on 11 days and *USA Today* on five days. The government communication consisted of two press briefings, one presidential proclamation, one press release, and two speeches by Hilary Clinton.

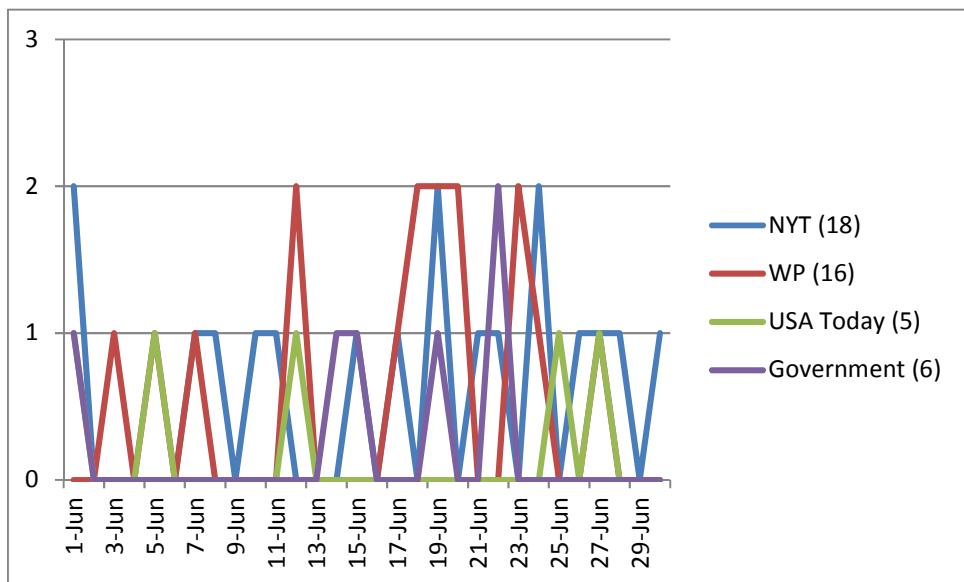


Figure 15: Number of items published by the US government and newspapers in the course of Phase 2

The *NYT* published two articles on the Rio conference, the *WP* three and *USA Today* none. In general, there is no main topic to be determined, as both local and international issues are addressed. The election of 2012 was only a few months away, but climate change still does not seem to be a dominating topic at the time. Coverage was confined to pointing out candidate Mitt Romney's changed opinion regarding the issue. Interestingly, while in the first phase it was only the *WP* that referred to the election, in the second phase it was the *NYT* that held this position.

The qualitative analysis will show how the attitude towards the Rio conference of the US government is in stark contrast especially to the attitude of the German government.

8.2 FRAMES – PHASE 1

8.2.1 GOVERNMENT

The view of the US government on the conference and on its own actions is quite different from the perspective of the UK and German government. The US, among other big emitters, is seen in these countries as an obstacle in the process towards a global agreement. The US government promotes a different image:

- [...] many of the instruments that are framed under the [Cancun] agreement are ones that never would have existed without active U.S. participation and, in many senses, leadership (U.S. Department of State, 2011a)
- At home, the United States takes seriously the commitments first made by our Leaders in Copenhagen and reaffirmed in Cancun. (U.S. Department of State, 2011j)

The US government promotes a frame that action had already been taken in Copenhagen and Cancun (**Government Frame 1: Cancun already delivered solution**). Copenhagen, in particular, was generally received as a disappointment by many governments and newspapers alike. After an incident during the Durban conference where a participating college student interrupted Stern's statement and accused him of delaying action, causing many in the room to applaud her, the US had to defend its position:

It is completely off base to suggest that the U.S. is proposing that we delay action until 2020. [...] So, I just wanted to make that clear because, after I heard it about the fourth or fifth time in the last few days, and again I've heard this from everywhere from ministers to press reports to the very sincere and passionate young woman who was in the hall when I was giving my remarks. [...] So what the U.S. has been doing over the last two years, with all due respect, has been showing the leadership necessary to try to drag this process into the 21st century." (U.S. Department of State, 2011i)

The US government frames itself as a leader in the negotiations and in climate action (**Government Frame 2: Leadership**). Besides the reinforcement that the US was not blocking the negotiations, but rather, leading the process towards a global agreement, the government also had a particular focus on the Cancun conference of the previous year:

- We reached [an agreement] last year in Cancun. And if you look at that agreement, you will find a major undertaking involving all the parties (U.S. Department of State, 2011k)
- The world came together [in Cancun] and agreed on a major step forward in tackling this problem. (U.S. Department of State, 2011b)
- One [goal at Durban] is to carry out the agreements that were reached in last year's Cancun negotiation which was a very important negotiation that included for the first time, in an agreement adopted by the COP, undertakings by all the major economies, and many players beyond that, actually, to reduce their emissions. (U.S. Department of State, 2011e)
- What is embedded in the Cancun agreement is so much more meaningful in terms of potential emission reductions than anything that is in Kyoto that there is no contest. (U.S. Department of State, 2011i)
- If we look at Cancun, which the U.S. has also been a leader in designing, we now have an agreement that covers 80 percent, or more, of global emissions. (U.S. Department of State, 2011a)

This kind of argument could not be found in any other government's communication. The US frame therefore implies the perception that the work is already done, and that the Cancun conference has ended with an acceptable solution for climate change, dwarfing even the Kyoto Protocol. The Durban conference is not seen as an important step. By emphasising the inclusion of "all major economies" and "an agreement that covers 80 percent, or more, of global emissions", the government shows its unwillingness to sign a climate deal without these conditions having been met (**Government Frame 3: Agreement including developing countries**). There is no sense of urgency in the communication. Additionally, Stern does not see the US' relationship with China as problematic in the climate change process:

- I can't tell you whether China's waiting for us or not, I can only speak for the United States. But I really don't see it that way. (U.S. Department of State 2011k)
- Dynamic, U.S.-China? I think actually quite good. (U.S. Department of State, 2011l)

Finally, the government barely comments on Canada exiting the Kyoto Protocol: "I think Canada's obviously a sovereign country and can make its own decision" (U.S. Department of State, 2011l), which is a contrast to the German reaction: "We now all have had to note Canada's unacceptable behaviour"¹⁹⁸ (Die Bundesregierung, 2011m). This illustrates the US point of view that it has made clear throughout climate negotiations, that it does not accept a climate treaty that affects their sovereignty.

8.2.2 THE NEW YORK TIMES

The *New York Times* differs in its approach to climate coverage already through the simple fact that coverage on Durban starts much later than in quality newspapers of other countries. The position of the US in the negotiations and the level of importance attributed to climate change was reflected in the coverage. The frequent mention of sceptics also indicates their prominent role in the US, by contrast to the other countries of this study. Further, phrases like "Scientists say the rapid growth of emissions is warming the Earth" (Gillis, J., 2011a), reflect the tendency of US newspapers to distance themselves from opinions and focus on so-called "balanced reporting". The *NYT* showed some similarities to the British *Telegraph* in this respect, which also reported on Climategate and other incidences involving sceptics. However, the *NYT* does not provide opinion pieces supporting climate sceptics, like the *Telegraph*'s Christopher Booker. This shows the US-typical balanced reporting in the non-opinion section, which is different from clearly marked opinion pieces.

- Myron Ebell, a climate-change skeptic who works for the Competitive Enterprise Institute, a free-market think tank based in Washington, called the new e-mails 'strong evidence that a small group of scientists centered around East Anglia were engaged in a conspiracy to provide a scientifically misleading assessment of the case for catastrophic global warming'. (Gillis and Kaufman, 2011)
- On the strategy front, some of these groups are becoming more circumspect in campaigning against global warming, mindful of mixed public sentiment. (Kaufman, 2011)
- Criticism is also coming from a relatively small but vocal band of climate-change sceptics, many of them sitting members of the United States Congress, who doubt the existence of human influence on the climate and ridicule international efforts to deal with it. (Broder, 2011a)
- Citing permafrost temperatures for northern Alaska -- which, though rising rapidly, remain well below freezing -- an organization called the Center for the Study of Carbon Dioxide and Global Change claimed that permafrost is in 'no more danger of being wiped out any time soon than it was in the days of our great-grandparents'. (Gillis, J., 2011b)

¹⁹⁸Wir alle haben das inakzeptable Verhalten von Kanada jetzt zur Kenntnis nehmen müssen.

Nevertheless, the *NYT* in general seems to support the notion that human actions increase the warming of the atmosphere through greenhouse gases:

- If a substantial amount of the carbon [trapped in the permafrost of the Arctic] should enter the atmosphere, it would intensify the planetary warming. (Gillis, J., 2011b)
- The increase solidified a trend of ever-rising emissions that scientists fear will make it difficult, if not impossible, to forestall severe climate change in coming decades. (Gillis, J., 2011a)
- From 1990 to 2009, global emissions of carbon dioxide, the main greenhouse gas produced by burning fossil fuels, rose by a whopping 38 percent. (Semple, 2011)
- The question now is what to do about rising emissions in the next decade. (Beyond Durban, 2011)

These examples further reinforce the cautious, “balanced” presentation of facts. The problems with emissions are presented as if they were new information. This frame could not be observed in other countries and neither in the US government communication, which generally stayed clear of science.

When coverage on Durban finally happens, the *NYT* puts into question the leadership role of the US (**Opposition to Government Frame 2**):

As the largest per capita emitter of greenhouse gases among big economies, America should have taken a leadership role. It did not. The Senate refused to ratify the Kyoto accord, President George W. Bush flatly repudiated it, and Congress failed to put a price on carbon. (Semple, 2011)

It also differs with the government’s opinion on the relationship between the United States and China. The *NYT* reports that “The dispute between the United States and China, the two largest sources of the carbon dioxide emissions that contribute to global warming, has come to be an enduring feature of these negotiations and a source of deep frustration for the other players” (Broder, 2011c). However, when the conference is over, the *NYT* describes the US as major player in the positive outcome: “More important, with the United States applying much of the pressure, China and India consented to participate in any future agreement limiting emissions and play by the same rules as everyone else” (Beyond Durban, 2011). This is the only time when the *NYT* promotes the government frame of US leadership (**Government Frame 2**).

The UK and German newspapers had emphasised the role of the European Union in the process, but the *NYT* plays down the success of the EU negotiators: “Some analysts argued that the Europeans were required to compromise on their core position, accepting a vague promise of a legal treaty without assurances it would ever be ratified” (Broder, 2011f).

In general, the evaluation of the conference points out both positive and negative aspects. The support for climate action can be detected in certain limited ways and the outcome is also criticised but not in the same way as in the UK and German newspapers.

- The decision to move toward a new treaty -- and toward replacing the 20-year-old system that requires only industrialized nations to cut emissions -- was hard-won, after 72 hours of continuous wrangling. But for now it remains merely a pledge, and all details remain to be negotiated. (Broder, 2011e)
- After 72 hours of continuous wrangling, the 17th conference of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change wrapped up early Sunday with modest accomplishments [...] Observers and delegates said that the actions taken at the meeting, while sufficient to keep the negotiating process alive, would not have a significant impact on climate change. (Broder, 2011f)
- And it left them further than ever from achieving their stated goal of keeping average global temperatures from rising 2 degrees Celsius above preindustrial levels [...] There were a few modest successes. (Beyond Durban, 2011)

There is no indignation about the outcome of the conference and neither about Canada's withdrawal from the Kyoto Protocol, while the move had been strongly criticised by German and British newspapers. This shows that newspapers in the US, not being part of the Kyoto Protocol, have a different view on the negotiation process. While the German and British newspapers had at least one article with an evidently negative opinion about the results of Durban, the *NYT* keeps a low profile. The clearest words may have been:

Startling new evidence that global carbon dioxide emissions are rising faster than ever did little to increase the urgency of the climate talks in Durban, South Africa, which concluded earlier this week. Once again, the world's negotiators kicked the can down the road. (Beyond Durban, 2011)

The *NYT* did not adopt the government frame of the Cancun conference already being the solution, and it both negated and praised the role of US leadership. Despite some articles citing sceptics, there is an emphasis that greenhouse gas emissions need to be reduced. However, there was no frame of any particular urgency and most articles were set in the tone of a distant observer rather than someone being affected. This corresponds with the notion of a balanced, and "objective" coverage.

The US newspapers' low concern with the climate change summit is also observed through the limited number of references to national loyalty. As one of the major dampers of the negotiation process, the newspapers would have had reason and opportunity to defend the US or to develop arguments to support their government act against the national interest as it was observed, in particular, in the British newspapers. We can find one article that supports the government's line of US leadership in the negotiations and several instances where the US is criticised. However, the criticism is limited in comparison to the attacks on the US by other

countries' newspapers and often remains merely descriptive – possibly a sign of balanced, non-opinionated reporting. UK newspapers in particular have been shown in this study to be especially outspoken when it comes to government critique.

- More important, with the United States applying much of the pressure, China and India consented to participate in any future agreement limiting emissions and play by the same rules as everyone else. [...] This time they agreed in principle to work toward a new international agreement "applicable to all parties". (Beyond Durban, 2011)
- The United States has been criticized at these gatherings for years, in part because of its rejection of the Kyoto framework and in part because it has not adopted a comprehensive domestic program for reducing its own greenhouse gas emissions. (Broder, 2011a)
- As the largest per capita emitter of greenhouse gases among big economies, America should have taken a leadership role. It did not. The Senate refused to ratify the Kyoto accord, President George W. Bush flatly repudiated it, and Congress failed to put a price on carbon. Having pledged to reduce greenhouse gases by 7 percent, America saw its carbon emissions rise by almost that amount. (Semple, 2011)
- The dispute between the United States and China, the two largest sources of the carbon dioxide emissions that contribute to global warming, has come to be an enduring feature of these negotiations and a source of deep frustration for the other players. (Broder, 2011c)
- This is a big deal -- a legacy deal for Obama that will make a significant, long-term contribution to America's energy, environmental, health and national security agendas. [...] Dan Becker, director of the Safe Climate Campaign of the Center for Auto Safety, said the mileage deal "is the biggest single step that any nation has taken to cut global warming pollution. (Friedman, 2011)

The government leadership frame was taken up only once, but there was also no strong counterframe, the coverage remained descriptive. The phrase "America should have taken a leadership role" can be seen as an instance of in-group/out-group coverage. Since this occurs only once, it is not a strong frame. National loyalty is at a low level.

8.2.3 THE WASHINGTON POST

The *WP* had a slightly different approach than the *NYT*, giving more space to the Durban conference and allowing more criticism and opinion. Climate scepticism is also a regular topic in the *WP*, but in all of the articles of this study, scepticism was clearly not part of the newspaper's own opinion:

- The notion that humans have contributed to climate change has generated increasing skepticism among the American public, especially as proposals to deal with the problem, such as reducing carbon emissions, have come with high costs. But [Rick] Perry is wrong to say that such skepticism has gained strength among scientists. (Kessler, 2011b)
- The residents' opposition has focused on a central point: They don't think climate change is accelerated by human activity, as most climate scientists conclude. (Fears, 2011)
- [Newt Gingrich] has softened his stance on climate change lately, saying there are merits on both sides of the debate. (Somarshekhar, 2011)

- [Fatih] Birol spoke in unusually blunt terms about the climate implications of the global energy mix, implications that are disputed by many conservatives in the United States who don't believe in the connection between human activity and climate change. (Eilperin, 2011e)

The government does not mention sceptics, therefore the frame of the existence of climate sceptics is not in line with government communication. When the Republican Party votes against a proposal to establish a National Climate Service in the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) to streamline the provision of and access to climate information, the *WP* clearly denounces it:

The reality: Congress is still giving NOAA those funds for climate research and data delivery. But they'll be distributed across the agency instead of consolidated under an umbrella climate service. The hundreds of millions in savings trumpeted by the Republican-led Appropriations Committee are an illusion. (Vastag, 2011)

The titles of some articles also carry a slightly more opinionated tone than observed in the *NYT*: “Energy official sees climate ‘catastrophe’” (Eilperin, 2011e), “Congress kills request for new climate service” (Vastag, 2011), “Climate-change fight intensifies in Va.” (Fears, 2011).

The *WP* expresses low expectations for the outcome of the Durban conference:

- Officials from the world's biggest emitters of greenhouse gases are trying to ensure that upcoming U.N. climate negotiations in South Africa deliver at least modest results, even as many continue to resist the idea of endorsing a treaty that would impose mandatory obligations on them. (Eilperin, 2011a)
- ‘The situation has never been weaker for that vision’ of a global approach, said Connaughton, now executive vice president for corporate affairs, public and environmental policy for Constellation Energy. (Eilperin, 2011d)
- Chinese negotiators raised the prospect of negotiating a legally binding climate pact at U.N. talks over the weekend in South Africa, but they laid out stringent requirements. (Eilperin, 2011g)
- Delegates to annual U.N. climate negotiations made only incremental progress Tuesday, even as researchers warned that if nations don't bolster their plans to curb greenhouse gas emissions, much more costly reductions will be needed after 2020. (Eilperin, 2011h),
- As U.N. climate talks entered their final stage in South Africa on Thursday, delegates were struggling with how to accommodate the desire of many nations for a new, legally binding treaty and the Obama administration's resistance to such a commitment. (Eilperin, 2011i)

The government frame of Cancun’s achievements and US leadership were not taken up, but at the same time there was no strong counterframe. There was implied criticism of the US approach to the conference, which could constitute a counterframe to the US leadership frame. As mentioned before, the aspect of persistence in time might lead to this frame not being strong.

The comments on the outcome of the conference, however, are slightly more positive than in other countries and the *WP* also provides an article that explains why the UN summits are

necessary, despite the modest outcomes – this is in contrast to some of the articles in German newspapers as well as the *NYT*, which promote a bottom up approach as the solution to climate change. This is therefore the only active defence of multilateralism. The *WP* also emphasised the geopolitical implications of the Durban agreement and seems to be the only newspaper to have attributed such significance to Durban.¹⁹⁹

- This advance is, potentially, huge: For the first time, officials of the nations that are the biggest carbon emitters - China, the United States and India - have agreed to negotiate legally binding restrictions. [...] But it's necessary to keep the negotiating process alive until it is possible to reach a meaningful agreement. So yes, you can argue that the Durban conference only managed to kick the climate can down the road. For now, though, that might be enough. (Robinson, 2011)
- National governments will set most anti-carbon policies. But, because the problem is global, it's hard to do even that without some international agreement. [...] For now, the U.N. process at least provides attention to the climate issue and regular deadlines. But leaders should still give themselves every opportunity to do better, instead of laboring exclusively for the dream of a single, grand climate bargain. It's good that, increasingly, climate change is on the agenda of other international forums and country-to-country meetings. (Haze in the forecast, 2011)
- Delegates to the U.N. climate talks adopted a significant agreement Sunday setting nations on a new path toward an international accord by 2015 to limit greenhouse gas emissions. [...] The outcome of contentious negotiations taking place in Durban [...] reflected a fundamental shift in the geopolitics behind global environmental disputes. (Eilperin, 2011k)
- Broad in scope but short on details, the Durban Platform aims to break down the firewall that has divided the historical big emitters of greenhouse gases - industrialized nations - from the major developing countries whose emissions, scientists say, are driving future climate change. (Eilperin, 2011l)

Like the *NYT*, the *WP* also addressed the role of greenhouse gases in the global warming process:

- Carbon dioxide lives in the atmosphere for decades, which means that global warming is a problem that could slowly escalate over the next century, ultimately producing temperatures that could be extremely costly to human society. (Haze in the forecast, 2011)
- Negotiators wrapped up a meeting in Bali on Friday without agreeing to ratchet down the global use of ozone-depleting chemicals called hydrofluorocarbons (HFCs), which are a growing contributor to climate change. (Eilperin, 2011c)

The *WP* framed the outcome of the Durban conference in a moderately positive way and emphasised the role of greenhouse gases in global warming. It distanced itself from climate scepticism. Like in the *NYT*, there was no focus on urgency. The *WP* is the only Western newspaper that attributed some significance to the outcome of Durban. The only other

¹⁹⁹The Telegraph speaks of a “new global alliance” and observes that “Now a new divide has opened up, between the polluters - including India and China - and the victims of climate change” (Lean, 2011a). It does not speak of “geopolitical shifts”.

newspaper that praised the outcome is the *Times of India*, which, however, uses a national loyalty approach as will be shown in the next chapter.

While not expressing strong support for the US government frames, the *WP* did point to the importance of US actions for the future of a climate deal. It further emphasised the value of climate policies for national security, independent of each individual's belief. China and India are repeatedly referred as the blockers of the process. There is a clear support for domestic legislation on climate change but even though this was still missing at the time, there was no in-group/out-group framing that displayed the government as acting against the national interest. **The first example supports Government Frame 3.** The following two excerpts also show support for government action, slightly endorsing the leadership frame but also calling for more action.

- The biggest obstacle, though, is not the U.N. structure but politics among the big polluters. In Durban, U.S. negotiator Todd Stern was right to refuse an accord that left out some of the world's largest emitters - countries such as China and India, which have clung to the notion of "differentiated" responsibilities between developed and developing nations. [...] China's shift of position was a step forward - but the long time frame dilutes the deal's significance. So does the United States' toxic domestic debate on climate change, which could limit future action at home and abroad. (Haze in the forecast, 2011)
- Although 108 of the treaty's 197 signatories backed the proposal, it failed to pass because China and India objected. [...] "China and India need to show they can be leaders rather than laggards blocking island efforts to survive," Zaelke said. He added that although the United States pushed hard for the measure, "technocrats move at a very deliberate pace. If you want to speed it up, you have to move it to a heads-of-government level." (Eilperin, 2011c)
- A bill sitting in Congress now, the Save Our Climate Act, would put a tax on carbon and use the revenue to help consumers pay for higher energy costs and pay down the deficit. Passing such legislation would not only mitigate climate change but also would encourage other big emitters like China and India to follow our lead. (Flock, 2011)
- The lesson is simple - climate leadership can and must spring from U.S. economic and security interests, not as a U.N. byproduct," Bledsoe wrote. (Eilperin, 2011j)
- If the candidates running for president believe in energy independence as a matter of national security - regardless of whether they agree with the science behind climate change - then the issue of investing in renewable energies must be front and center in the campaign. (Schwarzenegger, 2011)

The final excerpt is an example of the in-group/out-group, appealing to the presidential candidates' commitment to US security. The *Washington Post* promotes a frame of the need for action and leadership by the US government, which has not yet been completely fulfilled. This therefore contradicts the government frame.

8.2.4 USA TODAY

Like the popular newspapers in Germany and the UK, *USA Today* provided the lowest number of articles on climate change. Scepticism was explicitly addressed only in an article about Newt

Gingrich (Kucinich, 2011). As could already be seen in the *NYT* coverage, phrases like “greenhouse gas emissions that most scientists contend are contributing to a warmer climate” (Vergano, 2011a) cater to the notion of balanced coverage. There are two articles discussing the Durban summit, each with low expectations for the outcome:

- As prospects for a major global accord on climate change look dim, ensuring that negotiations continue may be the most a United Nations climate summit will achieve next week. (Vergano, 2011a)
- Leading scientists warned this week that climate change is accelerating, but this year's U.N. climate negotiations are poised to end without a new binding accord to reduce the world's greenhouse gas emissions. (Koch, 2011)

There is no article on the actual outcome of the conference. *USA Today* generally supports the idea that global warming is happening and that greenhouse gases are responsible:

- Sea-level rise has long been a point of contention among climate scientists, who overwhelmingly agree that humanity adding greenhouse gases such as carbon dioxide to the atmosphere has raised global average temperatures about 1.4 degrees Fahrenheit worldwide in the past century, according to a 2010 National Academy of Sciences report. (Vergano, 2011b)
- Nuclear power is too slow and expensive to address global warming. (Riccio, 2011)

Both *USA Today* and the *WP* report on new scientific findings²⁰⁰, but from a different viewpoint. The *WP* writes: “Delegates to annual U.N. climate negotiations made only incremental progress Tuesday, even as researchers warned that if nations don't bolster their plans to curb greenhouse gas emissions, much more costly reductions will be needed after 2020” (Eilperin, 2011h), therefore making climate change an economic problem. *USA Today* writes: “Ice-age geologic records suggest Earth's climate will warm faster than expected, pushing the global sea level perhaps more than 3 feet higher within this century, a panel of scientists warned Tuesday” (Vergano, 2011b). *USA Today* puts the issue in the context of physical danger. These findings were not at all communicated by the US government.

USA Today provides very little information on the Durban conference and on climate change in general, but nevertheless promotes a sense of urgency. However, it did not follow up on this urgency by explaining the outcomes of the conference. Limited detail on Durban, sea level rise and nuclear energy leave the reader with basic and rather superficial information. There is no expression at all of agreement or disagreement with the US approach to climate change or with other countries. National loyalty did not play a visible role in *USA Today*'s climate change coverage.

²⁰⁰From the articles it remains unclear whether both talk about the same study.

8.3 FRAMES – PHASE 2

8.3.1 GOVERNMENT

As for the UK and German government, the US had less communication in the second phase. There is particular attention to the topic of oceans. President Obama proclaims “June 2012 as National Oceans Month”, warning that America’s “oceans are under threat from pollution, coastal development, overfishing, and climate change” (The White House, 2012a) (**Government Frame 1: Importance of oceans**). A few weeks later, Todd Stern confirms that the US is “very committed to progress with respect to oceans” (U.S. Department of State, 2012d), in answering a question regarding ocean acidification. A framing of oceans in the context of climate change could not be discovered in the German or British government and newspaper items.

The Special Envoy for Climate Change specifically pointed out that Rio+20 “is not an environmental conference. This conference is a development conference” (U.S. Department of State, 2012c) (**Government Frame 2: Rio not an environmental conference**). This is in contrast in particular to the German government and newspapers, which referred to Rio as a climate conference. Secretary of State Hilary Clinton emphasised the need for public-private partnerships in order to achieve sustainable development (U.S. Department of State, 201a; 2012b).

Both Hilary Clinton and Todd Stern referred to the Brazilian leadership in very positive terms and to the importance of the conference with regards to cooperation between business and politics. The Rio Conference is framed as a development conference without including much information on climate change.

8.3.2 THE NEW YORK TIMES

A big part of the articles published in the June phase is concerned with national issues, i.e. reporting on climate change without making reference to an international scope. Only two articles discuss the Rio+20 conference with regards to climate change. The *NYT* did not reflect the positive attitude towards Rio promoted by the government:

- But the conference -- expected to draw as many as 50,000 participants -- is in many ways overshadowed by economic and political crises around the world. While more than 100 heads of state and government are planning to attend the formal talks starting Wednesday, President Obama, Prime Minister David Cameron of Britain and Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany are staying away, preoccupied by domestic politics and the financial turmoil in Europe. (Romero and Broder, 2012a)

- Burdened by low expectations, snarled by endless traffic congestion and shunned by President Obama, the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development ended here as it began, under a shroud of withering criticism. (Romero and Broder, 2012b)

The June phase accentuated the fact that the US is already affected by climate change more than the UK and Germany through extreme weather events. This provides a clear frame of the immediate impact on everyday life, even though the information lacks detail²⁰¹.

- Experts say drought, climate change and shifts in land use and firefighting strategies mean that other Western states will probably see similar giant fires this season. (New Mexico: Wildfire Spreads, 2012)
- [Hurricane] Katrina is generally considered to have been a 400-year storm, and rising seas and more numerous hurricanes predicted in many climate-change models suggest harsher conditions to come. (Schwartz, 2012)
- Fire and weather experts have warned that climate change and drought are likely to provide abundant fuel for more and fiercer "superfires" across the West in the years ahead. (Healy and Wald, 2012)
- Today, with climate change and other modern misfortunes, the world's beaches are again under assault -- by oil spills, overpopulation, rising sea levels, hurricanes, tsunamis. (Gillis, J.R., 2012)

An issue discussed by all three newspapers was a court ruling backing the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). An article in the *NYT* on June 27 merely reports facts and reactions from different sides (Wald, 2012), but on June 28, the *NYT* publishes the editorial "A Court Rules for the Planet" (2012) and clearly expressed its support for actions to decrease greenhouse gases (**Government Frame 3: Leadership**). The latter article does not give the sceptics point of view, whereas the former represents both sides:

But Representative Fred Upton, the Michigan Republican who is chairman of the House Energy and Commerce Committee, said that Congress's refusal to approve greenhouse gas limits constituted a decision and that lawmakers should act now to reverse the E.P.A. emissions rules. (Wald, 2012)

Other references to sceptics are concerning Presidential Candidate Mitt Romney:

Today he is a proclaimed skeptic on global warming, a champion of oil and other fossil fuels, a critic of federal efforts to develop cleaner energy sources and a sworn enemy of the Environmental Protection Agency (Energy Etch A Sketch, 2012)

Others are more subtle or balanced: "Some scientists connect all of that and other extreme weather to climate change" (Bruni, 2012).

The *NYT* further showed support for natural gas as a more climate friendly solution: "Switching to natural gas is not going to solve climate change. But a gas-fired power plant emits only half as much carbon dioxide as a coal-fired plant, and this is no time to squander any advantage"

²⁰¹For example, when there is talk of "drought and climate change" – the drought already may be a result of climate change.

(Natural Gas, by the Book, 2012). It also picked up on the government emphasis on oceans: "As terrestrial animals, we are most focused on how climate change affects our immediate habitat. But ocean acidification may be a sort of stealth asteroid of environmental change" (Carroll, 2012).

Frames in the June phase for the *NYT* focused on climate change posing an imminent danger and that actions such as the reduction of greenhouse gases are necessary. The *NYT* shows a backing of the EPA and therefore of the Obama administration. However, it did not refrain from criticising the president for his absence at the Rio conference. In general, the *NYT* shows more opinion on climate change issues than it did in the Durban phase.

- The Obama administration offered no grand public gestures here, opting to focus on smaller-scale development projects like clean cookstoves and local energy projects. Europe, traditionally the driving force behind environmental action yet distracted now by efforts to contain a financial crisis, was considerably more active than the United States, taking part in nearly every corner of the sprawling conference. (Romero and Broder, 2012b)
- Stronger federal rules are plainly needed. Concern for the planet is unlikely to persuade industry to drop its objections, but the public opposition should. Americans need to know that hydrofracturing is safe. (Natural Gas, by the Book, 2012)
- The idea that a politician, especially Mr. Romney, would change his positions for political gain won't surprise anyone. But the costs of not getting energy policy right -- America's security, its global competitiveness, public health and the health of the planet -- are much too high for such cynical business as usual. (Energy Etch A Sketch, 2012)

These last few examples show a certain level of national loyalty, criticising the lack of action both nationally and internationally. A more critical attitude towards the government in the second phase has also been a pattern in the UK and Germany. An in-group/out-group frame can be discovered in the demand for "stronger federal rules" and by evoking "the cost of not getting energy policy right". This frame seems fairly weak, in particular in comparison to certain in-group/out-group frames discovered in other countries, which directly pointed out the shortcomings of the government.

8.3.3 THE WASHINGTON POST

Just like for the Durban conference, the *WP* dedicates slightly more space to the Rio summit than the *NYT*, but does not expect much from it either:

- But even the most prominent proponents of the U.N. Conference on Sustainable Development, which will take place June 20-22 in Rio de Janeiro, do not expect this gathering to produce a significant global agreement. (Eilperin, 2012a),
- U.S. officials and others have sought to lower expectations for this week's U.N. Conference on Sustainable Development, noting that the Rio summit is not aimed at producing a breakthrough agreement on climate change or other high-profile issues. (Eilperin, 2012b)

- No one really believes that the Rio+20 meeting will result in a new agreement to limit greenhouse gas emissions. (Kissling and Singer, 2012)

The **WP** clearly opposes Government Frame 2 by referring to Rio in the context of emission reductions. We can also find an explicit attack on multilateralism:

The global environment summit concluding Friday, which drew nearly 100 world leaders and more than 45,000 others to Rio de Janeiro and cost tens of millions of dollars, may produce one lasting legacy: convincing people it's not worth holding global summits. (Eilperin, 2012c)

This is underlined by more subtle criticisms through statements such as

- While more than 130 world leaders will try to hammer out a negotiated statement in Rio by week's end about their sustainable development goals, many of the concrete steps are being taken [sic] by community leaders. (Eilperin, 2012b)
- Perhaps more significant, two dozen major firms made new environmental commitments Monday at the conference. Coca-Cola pledged to develop plans to protect the water sources for its 200 bottling plants worldwide, while Dow Chemical said it will assess the economic value it gets from the ecosystems connected to its new bioplastics plant in Brazil. (Eilperin and Clement, 2012)

This is a contrast to the Durban phase, where the **WP** had defended international summits as necessary. Some of the titles of the **WP** articles in June sound alarming – something that could already be observed in the Durban phase:

- Large rise in sea level expected by 2030 (2012)
- Carbon dioxide concentrations reach alarming levels (2012)
- As Earth summit nears, experts sound alarm on health of planet (Eilperin, 2012a)

The **WP** does not, however, follow the line of **NYT** of reporting on dangers only on the national scope, but stays focused on global issues:

- The world's air has reached what scientists call a troubling new milestone for carbon dioxide, the main global warming pollutant. (Carbon dioxide concentrations reach alarming levels, 2012)
- Huge amounts of carbon trapped in the soils of U.S. forests will be released into the air as the planet heats up, contributing to a "vicious cycle" that could accelerate climate change, a new study concluded. (Vastag, 2012)
- Climate change could reduce yields by more than 20 percent in many areas within developing countries - think of the floods in Thailand and the droughts in the Horn of Africa. (Polman and Servitje, 2012).

Most of these examples also show that greenhouse gases are still an important issue for the **WP**. Nevertheless, some national or local impacts of climate change are also discussed:

- Miles of waterways that add to Norfolk's [VA] charm are also a major threat in the era of increased global warming and relative rising sea levels, as well as its odd and unique sinking ground. (Fears, 2012a)
- The West Coast will see an ocean several inches higher in coming decades, with most of California expected to get sea levels a half-foot higher by 2030, according to a report released Friday. (Large rise in sea level expected by 2030, 2012)

- Vast national forest areas and scattered pockets of undeveloped lands in West Virginia and Virginia are among the regions that would be resilient to drought, rising temperatures and other threats associated with climate change, according to a study released Monday by the Nature Conservancy. (Landscapes resilient to climate change found in Va., W.Va., 2012)

Climate sceptics are explicitly referred to only once:

It would be a huge outlay for such a small city, particularly in a state where lawmakers recently bowed to pressure from tea party political activists and refused to allow the words "sea level" and "climate change" in a recommendation for a study of their impact on the Virginia coast, according to the Virginian-Pilot. (Fears, 2012a)

As mentioned above, the *WP* also reported on the court decision backing the EPA, and represented views of both supporters and opponents, but fell short of pointing out that the opponents were climate sceptics (Fears, 2012b). Unlike the *NYT*, the *WP* did not express any opinions on this issue.

In one article, the US is described as a leader in working towards reducing emissions:

To safely tap the riches, the United States and other countries are trying to cooperate to combat harmful climate change, settle territorial disputes and prevent oil spills. [...] The U.S. has been championing measures such as shifting away from dirty diesel engines, agricultural burning and hydrofluorocarbons to lessen the effect of short-lived greenhouse gases that are a particularly potent source of climate change in the Arctic. (Klapper, 2012)

The June coverage of the *WP* was less supportive of global summits, but kept its attitude towards climate change and greenhouse gases. It also published the occasional article with an alarmist title and stayed away from scepticism. Climate change was presented as both a national and international topic. There was very little nationalistic coverage in the second phase by the *WP*. The coverage of Rio was detached, with general criticism launched against the conference. There was a tendency towards covering national climate change issues, which could simply stand for a general national focus of the *WP*. Government frames were not taken up, and a counterframe was proposed only once.

8.3.4 USA TODAY

USA Today coverage in June was only concerned with national issues and does not mention the Rio conference. Wildfires and sea level rise were addressed (Bacon, 2012a; 2012b), similar to the *NYT* coverage. A book review encouraging green behaviour also gave space to climate sceptics:

'I don't think that's true. There's not a consensus we're heading toward catastrophe,' says David Kreutzer, a research fellow in energy economics and climate change at the Heritage Foundation, a self-described 'conservative' think tank. (Koch, 2012)

Scepticism was further addressed in an article on a surprisingly successful cooperation between Democratic Senator Barbara Boxer and Republican Senator James Inhofe, "the

Senate's most vocal denier of the connection between greenhouse gases and global warming, calling it 'the greatest hoax ever perpetrated on the American people'" (Baker, 2012). The court decision supporting the EPA was reported in a short article, without comment nor any opinions (Bacon, 2012c).

USA Today promoted a certain frame of immediate danger, and even provided an article with possibilities for individual persons to contribute to reducing greenhouse gases (Koch, 2012). It is problematic, however, that no large-scale actions on the national or international actions were addressed in detail, maybe leaving the reader with the impression that driving a hybrid and buying local fruit and vegetables is enough to fight climate change. *USA Today*, nevertheless, seems to support action against climate change. The fact that the Rio conference was not mentioned in the context of climate change may stand for the backing of the government frame, which didn't declare Rio as an environment or climate change conference. The focus on national reporting with regards to climate change shows that the newspaper does not generally have an international outlook on the issue. This kind of approach to national loyalty is unique to *USA Today*, as there is no reference to costs or other implications, as for example was the case for the British *Telegraph*.

8.4 CONCLUSION

The US government's and newspapers' view on climate change provides a perspective different from both German and British newspapers. Despite frames of immediate danger, in particular in the second phase, there was little promotion of any urgency of action. The Durban and Rio conference are attributed less importance than in the other countries, expressed by a relatively small number of articles. The government frames itself in a leading position, a vision not shared by other countries and barely supported by the US newspapers. It was also alone in defending the importance of the Cancun conference. The US government provides the following frames:

- The US is a leader in climate negotiations.
- The Cancun Conference (2010) has provided the necessary new agreement.
- An agreement needs to include developing countries.
- Rio is not a climate conference.
- Oceans are important.

All three newspapers clearly support that climate change is taking place. However, sceptics are given a voice much more frequently than in the other countries. The frames are as following:

- The *NYT* emphasises the need to reduce greenhouse gases but does not promote urgency.
- The *WP* also stresses the reduction of greenhouse gases and gives slightly more importance to the Durban conference; urgency is also missing here. The important role of the US is pointed out.
- *USA Today* promotes danger but at the same time gives little information in general.

	1. Cancun already delivered solution		2. Leadership		3. Agreement including developing countries		Total	
	Support	Opposition	Support	Opposition	Support	Opposition	Support	Opposition
NYT	0	0	1 (4%)	1 (4%)	0	0	1 (4%)	1 (4%)
WP	0	0	0	0	1 (3.13%)	0	1 (3.13%)	0
USA Today	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Figure 16: Number of times US newspapers picked up government frames in Phase 1 (percentages refer to number of total articles per newspaper per phase. Yellow fields represent instances of political parallelism through support or opposition.

	1. Importance of oceans		2. Rio not an environmental conference		3. Leadership		Total	
	Support	Opposition	Support	Opposition	Support	Opposition	Support	Opposition
NYT	0	0	0	0	1 (5.56%)	0	1 (5.56%)	0
WP	0	0	0	1 (6.25%)	0	0	0	1 (6.25%)
USA Today	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Figure 17: Number of times US newspapers picked up government frames in Phase 2 (percentages refer to number of total articles per newspaper per phase. Yellow fields represent instances of political parallelism through support or opposition.

It can therefore already be said that political parallelism with regards to climate change is extremely low in the US, which confirms expectations. The tables above sum up the instances, in which newspapers picked up or opposed government frames. National loyalty coverage is also relatively scarce, which might spring from the fact that the US attributes lower importance to the Durban conference than other countries. There is more coverage than in the UK and Germany of physical dangers on the national level caused by climate change. Despite the newspapers' general support towards climate action, it is visible that the US' approach differs from the other countries in this study. Balance, especially concerning sceptics, does not seem to be prominent. Opinions are less strong than in the other countries and the US newspapers seem to be more detached from the issue than the other countries. The importance of international negotiations is clearly lower than in other countries whereas there is more

coverage on national events that can be attributed to climate change. This approach is somewhat contradictory given that climate change cannot exclusively be dealt with on a national level. On the other hand, in the UK and Germany the coverage of (potential) national consequences concerning climate change was almost non-existent, which might give the impression of the problem being far away. The final empirical chapter will look at India, which presents a completely different approach than the Western newspapers.

9. INDIA

Not being a part of the developed world yet, India is considerably different from the other countries in this study. Yet, it is the world's biggest democracy and has a media system that is just as developed as in the other countries, with many newspapers, both quality and popular and a seemingly infinite variety of TV channels. At the time of this study, India had a centre-left coalition government, the United Progressive Alliance, led by the Indian National Congress. The newspapers studied are the *Hindu* (centre-left), the *Times of India* (*TOI*, conservative) and *Mid Day* (populist). As explained in the chapter on media systems, high political parallelism was expected. However, national loyalty seems to play an important role in the realm of climate change coverage, as the following sections will show. The first part of the chapter looks at some basic statistics, the second part is divided in the qualitative analysis of the first and second phase.

9.1 DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS²⁰²

In the first phase, the *Times of India* (*TOI*) published 48 articles, the *Hindu* 70 and *Mid Day* only one relevant item. The government had nine relevant items. In the second phase, the government published two items of communication, the *TOI* 54, the *Hindu* 55, and *Mid Day* three. The two broadsheet newspapers have the highest number of articles of all newspapers in both phases and they do not show the drastic reduction of articles in the second phases as was observed for most broadsheets in the other countries. There were no differences made between weekday and Sunday editions²⁰³ and both the *TOI* and the *Hindu* published relevant articles on most Sundays. *Mid Day* is the popular newspaper with the lowest number of articles. The *Times of India* and *Mid Day* are the only newspapers in the study that increased their article count from the first to the second phase.

Peaks in the Indian coverage are less clear than in the German and UK coverage and, comparable to the US coverage, are more spread out over the month. Due to the high number of articles, days with three, four and five articles are common in the first phase. The *TOI* publishes five articles on December 8 and 14, the *Hindu* on November 30 and on December 7.

²⁰² All newspaper articles and government communication items are listed in the Appendix.

²⁰³Probably due to the fact that Sunday in India is not the general day of leave as in the Western hemisphere.

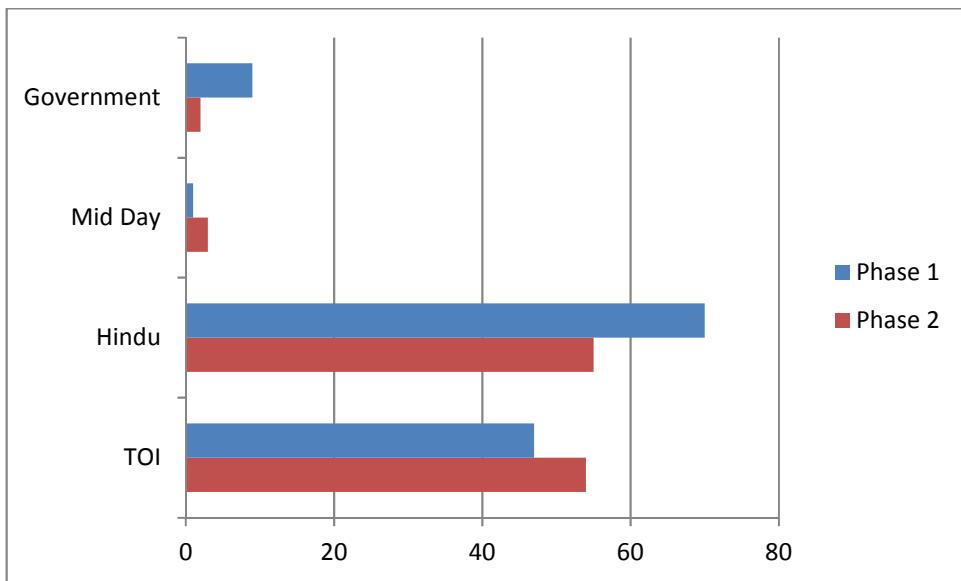


Figure 18: Comparison of the number of Indian government communication items and newspaper articles in the two phases

For the *Hindu*, the first peak happened shortly after the beginning of the Durban conference. Two of the five articles were in relation to the conference. The articles of the second peak all covered different topics, one of them the Durban conference. Four of the five articles of the *TOI*'s first peak covered the Durban conference. The second peak, which is just after the end of the conference, includes two articles in reference to Durban.

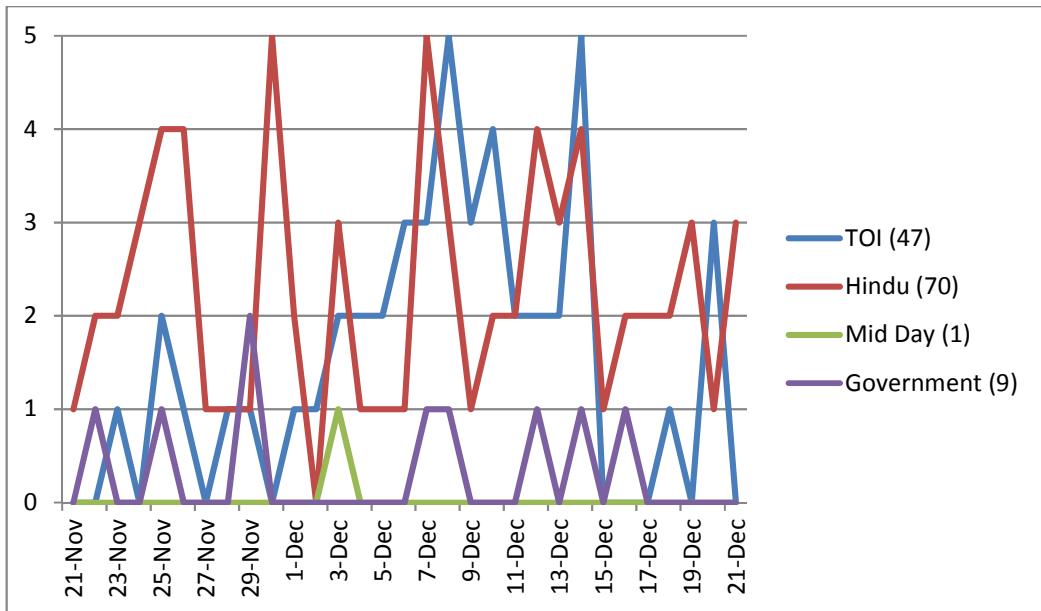


Figure 19: Number of items published by the Indian government and newspapers in the course of Phase 1

The government's peak of two articles on November 29 does not seem to be caused by the Durban conference, since it addresses national policies. As observed with the other governments, the Indian government communication also declines with the end of the Durban conference. The last item is published on December 16, with Minister of State for the

Environment and Forests Shrimati Jayanthi Natarajan summing up the results of the conference. As the qualitative analysis will demonstrate, Ms Natarajan is seen as the main actor for the Indian government at the time and her role in the negotiations is followed closely.

The *Hindu* did not have a lot of pre-conference coverage, the first time Durban was mentioned is one day before the beginning of the meeting. The article takes a critical stance on India's position in the international climate negotiations. The *TOI*, in general, had significantly less coverage in the week before Durban, but provides two articles dealing with the conference on November 25. One article describes the strong stance by India and the BASIC countries, the other one explains the influence of a successful international agreement on the preservation of forests. Climategate did not get any coverage. *Mid Day* did not cover Durban at all. Climate scepticism does not have any space in Indian coverage, sceptics were mentioned only once in the second phase (Vishu, 2012). Throughout both phases it can be observed that local issues, such as initiatives to create awareness for climate change and the already visible effects of climate change on coasts or agriculture take up a lot of space in the Indian coverage.

The *Hindu* had 59 news stories in the first phase, ten Op-Eds, and one interview. The *TOI* has the particularity of not categorising articles in different genres, therefore all but one have been coded as news stories. The qualitative analysis will shed more light on whether there may be any articles that can be considered as opinion articles. The *Mid Day* article is a news story.

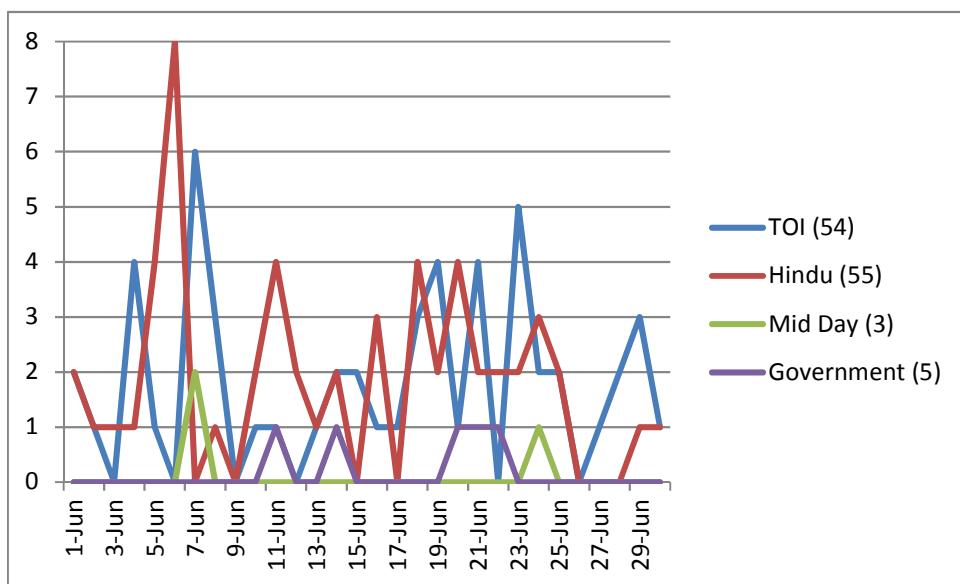


Figure 20: Number of items published by the Indian government and newspapers in the course of Phase 2

In the second phase, the *Hindu* has a pronounced peak on June 6, the *TOI* on June 7, but still we can still find many days with three or more articles during the entire month. The *Hindu*'s peak is due to World Environment Day, a UN holiday celebrated on June 5 every year: six of the

eight articles are dedicated to activities held for the occasion. This marks a considerable difference to the Western newspapers where this day is not mentioned at all. World Environment Day, as the qualitative analysis will show, remains on the agenda throughout the month of June. The *TOI*'s peak is only one day after the *Hindu*'s, but only two of the six articles deal with World Environment Day. However, the topic recurs throughout the month.

The two government items of the second phase mark two major events: World Environment Day and the Rio+20 conference. Like the other governments, the number of communications by the Indian government is reduced significantly in the second phase. This is surprising in particular with regards to the Rio conference which for India, as a developing country is of great importance.

50 of the *Hindu* articles were news stories, four Op-Eds, and one interview. As mentioned above, the *TOI* were coded as new stories with the exception of June 24, which is an interview. The three *Mid Day* articles were news stories.

As already mentioned, World Environment Day is an important topic of the second phase, as well as the Rio conference. Local issues, just like in the first phase, also remain important.

9.2 FRAMES – PHASE 1

9.2.1 GOVERNMENT

The Indian government communication was divided between national and international issues. On the national scale, forests and environmental protection were on the agenda (Ministry of Environment and Forests²⁰⁴, 2011a; 2011b; 2011c; 2011d). Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh spoke on December 14 on the occasion of National Energy Conservation Day. The Indian government shows great awareness of the importance of the natural environment and its preservation (**Government Frame 1: Importance of Environmental Protection**). However, it did not promote urgency, but rather, the need to improve efforts:

- Smt. Jayanthi Natarajan appealed for more scientific analysis of the issues relating to forest management in the country in the midst of ever increasing pressure on the forests and climate change threat. (MoEF, 2011a)
- [‘Forest Charter 2011’] suggests that sufficient investments are made in the forestry sector. (MoEF, 2011b)
- These are steps towards protection & conservation of environment based upon a scientific approach. (MoEF, 2011c)

²⁰⁴ Will be referred to as MoEF in the following.

- Given that we import a large component of the commercial energy that we use, it is of vital importance that we redouble our efforts both to increase the domestic supply of energy and to reduce the energy intensity of our GDP. (Prime Minister's Office, 2011)

On the international scale, the Environment Minister introduced the frame of equity (**Government Frame 2**) and defended India's right to development:

- Equity is a fundamental issue in climate change. It deals not only with Common But Differentiated Responsibility (CBDR), but more importantly, with equity in access to global atmospheric resources. (UNFCCC, 2011b)
- We have proposed three agenda items for consideration by CoP at Durban to ensure that the issues unresolved at Cancun are fully addressed in the negotiating process. These are the issues of equity, unilateral actions and technology-related [Intellectual Property Rights]. In Cancun, these fell off the table in the rush to reach decisions. (MoEF, 2011e)
- It is of paramount importance that the issue of equity is brought to the centre-stage of negotiations in future. (MoEF, 2011g)

A stark contrast to the other countries' view is, for example, the statement: "We are a large country but with a very small carbon footprint" (UNFCCC, 2011b).

India's performance at the conference is seen as successful (**Government Frame 3: Leadership**), the European Union in particular was attacked for its opinions and actions it was framed as being unfair in the climate talks at India's expense (**Government Frame 4: Shortcomings of developed countries**):

- These actions [by the EU to impose a unilateral carbon tax] are disguised trade actions taken in the name of climate. (MoEF, 2011e)
- We successfully resisted this [sic] pressures and in turn suggested a similar expression 'agreed outcome with legal force' which found acceptance with all the Parties. [...] India ensured that the new arrangements in 2020 are established under the Convention. (MoEF, 2011g)

On December 13, the *Hindu* published an Op-Ed fairly critical of India's achievements (see below) in Durban, directly attacking the minister's leadership frame. The Environment Minister reacted with a harsh letter, reiterating her frame of leadership and equity:

[A] careful reading of the final Document will reveal that, contrary to what you have claimed in your editorial, India, due to our principled persistence, brought back the issue of equity to the centre-stage of the climate debate. [...] I would, therefore, request to you to direct your editorial team to 'grasp the complexities' of what has happened from a more objective angle and present a balanced picture to your readers. (Natarajan, 2011)

In the UK we could observe an incident where Secretary of the Environment Chris Huhne directly replied to an article in the *Guardian* (see Chapter 6). While Huhne was clearly not happy with the *Guardian* article and suggested the author should inform himself better by attending his speech, Natarajan accused the writer of the *Hindu*'s article of being non-objective and not balanced and demanded an increased influence on the editorial team by the editor.

The following analysis of the newspapers will show that the *Hindu* tended to be critical of the government, whereas the *TOI* was very supportive of the government actions. Since the *TOI* is a more conservative newspaper and the government is centre-left, this may not be due to political parallelism but due to national loyalty.

The government framed climate change differently on a national and international scale. On the national level, the focus was placed on improving the knowledge of its effects and possible mitigation and adaptation measures as a response. On the international level, climate change responsibility was attributed to the developed countries and India was presented as a leader in the negotiations.

9.2.2 THE HINDU

Climate change awareness, in particular among children and young people, as well as local and national research make up an important part of the newspaper coverage in India in general. The *Hindu* provided a range of article dealing with awareness and the involvement of youth:

- Walk for the climate (Satish, 2011)
- Rally to spread awareness on global warming taken out (2011)
- Awareness campaign on climate change (2011)
- Saplings distributed to 130 farmers (2011)
- Focus on climate change at eco meet (2011)
- 550-km walk on climate justice (2011)

Further, in addition to creating awareness, young people are actively encouraged to pursue a career in environmental sciences of all kinds. The article “Etch out a ‘green career’” (Sandhya Srikanth, 2011) describes different environmental professions in detail, including salary prospects and information about universities. The importance of existing researchers and students in relevant programmes is emphasised. Successful research and researchers, as well as new research initiatives were presented. In addition, food security is an issue often addressed. This is also an indicator that the Indian newspapers are well aware that India has to deal with certain problems caused by climate change, which differ greatly from the ones in Europe and the United States. This, to some extent, takes up the frame of the government for more effort in research concerning tackling climate and environment issues. Some examples are:

- Technical education and technology advancement will help tackle issues such as poverty, extremism, and global warming, according to S. Teki, Head of Management Studies, Adikavi Nannaya University. ('Technology will help tackle various issues', 2011)
- Governor Murlidhar Chandrakant Bhandare here on Saturday called upon agricultural researchers and students to contribute their best for the all-round development of agriculture

and allied sectors keeping in view of the changing climate and volatility in market. (Agriculture a priority area: Governor, 2011)

- Environmental studies scholars and practitioners contribute to the remarkable proliferation of this understanding [that climate change is unequivocal], contribute and reflect in a dynamic literature and knowledge creation, which subsequently is used as policy document and guideline for any activity. (Soumya, 2011)
- The sixth Uttarakhand State Science and Technology Congress has ended in Almora with experts calling for serious efforts to mitigate the challenges of food security due to climate change in mountain regions and usher in inclusive development for the so far deprived masses of the State (Chandramohan, 2011)

Evaluations on whether India is a big greenhouse gas emitter differ, the first one supported the government frame of equity (**Government Frame 2**) whereas the second one did not:

- But India's and Brazil's emissions are low, and comparable to those of the world's poorest countries. (Bidwai, 2011)
- Voraciously burning coal to power its economic growth, China has become the world's No. 1 greenhouse gas emitter. Joining it in the top ranks are India, Brazil and Indonesia, all racing out of poverty. (After Durban, a long road ahead, 2011)

As shown above, the *Hindu* showed quite a critical stance towards its government's actions in Durban. Besides the harsh criticism already mentioned, the following statement further shows the *Hindu*'s disagreement (**Opposition to Government Frame 3**):

India's former Ambassador to the United Nations Nirupam Sen said Mr. Bidwai's book grounded the climate debate in an ongoing class struggle. India's stance that developing countries could not afford to take on climate commitments because poverty eradication was their top priority was false. (India, China urged to change stand at climate summit, 2011)

Opinions expressed on the EU are mixed. As mentioned above, the EU was seen as leader in the negotiations, but its stance was also seen as problematic: "The EU initially played a positive role in the climate talks but has since turned conservative" (Bidwai, 2011).

When the *Hindu* described the actions by the Indian negotiators in non-opinion articles, it usually quoted or paraphrased the Environment Minister:

- In the midst of growing criticism, Ms. Natarajan told delegates that India — which is being seen as a 'deal-breaker' for not agreeing to the a [sic] binding treaty — was not holding up the climate talks. (Goalless, climate talks go into extra time, 2011)
- [Ms Natarajan] said the Indian delegation successfully resisted pressure from countries led by the European Union to agree to a legally binding agreement for emission reduction for all nations, which could hamper India's development. (India did not commit itself to binding emission reduction targets post-2020, 2011)

By emphasising the importance for awareness and advancement in research, the *Hindu* directly referred climate change to the reality of Indian citizens. The involvement of children and young people was also stressed, which is an interesting contrast to the Western newspapers, that, if

anything, solely recommend recycling, and driving hybrid cars²⁰⁵. As said, the government, on the national level, framed climate change as a research challenge but it did not communicate on this with the same intensity as the newspapers did. It may be that regional and local governments communicate more on the events and initiatives taking places in their areas.

Regarding Durban, the government approach was seen quite critically, which indicates that political parallelism is low. The *Hindu* is a centre-left newspaper and the government at the time of Durban is the centre-left party Indian National Congress. The *Hindu* demanded equity for India but did not provide ideas how this can be achieved. The question, that is difficult to answer through the newspaper analysis, is whether the frames of government criticism and equity clash, since the government is the channel through which equity can be requested. The *Hindu* opposes the government frame of the success of Indian leadership. It occasionally supports the government frame of (attempted) unfair actions by the European Union and other developed countries.

The *Hindu* displayed a very specific kind of national loyalty with a strong in-group/out-group component but still very focused on India mitigating climate change. So unlike the *Telegraph* in the UK, it did not accuse the government of wasting money or unlike the *Guardian* or the German newspapers it did not take on a global outlook. While the EU newspapers generally presented the EU suggestions as the most ambitious, the *Hindu* did not agree and even accused the EU of not living up to its duties. But it does not agree with the Indian government's action either, nor with any other country. In one article, the *Hindu* specifically pointed out that the government did not take into account the interests of the Indian population. Nevertheless, there were also some positive comments on India taking steps toward emission reductions.

There was some support for the minister's verbal attack on the developed nations (**Government Frame 4**):

Asserting that equity has to be centrepiece of climate talks, India on Saturday slammed developed nations for not doing enough to combat global warming as it made an "emotional" appeal for space for basic development for its 1.2 billion people and poverty eradication.
(Goalless, climate talks go into extra time, 2011)

Many times, however, the Indian government was accused of not doing enough. The *Hindu* denied that the government had reached any of the goals it had set and by failing to do so through strategic errors, had let down the Indian people. At the same time, the *Hindu* did not

²⁰⁵This does not mean that Indian newspapers do not provide similar advice from time to time.

adopt a global outlook, by asking for a global atmospheric space for India and by refusing any responsibility for India.

- While the Kyoto refuseniks (the US, now joined by Canada) dislike any kind of binding international obligations, China and India are seeking to postpone the day when they are subject to them. What none can explain however is how delay is compatible with achieving the 2°C goal they have all espoused²⁰⁶. (Jacobs, 2011)
- A fast-growing country like India has to show statesmanship. I am unhappy that India has sent a small team to Durban for the Climate Change summit. We are stuck with ideological baggage. I am worried time is running out. We have to act now. In India seven out of 10 people are below 30. We have to show leadership qualities. It is our responsibility to handover a better planet to the next generation.²⁰⁷ (Satish, 2011)
- India, together with China, which was supportive of India throughout the meeting, was more or less isolated. The strategic mishandling of Durban is evident from the fact that after opposing for two weeks the very idea of an 'agreement to have an agreement,' India finally assented to the Durban Platform without even the token inclusion of any of its core concerns such as equity. [...] At a more fundamental level, it is high time the government realised that the interests of the 1.2 billion people that it so frequently invokes at climate negotiations lie as much in an early climate agreement as in adequate access to global atmospheric space, and grasped the complexity of translating this into negotiating realities.²⁰⁸ (India lost the plot at Durban, 2011)
- It is clear that India painted itself into something of a corner with its inflexibility on the Durban Platform, effectively losing the opportunity to drive the negotiating process, and allowing the EU to carry through an agenda that is both scientifically unambitious and directed at passing the buck to the large developing countries.²⁰⁹ (Jayaraman, 2011)

The last two examples are a clear opposition to Government Frame 3. Further, there is a clear national interest frame with an in-group/out-group notion by saying "the interests of the 1.2 billion people". The latter was published after the Environment Minister sent a harsh letter to the newspaper. The newspaper, visibly, remained unimpressed. An Indian leadership role was framed as an important goal to achieve, going beyond the climate negotiations:

- It is important for India to assume a leadership role in biodiversity conservation and efforts to tackle the impact of climate change, eminent scientist and advisor, Department of Space, M.G.K. Menon said here on Thursday. (Call for India to take leadership in biodiversity, 2011)
- He argued that India must uphold the principle of equitable carbon space not just in the international arena, but domestically as well. (India, China urged to change stand at climate summit, 2011)
- Other good news could be a stronger commitment from both the developed and the developing nations to cut down on their carbon emission substantially. Both India and China have already shown the way in this regard taking concrete steps to reduce rate of emissions. (Sebastian, 2011a)

²⁰⁶ **Opposition to Government Frame 3**

²⁰⁷ **Opposition to Government Frame 3**

²⁰⁸ **Opposition to Government Frame 3**

²⁰⁹ **Opposition to Government Frame 3**

The *Hindu* coverage showed the most opposition to government frames in this study. The newspaper often represented an entirely contradictory frame to the one proposed by the government. Nevertheless, it did not call for global action – this has been observed in previous studies on Indian newspapers (Billett, 2010, see Chapter 2).

9.2.3 TIMES OF INDIA

Just like the *Hindu*, the *TOI*'s coverage is divided into national and international issues. The *TOI* also provided a range of articles dealing with awareness and research. However, the *TOI* did not propose articles promoting the involvement of children and young people, like the *Hindu* did. This could be a sign of the differences in the readership of the newspapers, and is more in line with the government communication which also promoted research at the national level. The *TOI* also related climate change directly to the situation of India and its needs, among them food security.

- Measures like ban on digging borewells, changing crop pattern to save water, using solar energy and extensive watershed development have been implemented by the residents of Sarole Pathar, one of the 25 villages under the climate change adaptation (CCA) project in Ahmednagar district to become an eco-friendly and sustainable village. (Jadhav, 2011)
- Coffee planters to take out awareness march (2011)
- Impact of climactic changes on food production discussed (2011)
- 'Himalayan region faces grim future' (Varma, 2011)
- Through genome-decoding technology, the adverse impact of climatic changes on crops as well as threat of pests could be prevented, said Nagendra Kumar Singh, principal scientist at National Research Centre on Plant Biotechnology, Indian Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi. ('Genome-decoding tech can boost crop yield', 2011)
- With change in climate pattern, farmers have to be equipped from now on to continue to produce enough food and horticulture crops to meet future needs. (ICAR plans to seek more govt aid for wider research, December 13)
- The Indian Council of Agricultural Research (ICAR), Delhi, is working on developing multi-stress resistant crops after the launch of the National Initiative on Climate Change Resistant Agriculture (NICRA-2010-2011). (ICAR scientists developing multi-stress resistant crops: Singh, 2011)

With regards to the coverage of Durban, the *TOI* clearly supported the Indian government, and notably often also referred to "India" as an actor where the *Hindu* had referred to the government or the Environment Minister. India's actions were often described using strong expressions to display its power, such as "strong stance", "push", "steadfast unity", "pressure", or "major battle".

- India's strong stance [...] seems to have paid early results. (Sethi, 2011b)²¹⁰

²¹⁰ Government Frame 3

- India will push for an unconditional acceptance of the second phase of Kyoto Protocol (Sethi, 2011k)
- But the steadfast unity in the BASIC countries. (Sethi, 2011h)
- India along with China kept its pressure up on Monday (Sethi, 2011j)²¹¹
- India won a major battle at the Durban climate talks. (Sethi, 2011m)²¹²
- It also indicated a groundswell of support for India and BASIC countries' stand from other developing countries. (Sethi, 2011s)
- India took over centre-stage as a force to reckon with, regained its position as the leader and moral voice of the developing world as the EU and the US were forced to address its demands. (Sethi, 2011w)²¹³
- For India, Durban climate change talks were about retrieving ground it had lost voluntarily over the last two years and protecting against any future encroachment. (Sethi, 2011x)

The last extract is particularly striking – the *TOI* seems to be actively excusing mistakes that had been made by the government by stating they had been voluntary. The quotes also show that the *TOI* did not approve of the EU position, of which there is further evidence:

- Instead, the EU moved to delay its existing commitments under the Kyoto Protocol. The ploy was: delay them enough that by the time the Kyoto Protocol II became operational (2014 at the earliest or 2015) it would be time to junk it and jump on to a new global deal, where its burden of emission reductions would be lessened. (Sethi, 2011v)²¹⁴
- [Ms Natajaran's] meetings with the political chiefs of the key countries took place under the backdrop of increasing isolation of the EU over its proposal to launch negotiations for a new legally binding deal at Durban. (Sethi, 2011j)²¹⁵

The *TOI* is a conservative newspaper and the fact that it showed great support for the government shows that, at least for the issue of climate change, there is no political parallelism. Since this support is expressed particularly at the international level, it may be that, as studies have previously found, possible differences in political views make space for a feeling of national loyalty.

What is quite striking is that all articles about the Durban conference were written by the same journalist. This is a unique case among the newspapers of this study²¹⁶. In general, it is not

²¹¹ **Government Frame 3**

²¹² **Government Frame 3**

²¹³ **Government Frame 3**

²¹⁴ **Government Frame 4**

²¹⁵ **Government Frame 4**

²¹⁶ To my best knowledge, there is no research on the topic of relationships between journalists and politicians in India. Chapter 3 has discussed the specific type of political parallelism in India, but this did not refer to close individual relations.

indicated when opinions were expressed. An article on December 10, explaining the positions of different players at the conference can only indicate bias, as the EU and US are presented as “blockers”²¹⁷, whereas India and the BASIC are described as the rational negotiators (Sethi, 2011t; see more details below). Further, as already stated above, on December 5 we learned that India and the BASIC countries have “common grounds” with the US (Sethi, 2011h), but on December 8, the author wrote that the “US is opposed any [sic] discussion on whether any future decisions on taking on more commitments should be legally binding but has been using the BASIC four nations as an excuse claiming they are not ready for it”²¹⁸ (Sethi, 2011o). This suggests that the author is interested in presenting India as a victim of the developed countries’ stubbornness, which opposes the leadership frame. It is interesting that no (clearly marked) opinion article or a guest article was published for the Durban conference.

Similar to the *Hindu*, at a national level the *TOI* framed climate change as important issue to be researched and addressed. Food security was often referenced. At the international level, the frame was Indian leadership and India as the victim of the developed countries, which may cause confusion among readers. There is a discrepancy between the awareness of climate change and need for action, and the unwillingness to act, at least at the international level. This scheme had been discovered in earlier research on Indian coverage of climate change.

The *TOI* strongly attacked the EU and showed the opposite image of what the EU newspapers displayed: the EU as a blocker, India as leader and mediator. There are varying descriptions of the relationship to the US, on the one hand referring to the “common grounds”, on the other hand displaying it as damper. The EU was accused of introducing rumours about differences among the BASIC countries and of using the AOSIS countries as moral reinforcement. The *TOI* showed the most defensive coverage of all newspapers, emphasising the superiority of India’s behaviour in comparison to other countries, in particular to the EU and, at times, the US. It mostly saw China as an ally, which is also unique among the newspapers. The following excerpt sums up the *TOI* coverage well by picking up on the mentioned elements:

India took over centre-stage as a force to reckon with, regained its position as the leader and moral voice of the developing world as the EU and the US were forced to address its demands. [...] Ultimately, India achieved its objectives with the Union environment minister Jayanthi Natarajan becoming the voice and leader of the developing world, gaining unflinching support from its ally, China [...] Showing leadership and flexibility, India agreed to phrases for a final decision that ensured that the world could transit to a new regime post 2020 but not be locked into commitments that

²¹⁷ Government Frame 4

²¹⁸ Government Frame 4

had not even been tabled so far. [...] At the end of an unprecedentedly long and hard-fought meeting India had put equity back on table, gained another decade of space for unfettered but responsible economic growth and moved from becoming a dealmaker to a leader at the climate talks²¹⁹. (Sethi, 2011w)

The following examples further show the emphases in the *TOI* coverage, with the *TOI* pointing out the “bad” behaviour of the EU in particular, but also that of the US and Canada. This is a very strong national loyalty frame, presenting India in a favourable view as opposed to other countries.

- Instead, the EU moved to delay its existing commitments under the Kyoto Protocol. (Sethi, 2011v)
- Canada's pullout is ironic since it had broken into diplomatic niceties in South Africa, pointing fingers at India for blocking a future deal even as it was preparing to walk out of its existing commitments within 24 hours. (Sethi, 2011y)
- But the steadfast unity in the BASIC countries and common grounds with US had ensured that EU, which had vehemently demanded that the formal talks on a new, single and legally binding agreement begin at Durban itself, was feeling cornered, in almost in [sic] a replay of Copenhagen dialogue in 2009. (Sethi, 2011h)
- US is opposed any [sic] discussion on whether any future decisions on taking on more commitments should be legally binding but has been using the BASIC four nations as an excuse claiming they are not ready for it. But after the BASIC emerging economies in their media outing on Tuesday made it clear that they were not against legally binding deal but had some conditions that had to be met including a 2020 deadline, the US found it hard to hide its own position. (Sethi, 2011o)²²⁰
- [The applause received by the Environment Minister] also indicated a groundswell of support for India and BASIC countries' stand from other developing countries in the face of a media campaign run by the EU in Durban about lack of unity in the group. (Sethi, 2011s)

The last example framed the EU as out-group to a large group of countries, led by India. Finally, a rich versus poor frame can be discovered, which emphasises the victim frame:

- India fought back. It got equity back on the talks table, though not as firmly as it would have liked. It ensured that any new deal would be subject to the provisions of the existing convention and that it would not force legally binding absolute emission cuts on India. [...] If the EU and the US win the next three rounds, the cost to India's economy post-2020 could be heavy and unfair. India's victory in Durban was the postponement of when bugles go off for the new carbon Armageddon to next year. (Sethi, 2011x)²²¹
- The fast-track fund -- set up in Copenhagen in 2009 -- was meant to be invested half on mitigation and the half on adapting to climate change by the poorest countries between 2010 and 2012. But the rich countries have fallen short by a long way on their pledges. (Sethi, 2011a)
- India, along with the other developing countries, should have been asking for reparation for the poor that have been imperilled by inevitable climate change. Instead, it is now left with, at best,

²¹⁹ **Government Frame 2**

²²⁰ **Government Frame 4**

²²¹ **Government Frames 2,3, and 4**

the space to defend its right to growth: right to atmospheric space that permits its economy to better²²². (Sethi, 2011c)

The last example shows a weak form of an in-group/out-group frame with the government being the out-group, by referring to better action that could have been taken, but this frame is weak in the *TOI*. As mentioned above, the *Times of India* dedicates an entire article to compare the demands of different countries or groups of countries, presenting the BASIC countries as constructive and reasonable and other countries as blockers (Sethi, 2011t). With regards to the EU, for example, it stated: "Delay Kyoto Protocol II and have a meager [sic] target under it in 2015; [...] Offer no money at the moment for financing the Green Climate Fund"²²³. Similar points are made for the US. On the other hand, the wants of the BASIC countries were: "Start Kyoto II now with new targets for EU kickstarting by next year; Embedded equity and historical emissions in all decisions; Keep the topics of IPR and trade barriers alive". It is interesting to see that according to the *Hindu* the government did not succeed in claiming equity (see above) whereas the *TOI* puts an emphasis on just this achievement, supporting the government frame entirely. In the UK and Germany there was some moderate appraisal of the EU achievements at Durban, but also paired with more or less strong criticism. The *TOI* took this to another level, showing unconditional support for the government frames.

9.2.4 MID DAY

Since there is only one article for *Mid Day*, it is difficult to discover a frame. In general, as the June coverage will also show, *Mid Day* advocated action to mitigate climate change. The article of December 3 (Vipul, 2011) discussed the protection of forests, which indirectly took up the government frame of the importance of forest protection. It is striking that the Durban conference is not covered at all.

9.3 FRAMES – PHASE 2

9.3.1 GOVERNMENT

The government communication in the second phase reflected the two events dominating the newspaper coverage: World Environment Day and the Rio Conference. The Indian government is the only one to attribute this importance to Environment Day, celebrated on June 5²²⁴. The

²²² **Opposition to Government Frame 3**

²²³This is incorrect as, for example, Germany had already offered a certain sum for the fund (See Die Bundesregierung, 2011e).

²²⁴The German Federal President Gauck held a speech on June 5 for the opening of the „Week of the Environment“ (Die Bundesregierung, 2012e), but does not mention Environment Day at all.

emphasis on this day was place on awareness, as also the newspaper coverage will also show: "The World Environment Day is celebrated every year, to not only create awareness but also to reaffirm our commitment to protect and safeguard the environment around us and its significance for our lives" (MoEF, 2012). The government announced the launch of an exhibition, installed on a train, which rode across the country in the second half of 2012, to create awareness for environmental issues.

The second item of communication is Prime Minister Singh's speech at Rio. Following the line of the Environment Minister at Rio, he demanded equity and reproached the developed countries that they are not supportive enough:

I am happy that we have reaffirmed [the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities] as well as the principle of equity during this summit. [...] Many countries could do more [regarding sustainable development] if additional finance and technology were available. Unfortunately, there is little evidence of support from the industrialised countries in these areas. (Prime Minister's Office, 2012)

India, like the German government and partly the UK, framed Rio as an environmental conference. The US government had framed Rio as a development conference.

The general decline in communication compared to the first phase has already been observed in the other countries. However, India, in the first phase, had also covered a range of national issues regarding forests and biodiversity. Why this was not the case in the second phase, remains an open question. A possible reason could be that Durban caused a general focus on climate change, but this does not correspond with the high amount of newspaper coverage in both phases. A frame is difficult to determine, but the two items suggest that there is no change in comparison to the first phase, environmental protection (**Government Frame 1**) on a national level and equity (**Government Frame 2**) and leadership (**Government Frame 3**) in the international context.

9.3.2 THE HINDU

Among the many articles on awareness and research, World Environment Day received particular attention in the *Hindu* coverage in the second phase:

- Spreading the message of conservation (2012)
- Check environmental degradation: Nayak (2012)
- 'Environment protection a social responsibility' (2012)
- Laws to conserve forest must be strictly implemented, says official (2012)

The Environment Minister had also published a speech on the occasion of World Environment Day, but this was not picked up by the *Hindu*. Like in the first phase, awareness, research

including food security, and the involvement of children and young people were high on the agenda:

- This summer an indicator of climate change' (Narasima Rao, 2012)
- Need to reverse effects of climate change stressed (2012)
- Stop bauxite mining to save eco-system, says expert (2012)
- Value of MBA in environmental management going up (2012)
- Symposium on green construction (2012)
- Package likely for pokkali rice farming (Martin, 2012)
- Lakshadweep islands in troubled waters, says environmental study (Nandakumar, 2012a)
- NABARD to help farmers in implementing drip irrigation (Sairam, 2012)
- Minister launches CLIMA ADAPT project in Erode (2012)

There were also two references to the benefits of climate change, even though in direct comparison to the dangers of climate change:

- Climate change may prove beneficial to Kerala in select sectors notwithstanding its negative impacts, including sea-level rise. (Sudhi, 2012b)
- Delayed monsoon served as a blessing in disguise for reaping a bumper mango harvest in north coastal Andhra districts, according to Horticulture Department officials and mango crop experts. (Benjamin, 2012)

The *TOI* also once reported on the benefits, but putting them in perspective to the dangers:

Once known for its cool climes, Himachal Pradesh is witnessing the ill effects of global warming as, in the last four decades, the average maximum temperature has increased by 5.2 degrees Celsius in the state. [...] Data released on Tuesday has shown that food crop yield had also increased from 9,54,000 MT to 14,98,000 MT. (Global warming has impacted climate in HP: Study, 2012)

The possible positive effects do not seem to be used to express possible political views in India, unlike the observation made with regards to the UK.

In relation to the Rio conference, the *Hindu* remained relatively critical of the government, with a slightly less harsh tone, and generally did not expect much from the conference itself. The first example shows an in-group/out-group frame with the government not acting in the interest of the citizens.

- The Second Earth Summit will come and go the way many other summits have gone, with little, if any, difference to Mother Earth's predicament. The Government of India too, did not deem it necessary to consult its citizens to ask them how, together as a nation, we should face the pressing environmental crises of our times. But considering the pro-corporate dispensation of the UPA-II²²⁵, it is not surprising at all. (Suresh and Tanvi, 2012)

²²⁵Second Union Progressive Alliance (UPA) government

- So that's the story from Rio — victory in principles and standstill in practice. Unfazed, Ms. Natarajan, briefing journalists accompanying the Prime Minister to the Rio+20 Conference, says India is now accepted as the leader of the developing countries. But the NGOs and the European Union have been loudly grumbling that it has all been a gigantic waste of time. (Srinivasa Raghavan, 2012)
- the present discourse on the Green Economy advocates the financialisation of ecosystems. Such hubris will lead to the commodification of water, with disastrous consequences especially for the poor. (Nayar, 2012)

There was much less climate-change related coverage on Rio than on Durban and there was also little discussion of the consequences of the outcome. The *Hindu* has kept its focus on research and awareness, as well as its critical attitude towards the government. By pointing out the effects of climate change in India and the actions taken on both a big and a small scale, a connection to the daily life of Indian citizens is made.

In comparison to the EU newspapers, which were more critical of their governments in the second phase, the *Hindu* is less so after a very aggressive first phase.

- Prime Minister Manmohan Singh is scheduled to hold bilateral talks with Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao on the sidelines of Wednesday's Rio+20 United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development, where India, China and other developing nations will press the West to provide more financing and technological support. (Krishnan, 2012)
- Union Minister for Environment and Forests Jayanti Natarajan smiles when she says India's known stand on climate change mitigation has been accepted. But the smile is replaced by a frown when someone asks if the developed countries have pledged any money to help the developing countries. No, she says, adding valiantly that India does not want to commodify the environment. [...] So that's the story from Rio — victory in principles and standstill in practice. Unfazed, Ms. Natarajan [...] says India is now accepted as the leader of the developing countries. But the NGOs and the European Union have been loudly grumbling that it has all been a gigantic waste of time. [...] And Rio+20, Ms. Natarajan's warm glow notwithstanding, has left the world exactly where it was before. (Srinivasa Raghavan, 2012)

The latter example presents opposition to Government Frame 3, but criticism of the government was less strong than in the first phase. Despite the criticism of the conference, unlike for the Durban conference, the *Hindu* did not blame the outcome on the Indian government.

For this second phase, the *Hindu*, unlike the government, kept its focus on research and reduced its criticism of the government, as well as the tone of criticism itself.

9.3.3 TIMES OF INDIA

In the June phase, the *TOI* was less focused on research and awareness, despite World Environment Day, which took up a good part of the *Hindu* coverage. Forests, however, were a big issue:

- 11.43L saplings planted for 17.55L trees cut! (Pinjkar, 2012)

- Maharashtra has lost 400 hectares of forest in 2 years (Yeshwantrao, 2012)
- MoEF to add green cover in Chandauli district (Singh, B., 2012)
- Now plant a tree and get Rs 150 after three years (Sharba, 2012)
- Surat Municipal Corporation to plant more than 2 lakh trees in the city from July 2 (Thomas, 2012)
- Seraikela district selected for Green India Mission (2012)
- Manipur fast losing its green cover (2012)

The first example clearly criticises the government for not punishing a road construction firm for failing to carry out agreements of planting a certain number of trees. This is the only time that serious criticism against the government can be found in an Indian newspaper concerning national issues, and it could possibly be a sign of political parallelism. While the government has no specific communication items on forests in the second phase, it did emphasise the importance of forests in the first phase (see above).

Of particular interest is a news story from June 7, reporting on the refusal of a project in the scope of the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM):

The protesting organisations [...] have argued that the project would actually emerge as an emitter of greenhouse gases resulting from tree felling, submergence of forest and organic matter, boring of tunnels, sudden release of water from powerhouses and emissions from movement of vehicles. (Civil bodies against clean credit for Tawang dam, 2012)

The article did not specifically criticise developed countries, but it showed the existing awareness for the possible problems with CDM and how it may improve the carbon footprint of developed countries on paper but has the opposite effect in practice.

The *TOI* also had a number of articles on the relationship between climate change and health in the second phase, an issue that barely got any attention in other newspapers. India, in this regard, faces effects due to increasing heat, which are already tangible (see also: Singh, N., 2012; Bodh, 2012).

- Heatwave patients swarm hospitals (Mishra, 2012)
- Climate change to increase vector borne diseases in Rajasthan (Singh, R., 2012c)
- Malaria scare: Jaipur among 5 high-risk cities (Ali, 2012)
- Nagpur experts hail UN's linking of health and environment (Gwalani, 2012)

Regarding Rio, on one hand, the amount of government praising has declined and even made space for light criticism but, on the other hand we can also find positive articles about Rio, which is unique among all newspapers. Even though the criticism was voiced by an environmental activist, the author of the article did not jump to the government's defence, as

could be observed in the first phase. The example provides an in-group/out-group frame with the government being the out-group (**Opposition to Government Frame 3**).

We were the hero of the '92 meeting, now we are zero, having turned our back on sustainable development,' says environmental activist Vandana Shiva. 'Instead of ganging up with polluters, India should save the environment and protect its poor'. (Don't blame it on Rio, 2012)

However, we also learn that:

The Rio declaration, where more than 300 paragraphs are being negotiated among the 180 plus countries, has become a contentious document since the developed countries, facing an economic slowdown at domestic levels, are trying hard to wriggle out of their existing responsibilities. (Sethi, 2012b)

After the conference, the tone was fairly positive:

- In a huge victory for emerging countries like India and Brazil, the world leaders adopted 'The Future We Want' declaration on sustainable development on Saturday, the final day of Rio+20 conference. (Saxena, 2012f)²²⁶
- Dismissed by some civil society groups as 238 paragraphs of fluff, the Rio+20 document, in fact, makes it clear that the eradication of poverty is the top priority for the whole world, a point pushed very hard by the Indian delegation here working closely with their Chinese and Brazilian counterparts. (Saxena, 2012g)²²⁷

The *TOI* was the only newspaper to give a positive evaluation of the final Rio document. Stories on Rio are written by two different journalists, as opposed to the Durban conference written by only one. The reason there was a slight change in tone of coverage is hard to tell. It may be due to the fact that Rio is a development conference and India as a developing country did not find as many hurdles as at Durban where it was seen as a big emitter by many. Therefore, the need to defend India may not have been as big. Generally, the frames remained quite similar to the first phase, with slightly less information on research and awareness, but nevertheless a broad range of topics referring to local and national implications of climate change. Climate change was framed as a daily reality for the Indian citizens.

On the international level, frames remained similar to the first phase, namely that India is a leader, with the victim frame being only marginal. Patterns from the first phase concerning the US and the EU can also be found in the second phase.

- The declaration, presented to on Tuesday, was seen as a huge victory for the G77+China block considering the US and Europe's strong objections to the principles being re-emphasized 20 years after they were first agreed upon in Rio. (Sethi, 2012c)

²²⁶ **Government Frame 3**

²²⁷ **Government Frame 3**

- She was alluding to the belief in India and other emerging economies that the developed countries are using 'environment' more as a tool to set competitive disadvantages for the new rising powers. [...] The EU has pushed a one-size-fit-all green agenda as the priority for the summit and advocated global targets on environmental themes while diluting its own responsibilities and bringing down the firewall between developed and developing nations. (Sethi, 2012d)
- The brief discussion underlined apprehensions that developed world's stress on environmental dimension of development would hurt the developing countries that cannot meet the stiff targets without compromising on its industrial growth. (Ghildiyal, 2012a)
- Negotiating the final declaration of the Rio summit, the US wants to own up to responsibility of eradicating only 'extreme poverty', and not agree to absolute 'right to food' for people across the globe. (Sethi, 2012b)
- The concerns about the developed world using the Rio conference to slip in responsibilities that it failed in climate change talks looms large as India prepares to reiterate its position in the Brazilian city. India would also oppose the elevation United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) to a specialized agency status as is being pushed by the EU. (Ghildiyal, 2012b)

The rich versus poor frame was also repeated in the second phase:

- Rich nations tried to dump their burden on us: André Corrêa do Lago (Saxena, 2012e)
- The developed countries, India believes, are putting the horse before the cart since they are pushing for an elaborate list of environmental concerns where nations need to take time-bound actions against fixed targets. This concern is being highlighted even as they want to remove the differential between rich and developing countries. The G77 and China have stuck together to demand that the large principles of how SDGs will function be agreed to before the world negotiates over areas for action. (Sethi, 2012a)

Generally, the support for government frames still existed in the second phase, but became weaker and some criticism can also be found.

9.3.4 MID DAY

Mid Day's coverage on climate change in the second phase was gloomy with a tendency towards doom coverage. An article titled "India, China to account for over half of worlds transport emissions" (Dhavle, 2012) reads that "The report cautions if humanity does not urgently change its ways, several critical thresholds may be exceeded, beyond which abrupt and generally irreversible changes to the life-support functions of the planet could occur". On the same day, an article "Earth headed for catastrophic collapse: Study" (Wilben, 2012) is published, which also has fairly trivial information: "Driven by a 35 per cent increase in atmospheric carbon dioxide since the start of the Industrial Revolution, global temperatures are rising faster than they did back then, he pointed out". Finally, on June 24, it published:

There are three reasons for [climate change not being on the public agenda], one being the recession, which affects us now, while global warming is a concern mainly of the future. The second is that climate change sceptics, hardly any of whom are climate scientists, and many of whom are funded by the fossil fuel industry, have induced a certain amount of uncertainty in the public mind about the issue. And this has been able to take root over the last few years because – and this is the third reason - the warming process appears to have paused. (Vishu, 2012)

The latter information is in stark contrast to anything written by the other newspapers and can even be called false. *Mid Day* therefore provides an odd mix of the prediction of a catastrophe but at the same time projecting it into the far future. Readers of *Mid Day*, with the little information they get on climate change, may feel that there is nothing they can or need to do. It contradicts the government frames, which generally display the Indian government as active in climate change action both domestically and internationally. Furthermore, the very general information did not make any references to national loyalty.

9.4 CONCLUSION

The Indian coverage was, not surprisingly, quite different from the other countries while government communication also shows the divide. The Indian government presents itself as victorious in both the Durban and the Rio conference and promotes the frame of equity in particular. Criticism by the *Hindu* newspaper evokes a harsh reaction by the Environment Minister. At the national level, the importance of research for adaptation and mitigation is emphasised. The government frames can be summed up as follows:

- Research and awareness of climate change are important on the national level and the government is working for environmental protection.
- Equity and Common But Differentiated Responsibilities must be considered in the international negotiations.
- India is a leader in the negotiations.
- Industrialised countries do not show enough commitment to the process.

Both the *Hindu* and the *TOI* provided extensive coverage of climate change on national and international issues. Awareness and research, including forest and food security, were important throughout the phases. A unique aspect of India is the coverage of World Environment Day. An example of possible positive effects of climate change on crop yield showed that there is no politicisation of such issues. Both newspapers reported on immediate effects of climate change and therefore related the issue to the daily life of Indian citizens. On the international level we see a difference between the *Hindu*, being very critical of the government, and the *TOI*, supporting the government. The tables below provide an overview of government frame support and opposition in the two phases. The *Hindu* and the government are generally both seen as centre-left, whereas the *TOI* is conservative. The positive *TOI* coverage therefore may be rooted in national loyalty, as it can only be observed on

the international level. *Mid Day* has very little coverage. The newspaper is promoting climate action, but tends towards doom coverage and provides possibly misleading information. This may lead to the readers feeling helpless with regards to what they can do. However, the “tabloid” market in India is quite particular as was explained above and there is little evidence as to whether popular and mid-market newspapers are consumed for serious information.

	1. Importance of Environmental Protection		2. Equity		3. Leadership		4. Shortcomings of developed countries		Total	
	Support	Opposition	Support	Opposition	Support	Opposition	Support	Opposition	Support	Opposition
Hindu	0	0	1 (1.43%)	0	0	5 (7.14%)	1 (1.43%)	0	2 (2.86%)	5 (7.14%)
Tol	0	0	2 (4.26%)	0	5 (10.64%)	1 (2.13%)	6 (12.77%)	0	13 (27.66%)	1 (2.13%)
Mid Day	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Figure 21: Number of times Indian newspapers picked up or opposed government frames in Phase 1 (percentages refer to number of total articles per newspaper per phase). Yellow fields represent instances of political parallelism through support or opposition.

	1. Importance of Environmental Protection		2. Equity		3. Leadership		Total	
	Support	Opposition	Support	Opposition	Support	Opposition	Support	Opposition
Hindu	0	0	0	0	0	1 (1.82%)	0	1 (1.82%)
Tol	0	0	0	0	2 (3.7%)	1 (1.82%)	2 (3.7%)	1 (1.82%)
Mid Day	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Figure 22: Number of times Indian newspapers picked up government frames in Phase 2 (percentages refer to number of total articles per newspaper per phase). Yellow fields represent instances of political parallelism through support or opposition

The frames for the newspapers are as follows:

- The *Hindu* promoted a need for climate action, both by the Indian government and other countries. It strongly opposed the government frame of successful leadership and portrayed the government as the out-group to the national interest. Further, through extensive coverage of national issues, a frame of closeness was created.
- The latter is also true for the *Times of India*, however on the international level there was a strong frame promoting the EU in particular and, to some extent, the US as the out-group and the Indian government as a leader on climate action. The *TOI* showed the strongest government support of all newspapers in this study.
- *Mid Day* barely provided any coverage, but when it did it was either doom coverage or very general information. This may not be the best way to communicate the urgency of climate change.

Concerning national loyalty, the Indian quality newspapers show the highest level of national loyalty coverage among all countries. Considering India's special situation as a developing country with high emissions, this seems understandable. It needs to defend both its right to

develop – which is seen as directly connected with the right to emit greenhouse gases – and its physical existence. This sentiment seems to overpower much of the political ideology. India has a low level of political parallelism and a high level of national loyalty.

10. CONCLUSION

From the previous analysis chapters, three key points emerge. The intention is to outline these observations before presenting more detailed empirical findings and answering the research question, and finally offer a concluding commentary on the broad issues this thesis raises.

The analysis leads to the following main conclusions:

- Political parallelism is not the defining variable in the relationship between newspaper and government frames on climate change coverage, in particular with regards to international negotiations.
- Newspapers in all four countries showed signs of national loyalty, in different degrees and ways. As outlined in Chapter 5, the types of national loyalty used in this thesis were national interest, comparison, and focus on national coverage.
- There is no clear pattern discovered in this study showing why newspapers show national loyalty the way they do. An indication, mostly for the first phase, could be that the more conservative oriented papers show more national loyalty.

The purpose of my research was to answer the following, overarching question:

What is the relationship between newspaper and government frames regarding climate change coverage?

To answer this main question, I have formulated three subquestions. The first one represents the original intent of the thesis, to use political parallelism as the only independent variable.

- **Does political parallelism influence the relationship between newspaper and government frames, i.e. can it be confirmed that the lower political parallelism the greater the difference between government and newspaper frames?**

As explained, after a first evaluation of the empirical material, national loyalty was established as a second independent variable, which interacts with political parallelism. This led to the following subquestions:

- **In which instances does national loyalty supersede political parallelism? How do the two variables interact?**

- **Which aspects of national loyalty (national interest, comparison, focus on national coverage) are evoked most often?**

Hallin and Mancini, in their seminal work “Comparing Media Systems”, have provided to this day the most comprehensive structure showing the relationship between the political system and the media system. One of the categories of the media system is political parallelism, which describes the degree to which media outlets follow political ideologies. As described in Chapter 3, this is then reflected in the way journalists are educated and what principles they follow in their daily work. Hallin and Mancini do not conduct a specific study on political parallelism but rely on existing research, which gives them a solid basis for their categories.

In this thesis, I set out to compare newspaper and government frames in order to determine the relationship between the two, departing from Hallin and Mancini’s classification of media systems. Frame analysis, as outlined in Chapter 4, is an excellent tool to compare messages conveyed by media and government. Through framing, the communicator, consciously or subconsciously, uses words, emphases, and images to embed an issue into the cultural background of her or his audience. I have suggested a definition of framing that draws on the strongest elements of existing definitions: **A frame is a construct of words, images and emphases, promoted by a social actor, which embeds an issue in a cultural context, and, deliberately or subconsciously, tries to direct issue interpretations.** This definition, as explained in Chapter 4, clarifies that a frame is not a word or a topic, and that it needs to fit into a context the audience can identify with, in order to be successful.

By analysing frames in newspaper and government articles, I discovered that political parallelism did not play an important role in the relationship of frames. National loyalty, however, as defined in Chapters 3 and 5, seemed to be a significant factor in shaping news coverage on climate change. This led me to ask the question: in which instances is political parallelism trumped by national loyalty? The prime example one might think of is international coverage, in particular when conflict is involved. This would then result in the media expressing support for the nation rather than for any political orientation. This is exactly what the empirical material in the present thesis points to: when covering international climate negotiations, it can be observed that national loyalty supersedes political parallelism. These results, even though they will need to be tested by future research, pose a challenge to the role of political parallelism and give insight into the behaviour of newspaper coverage concerning climate change.

10.1 EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

The preceding chapters have shown that both newspaper and government coverage differ greatly from country to country. In this section I want to discuss the most important findings and make a comparison among countries. Finally, the research question will be answered.

One thing all four governments share is that they claim leadership in climate negotiations²²⁸. A common trend among the newspapers in the four different countries is that they, for the most part, do *not* take up the leadership frame of their country, with the exception of the *Times of India*. Another common factor is that in the second phase most newspapers show a much more aggressive tone concerning the evaluation of government actions, with the exception of the *Hindu* (less aggressive than in the first phase) and the *Times of India* (less supportive but not aggressive).

	Direct support for government frames	Direct opposition to government frames	Frames showing Political Parallelism	Frames showing Political Parallelism through opposition	Times national loyalty frames were used
UK					
Guardian/Observer	4 (6.45%)	3 (opp. Osborne) (4.83%)	0	3 (4.83%)	5 (8.06%)
	4 (8.16%)	1 (opp. Osborne) (2.04%), 1 (opp. Huhne) (2.04%)	2 (4.08%)	2 (4.08%)	6 (12.24%)
Telegraph					
Sun	0	3 (25%)	0	3 (25%)	2 (16.67%)
Germany					
Süddeutsche Zeitung	4 (12.12%)	0	0	1 (3.03%)	4 (12.12%)
Frankfurt Allgemeine Zeitung	1 (4%)	0	1 (4%)	0	7 (28%)
Bild	0	0	0	0	2 (33.33%)
US					
New York Times	1 (8%)	1 (4%)	1 (4%)	0	5 (20%)
Washington Post	1 (3.13%)	0	1 (3.13%)	0	5 (15.63%)
USA Today	0	0	0	0	0
India					
Hindu	2 (2.86%)	5 (7.14%)	2 (2.86%)	0	8 (11.43%)
Times of India	13 (27.66%)	1 (2.13%)	0	1 (2.13%)	14 (29.17%)
Mid Day	0	0	0	0	0

Figure 23: Frames in Phase 1 (Note: For India, national issue coverage was not included due to the fact that the high number of articles (51%) would have shown a distorted picture, as unlike in the US, India also has a lot of coverage on international climate change negotiations.)

The tables above and below illustrate in how many cases the newspapers promote *exactly* the same frame or *specifically* oppose a frame provided by the government. It also shows the number of frames that can be interpreted as political parallelism, either because the

²²⁸ For a detailed overview of government frames, see the conclusions of Chapters 6 through 9.

newspaper has the same orientation as the government or because the newspaper provides a counterframe following its political orientation when it differs from the government's. This does not include, for example, instances where the government is criticised in relationship to something that has been communicated earlier than the timeframe of this study or when the newspapers go beyond the government communication with their national loyalty, as could be observed in particular in the *Times of India*. The tables further show how many times newspapers employed a national loyalty frame.

	Direct support for government frames	Direct opposition to government frames	Frames showing Political Parallelism	Frames showing Political Parallelism through opposition	Times national loyalty frames were used
UK					
Guardian/Observer	0	4 (10.82%)	0	2 (5.41%)	4 (10.82%)
Telegraph	2 (8.34%)	0	2 (8.34%)	0	3 (12.5%)
Sun	0	0	0	0	0
Germany					
Süddeutsche Zeitung	0	0	0	0	3 (25%)
Frankfurt Allgemeine Zeitung	0	0	0	0	2 (18.18%)
Bild	0	0	0	0	0
US					
New York Times	1 (5.56%)	0	1 (5.56%)	0	3 (16.67%)
Washington Post	0	1 (6.25%)	0	0	7 (43.75%)
USA Today	0	0	0	0	1 (20%)
India					
Hindu	0	1 (1.82%)	0	0	3 (5.45%)
Times of India	2 (3.7%)	1 (1.85%)	0	1 (1.85%)	11 (20.37%)
Mid Day	0	0	0	0	0

Figure 24: Frames in Phase 2 (Note: For India, national issue coverage was not included due to the fact that the high number of articles (67%) would have shown a distorted picture, as unlike in the US, India also has a lot of coverage on international climate change negotiations.)

The UK coalition government provided competing frames, leadership at the Durban conference and Climate Action on one side, and the protection of the UK's heavy industry on the other side. Huhne's leadership frame was not directly contradicted by the newspaper frames, but explicitly supported only twice by the *Telegraph*. Osborne's frame of protecting the industry received both support and opposition. None of the UK newspapers showed unconditional support for any of the government frames. The *Guardian* showed support for Chris Huhne only when he is attacked by George Osborne. The *Telegraph* showed some support for Huhne on the international level, some for Osborne, but also built a strong frame against renewable energy and climate financing. The *Sun* also varied between support for international climate action and frames against climate financing and domestic policies. The *Guardian* showed

political parallelism through opposition in both phases, in the first phase this accounted for slightly below five percent, in the second phase slightly above. The *Telegraph* showed equally high support and opposition in the first phase at four percent, in the second phase support for Osborne's frame was above eight percent. The Sun had a high percentage of political parallelism through opposition in the first phase (25%), but the generally low numbers, which concern all popular and mid-market newspapers of this study, must be kept in mind. Regarding national loyalty, the *Guardian* and *Observer* presented a fairly international view, but the *Telegraph* and the *Sun* often applied the national interest frame with regards to financial issues. Huhne's frames were attacked by the *Telegraph* and the *Sun* mostly on a domestic level. However, climate financing for developing countries was also criticised, so it cannot be stated unequivocally that national loyalty superseded political parallelism in the coverage of international negotiations. The tables generally show that there was a variation of national loyalty within countries, with the conservative quality papers generally showing a higher degree of national loyalty than the centre-left papers. The *Washington Post* is the exception, however, as explained in Chapter 5, it is not as conservative as the respective papers chosen for the other three countries.

The German government promoted a leadership frame with an emphasis on Germany as part of the EU, and on the Energiewende as an exemplary solution to climate change. The newspapers integrated Germany almost completely into the EU, similar to the *Guardian* and *Observer*. The Energiewende was barely even mentioned, which reflects the extremely low level of political parallelism in this study. Both the *SZ* and the *FAZ* had one article showing political parallelism in the first phase, corresponding with three and four percent respectively. In the second phase, none of the German newspapers showed any political parallelism. The newspapers' frames were almost entirely detached from the government frames, but especially the *FAZ* showed a relatively high level of national loyalty²²⁹ at 28%. However, national loyalty was often found at the EU level. The EU was mostly presented in a very positive light, especially during the Durban conference.

The US government also promoted itself as leader in the negotiations and added the frame that the Cancun conference of the previous year had already produced a sufficient agreement. The latter was not taken up by any of the newspapers, the former at very few instances. The coverage of the US newspapers was more detached from the issue than in the other three countries. Political parallelism, as expected, was low in both phases, with four and three

²²⁹ The high level of national loyalty for *Bild* must be seen as an outlier due to the low number of articles.

percent for the *NYT* and the *WP* in the first phase respectively, and slightly below six percent for the *NYT* in the second phase. The US had a lot of national focus coverage, and generally a relatively high level of national loyalty in comparison to the other countries, especially for the *NYT*, considered as being further to the left than the *WP*.

The Indian government received much support from the *Times of India* for its leadership frame. The newspaper echoed almost everything the Environment Minister said and did, and showed the highest degree of national loyalty in the quality papers in the first phase (29%)²³⁰. The *TOI* showed by far the highest degree of support for government frames in the first phase at almost 28%, but this is not due to political parallelism. In India we could clearly see that national loyalty superseded political parallelism, with the *Hindu* accusing the government of not acting in the national interest and the *Times of India* of supporting the government actions. The *Hindu* portrayed the government as the out-group, whereas the *TOI* portrayed the developed countries, especially the EU and the US, as the out-group. This was only applicable for the coverage of international negotiations and in particular for the Durban conference. At the national level, there was a focus on research and awareness, which was similar in both quality newspapers and which was also promoted by the government to some extent. As mentioned above, regional governments might play an important role when it comes to local initiatives, of which there are many.

Chapters 6 to 9 were aimed at answering the following research questions, with the overarching question being

What is the relationship of newspaper and government frames regarding climate change coverage?

Three subquestions have been formulated in order to answer the main question and the following paragraphs will summarise the answers that have been taken from the qualitative evaluation.

1. Does political parallelism influence the relationship between newspaper and government frames, i.e. can it be confirmed that the lower political parallelism the greater the difference between government and newspaper frames?

²³⁰ It must be kept in mind that the Indian quality newspapers had a very high amount of coverage on national issues, which did not show political parallelism or national loyalty. In other countries, this was not the case. When leaving out the articles on national issues, the percentage for national loyalty would be much higher in India.

According to the evaluation of the material, this cannot be confirmed. There is some support for government frames in the UK, Germany and the US, which can be attributed to political parallelism. But the levels in the different countries did not correspond with any expectations. Among the newspapers of these countries, the UK quality newspapers stand out slightly by being quite outspoken about their opposition to some, mostly domestic, policy efforts which are attributed to the Climate Change Secretary and the Chancellor respectively. However, opposition to one party must not be equated with the support for another party. It can only be assumed that this opposition might derive from the more conservative orientation of the *Telegraph* and the centre-left orientation of the *Guardian*. Of course, this applies to all newspapers that showed political parallelism through opposition. The frame congruence in this study does not reflect Hallin and Mancini's classification of political parallelism in the different countries. Hallin and Mancini grouped the UK with the US in their model. However, as they admit and as I also argued, when it comes to certain aspects of the media system, among them political parallelism, the UK seems to be more similar to Germany. The UK newspapers were more active in opposing government frames than the German newspapers, but political orientation seemed to influence this criticism to a low extent. The *Telegraph* shows the most congruence with conservative government frames, but in general political parallelism does not provide a sufficiently good explanation for the newspapers' behaviour in the UK, especially when it comes to international coverage. The German newspapers show very low political parallelism in the first phase and none in the second, which is contrary to expectations. The US newspapers' level of political parallelism is similar to the ones of the other two industrialised countries of this study, which also contradicts predictions. Finally, the Indian newspapers behaved in the exact opposite way to what could be expected from their political orientation. The conservative *Times of India* supported frames of the centre-left government, whereas the centre-left *Hindu* opposed them. Both argue with different aspects of national loyalty, as explained above. Therefore, for climate change coverage in the time frame of my study, it cannot be confirmed that the lower political parallelism, the greater the difference between newspaper and government frames.

2. In which instances does national loyalty supersede political parallelism? How do the two variables interact?

The results of this study point towards the trend that national loyalty is stronger than political parallelism in the case of the coverage of international climate negotiations. The results, however, differ from country to country. In India, we cannot see signs of either political

parallelism or national loyalty in coverage concerning national issues. This might be due to either agreement on the issue or the possibility that regional and local newspapers might be more likely to show political parallelism rather than the national newspapers. However, regarding international coverage, the newspapers completely seem to have reversed their political affiliations. In the US, as expected, political parallelism remained very low on the national and international level. National loyalty was relatively high in comparison to the other countries. In the UK, as mentioned above, political parallelism is expressed not so much through the support of government frames but through opposition to them. The implied support for another ideological orientation can only be assumed. As said, political parallelism mostly concerned national issue coverage, but we observed the combination of political parallelism and national loyalty in national coverage, for example, when the interests of the "British taxpayer" were defended. In international coverage, national loyalty superseded political parallelism. In Germany, with very similar coverage in the newspapers, there was very low political parallelism on the national level, but a comparatively high level of national loyalty in international coverage. The cases of the UK and the US indicate that for national coverage of climate issues, Hallin and Mancini's classification may be valid, whereas for the German case it cannot be confirmed. With India showing a very neutral national coverage, it is hard to draw concrete conclusions.

3. Which aspects of national loyalty (national interest, comparison, focus on national coverage) are evoked most often?

India has both a lot of focus both on national coverage, and on national interest when it comes to international coverage. In Germany, national loyalty is generally quite low but when it occurs it is mostly by comparing Germany or the EU to other players. In the UK, comparison and national interest are the most prominent indicators. The US shows a comparatively high degree of coverage on national issues without a broader international context.

This reflects the situation in the different countries quite well: India is already dealing with the effects of climate change, so awareness and research are important on the national scale, whereas in the international environment it is defending its interest against the developed countries. Germany has a stable political situation concerning climate change at home and is following the EU on the international level. In the UK, the situation is slightly divided with an ambition to lead in the negotiations on one side of the coin, but to protect industry and "taxpayers" on the other. The US is more detached from the international negotiations, hence coverage on national issues is very common.

The relationship of newspaper and government frames in climate change communications is a complex one. Political parallelism does not seem to be the determining variable for this outcome. National loyalty seems to have a substantial influence, but does not necessarily lead to a positive outcome for the government. The German government in particular, while not receiving much critical coverage from the German newspapers, has completely failed at generating coverage on its energy policy (Energiewende, see Chapter 7). The US newspapers did not pick up the government frame of the successful Cancun conference. The UK government quite successfully planted its leadership frame into the UK newspapers, but both coalition partners encountered problems on the national level. The Indian government created both the most successful and the most unsuccessful result with the *Times of India* endorsing its every move and the *Hindu* strongly opposing it while still showing strong national loyalty. Future research could further examine which factors determine national loyalty coverage and how it influences the relationship of media and government frames. From my research on newspaper coverage, I can conclude that the relationship does not strongly depend on political parallelism.

10.2 LIMITATIONS

First of all, it must be said that generalisations cannot be made for an exploratory study (see Chapter 5). The original design with political parallelism as the only variable would have provided the possibility for some generalisations. The introduction of national loyalty gave a very original angle to my research, but increased its limitations. Future research needs to test the relationship between media and government communication with regards to national loyalty. To the best of my knowledge, the only study giving some indication on this issue is the one by Statham (2007, see Chapter 3). However, Statham's study only shows that journalists tend to report in favour of their respective national interest, as the newspaper sees it. It does not explain the other indicators for national loyalty, as established in Chapter 5. It also does not explain when and why journalists define the national interest differently than the current government.

My research is also not able to answer the question of what it is that makes newspapers or journalists behave in one way or the other. Why did the *Times of India* and the *Hindu* reverse their political affiliations in their international climate change coverage? Why did the *Telegraph* criticise domestic efforts but hold back on criticism in international coverage? Why did the US newspapers not ask for a stronger commitment by the US government? Why did the German newspapers not express more support for, or criticize, the efforts of their

government? For India, the answer might be rooted in the differing concepts of the national interest. The government's approach of showing strength and leadership might be more in line with the conservative newspaper's ideas. Additionally, conservative newspapers are generally known to be less critical of the government in the international arena. This could also apply to the *Telegraph*. The US newspapers might have been aware of the hopeless situation at home at the time and simply spared the effort to ask for something impossible to get²³¹. It might also correspond with the issue not being high on the government agenda. In Germany, the reasons might be just the opposite of the US: the issue has been high on the agenda for decades and internal conflict is minimal. The only choice for the newspapers might be to rely on conflict on the international level, in which they tend to take the sides of their own government. Future research can look further into answering these questions with more certainty.

The situation poses a challenge to governments: in addition to not being able to rely on political affiliations, there is also no obvious indicator as to how a newspaper expresses national loyalty. Chapter 2 discussed the relationship between journalists and politicians and both sides show a certain level of frustration with each other. It also outlined the news values, which play an important role for journalists picking and writing their stories. In order to answer some of the above questions, future research could have a closer look at how climate change news stories correspond to news values, particularly the value of conflict. We could see, for example, when Canada decided to leave the Kyoto Protocol or when the US and China had disagreements, newspapers were quite keen to pick up on it. Again, the *Times of India* stands out with their focus on conflict between India and the developed world in general, but all newspapers tend to show, to a greater or lesser extent, this "us versus them" scheme, playing into the news values.

The particular situation of the UK at the time of my study must not be forgotten. The coalition government posed a challenge to the newspapers, which might have influenced the climate change coverage. Media in the UK are not used to covering coalition governments, which possibly influences the coverage of a newspaper that is affiliated with (only) one of the governing parties. To my knowledge, little research was done on the influence of the coalition government on media coverage. As the coalition ended in May 2015, future research might shed more light on this issue in general but also for climate change in particular.

²³¹ This attitude was criticised by Gelbspan, 2005 (see Chapter 2).

I have chosen newspapers that, with the possible exception of the *Sun* and the *Bild*, are politically oriented towards the centre with left or right tendencies, but not extremes. When choosing newspapers with more extreme political views, and of course when choosing other media, the results of this study might be very different. I have chosen, as available, the newspapers with the highest circulation in each country (in English, for India). The advantage of this set-up is that I looked at what the majority or a large number of the population reads. The *Sun* and the *Bild* are both known for a lack of high quality coverage but both have shown strong conservative views in the past (cf. Hallin and Mancini, 2004, p.211). In this study, this was less evident. Especially the *Bild* reported in a fairly neutral manner, and the *Sun* was critical on national issues, similar to the *Telegraph*. It would certainly be an interesting project for the future to look at how political parallelism and national loyalty interact in quality press with more extreme political orientations as well as in other types of media.

10.3 DISCUSSION

Previous research by Carvalho (2007) attributed a high level of political orientation to the UK newspapers when reporting on climate change. As explained above, for my research, this can be supported to some extent for national coverage. When Osborne established his counter-frame to Huhne's activities, the *Guardian* clearly positioned itself against Osborne, whereas the *Telegraph* provided a more balanced evaluation. In the coverage of international issues, ideology was not present and was replaced, as explained above, with national loyalty. Billett's (2010) findings had shown a similar pattern to the one I discovered: Indian newspapers show great awareness of the consequences of climate change for their country, but at the same time blame industrialised countries for the situation and request action from them. This could be seen in the *Times of India* in particular, and sometimes in the *Hindu*. The latter, however, also points out the need for the Indian government to take action. Aram's (2011) findings of the Indian media not relating the issue of climate change to the daily life of the Indian population cannot be supported by the results of my sample but instead is simply contradicted by the large amount of awareness-raising coverage. All countries except India show that higher levels of climate change coverage are caused by international negotiations. This is in line with the argument made in Chapter 2, explaining that climate change is a complex, long-term issue, which is often hard to report on outside of high-level conferences or extreme weather events. Furthermore, from the material, I could not find a strong tendency for fear-inducing messages, which O'Neill and Nicholson-Cole (2009, see Chapter 2) had found having a prominent place in the coverage. "Doom" coverage was the exception even in popular newspapers. Weingart et al. (2000, see Chapter 2) had accused the German media of reducing the complexities of the

issue and reporting on it as an inevitable catastrophe. For my sample, this cannot be confirmed. There were a few quite complex science articles, but very little “doom” coverage. Action on climate change seems to be taken for granted and it also seemed to be accepted that Germany and the EU were on the right path as their actions were barely commented on and not at all contradicted. The US, at the time of the study, still seems to lag somewhat behind everyone else, as the newspaper coverage is fairly detached from the international negotiations. As said, coverage on national issues where climate change is mentioned often fails to embed them into the bigger, international context but rather lists climate change as a factor “among other problems”²³². However, while sceptics were more present than in the other countries, it cannot be said that they were given “balanced” space in the US coverage, as for example Boykoff and Boykoff (2004, see Chapter 3) had discovered in their study.

All four countries show that governments play an important role in their coverage of climate change. Newspapers in the industrialised countries all drastically reduce their coverage in the second phase, and so do their governments. India is, once again, an exception to this, as the newspapers have a continuously high level of coverage despite less government communication. The reason for this may be that the topic remains strongly present for the Indian newspapers because climate change is already affecting the way of life in India, as also shown by the empirical material. Changes in harvest patterns, or clear changes in seasonal temperatures demand people to change habits. There might be government communication on this on the regional or local level, which was not taken into account for this study.

National loyalty seems to be a variable that influences the coverage in all four countries, albeit in different ways. Looking back at research by Painter (2010), Schäfer et al. (2011, 2014), and Kunelius and Eide (2012), this confirms the important role of the nation state in the global issue of climate change. Painter (2010), in his research on the 2009 Copenhagen conference had found that governments are a very important source for journalists when it comes to climate change and are consulted also for scientific opinions. It was not the goal of my study to define the instances when politicians are consulted for scientific expertise and the material showed that scientists or scientific information were also allowed a certain amount of space. This was particularly so in India, where many articles discussed changes that were already

²³² For example: Experts say drought, climate change and shifts in land use and firefighting strategies mean that other Western states will probably see similar giant fires this season. (New Mexico: Wildfire Spreads, 2012)

being experienced. But the dependence of the amount of coverage on high-level events still shows the importance of governments in climate change coverage. Kunelius and Eide's (2012) work gave an interesting insight into "global journalism" with regards to climate change, showing that a common media sphere can only happen in case of a "harmonious mood", namely when there is little conflict among countries. This was the case in the weeks before the 2009 Copenhagen conference, which started with very high expectations. The common media sphere vanished quickly once the problems among the parties at the conference became visible. For the Durban conference we can see that, for the newspapers of this study, such a global media sphere never existed, but all newspapers were expressing national loyalty, albeit in different ways. Schäfer et al. (2011) have found results similar to Kunelius and Eide (see Chapter 3.4). National loyalty seems to play an important role in the coverage of international climate change negotiations, despite the global scope of the issue. National loyalty of newspapers might seem natural, as they are part of a nation; their journalists were educated in a specific culture and, as outlined in Chapter 3, carry their national identity with them. However, this becomes problematic when approaching a global problem, where the single nation has comparatively little power over the outcome. Climate change is the prime example of an issue without borders. The *Times of India* might praise the refusal of the government to agree to future emission reductions, but science still requires the necessity of reductions. The *Süddeutsche Zeitung* might support the actions of the EU or the German government but by alienating other nations, a global agreement might be in jeopardy.

Research on national loyalty in newspaper coverage is scarce, whereas, as shown by Hallin and Mancini, there exists a good body of research on political parallelism. Political parallelism has been a reliable factor to take into account for governments, of course depending on the levels in respective countries. A possible reason could be that since national loyalty supersedes political parallelism, it provides an advantage to the government: regardless of their actions, the newspapers will defend the nation against criticism from outside. We could see this most prominently in the *Times of India*, which went as far as excusing mistakes made by the government²³³. However, the *Hindu* did exactly the opposite, abandoning the political alignment with the government and presenting the government as acting against national interest. In the UK, the Climate Secretary Chris Huhne may have profited from the leniency newspapers showed when it came to international coverage, with little opposition to his

²³³ "For India, Durban climate change talks were about retrieving ground it had lost voluntarily over the last two years" (Sethi, 2011x)

actions, support from the *Guardian* in the coalition-internal conflict and some support from the *Telegraph* for his leadership frame. The latter, however, was also very critical of Huhne, accusing him of acting against the national interest through certain policies. This reflects the in-group vs. out-group phenomenon discussed in Chapter 3. For the UK, it might be possible that political parallelism interacts with national loyalty, as illustrated by the *Telegraph* criticising Huhne's actions by evoking national interest. For India, this was not the case, as political orientation seems to be completely overruled by national loyalty. In Germany, national loyalty was expressed more subtly than in India, but there were also no traces of political parallelism.

Unconditional support for a government, at least in the international context, is not a positive evaluation for a newspaper, as it clearly fails to fulfil one of its basic duties: scrutiny of the government. Generally, the national viewpoint poses a problem in the context of this global issue. The *Hindu*, which criticised its government strongly, did not refrain from criticising other countries and from referring to the interest of India. UK and German newspapers also did not invoke the global scale of the problem when governments presented themselves as leaders in the negotiations. Governments, unsurprisingly, want to be perceived as leaders, but in this case one thing to be kept in mind is that an agreement, whoever might have led the negotiations, must be of such nature that it has global effects. The Kyoto Protocol, which demanded reductions only by developed countries and which was finally not even sent for ratification in the United States, is an illustration of exemplary behaviour by the EU, but must be seen, ultimately, to have failed.

Governments in all four countries have tried to communicate their leadership skills. In cases where the newspapers did not accept that the government did in fact show leadership, the coverage showed that they at least wished the government would act as leader. In this regard, the government does not have to fear that leadership initiative is not accepted. However, the views of the newspapers on what this leadership should consist of, differ.

The definition of framing employed in this study was a successful tool to structure the empirical material in my research. Taking into account the nature of frames as constructs and the importance of the cultural context, the definition can be interesting for future research that wants to look beyond the texts and wants to understand the environment in which the communication takes place.

10.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

As discussed in Chapter 2, governments can have a range of goals when communicating on climate change. From this thesis, it can be concluded that none of the governments managed to have its frames entirely endorsed by the newspapers. While all received some support for their efforts in the international negotiations, the US and German governments in particular had trouble framing their actions on climate change. If this is a continuing trend, it would be important to find out why. With the government as the main actor on climate policy and as representative of their country in the negotiations, they seem to be safe in their role as primary definers. However, as explained in Chapter 2, they can be challenged by other players and have to deal with competing frames. In the sample of this study, on some instances multilateralism and the concept of UN conferences were called into question, but the central role of governments was generally not dismissed. However, the fact that government frames were rarely endorsed by most newspapers may represent the high degree of independence of the newspapers, which promoted their own frames regardless of the government frames. This, of course, is a positive attribute for the media in a democratic system.

Nevertheless, the results also shed a negative light on the fulfilment of the normative duties of the media. First of all, it is problematic that climate change coverage still seemingly depends on the amount of government communication. In the three developed countries, broadsheet newspapers reduced their coverage drastically in the second phase, correlating with a reduction in government communication. The German *Bild* kept the low level of its coverage and *USA Today* and the *Sun* also reduced their numbers. The exception to this was India, where the *TOI*, already departing from a high number, increased its coverage in the second phase. *Mid Day*, which only had one article in the first phase, went up to three for the second phase. The *Hindu* reduced its coverage, but to a much lesser extent than the Western broadsheets.

Secondly, national loyalty in media coverage, as mentioned, does not sufficiently respond to the coverage of the global issue of climate change. On one hand, newspapers need to frame the issue in a way to embed frames easily in the audience's background, as explained in Chapter 4. On the other hand, if the government fails to communicate on the global scale of the issue and the importance of a global scale solution, the media, from a normative point of view, need to fill this gap. That being said, relating climate change to the national, regional, and local level is also of importance. Indian newspapers seem to be quite active in that regard. US newspapers also show a certain level of coverage of national issues, but fail to make the connection to the international. UK and German newspapers had almost no coverage on

national consequences. It seems important that some kind of “golden mean” is respected to combine national concern and the global scale of the problem.

It appears that national loyalty frames play an important role in newspapers, so while it is hard to say *how* newspapers employ them, it can definitely be said that they *are* being employed – which is one point for governments to keep in mind. On the international level, the governments in the industrialised countries received few counterframes, whereas the Indian government had one newspaper which turned against it. Generally, the tendency of portraying one’s own country as “good guy” was common in the newspapers. No newspaper presented another country’s action in a more positive light than its own country. Even the *Hindu*, while being very critical of the government, still pointed out the shortcomings of the industrialised countries in particular. Future research would need to look further into this to give a more precise answer.

With national loyalty playing an important role in the newspaper coverage, it could be a fairly safe strategy for the government to rely on. However, as has been shown, particularly by India, success is not guaranteed. It does, nonetheless, seem to be a better option than relying on political parallelism in international coverage. Future research will certainly have to test this on different material and different countries.

Another question to be answered in future research is the role of news values, in particular the role of conflict. National loyalty, it seems, can contribute to displaying conflict, in particular when the government is shown as the out-group and when the nation is shown in a positive light in comparison to other nations. Some of the newspapers have a fairly clear “conflict” theme: India versus developed countries in the *Times of India*, the Indian government versus the Indian population in the *Hindu*, the EU versus China, India or the US in the German and UK newspapers with the addition of the nation versus the government in the *Telegraph* and the *Sun*. The US newspapers show much less conflict, which might be a sign of the low implication of the US in the climate negotiations at that time. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Ross Gelbspan (2005) argued that the topic, due to its conflict potential should be of great value to the US media, but was not accepted as such. Clearly, conflict was also much more present in the Indian newspapers than in the UK and German newspapers. Generally, it seems that governments, especially when successfully presenting themselves as the “good guys”, might increase their chances of having their frames taken over and receiving positive coverage.

As seen above, to some extent, coverage represents the policy or political situation of the respective country: the US government was, at the time, lagging behind on domestic climate

change policies and rather detached from the international process due to the lack of a domestic agreement; however, extreme weather events triggered domestic coverage. Germany did not experience domestic conflict and is seen as active part of the EU. The UK is generally considered a leader in climate change, but experiences domestic debates, for example, concerning renewable energy. It acts as part of the EU but sometimes tries to set itself apart. India is a developing country with great awareness of climate change, already experiencing domestic physical changes within its territory. On the international level, it expects others to act.

Almost entirely missing from the coverage is the demand for more action. There is only one article in the *Hindu* that specifically says

While the Kyoto refuseniks (the US, now joined by Canada) dislike any kind of binding international obligations, China and India are seeking to postpone the day when they are subject to them. What none can explain however is how delay is compatible with achieving the 2°C goal they have all espoused. (Jacobs, 2011)

As emphasised before, all four countries of this study, different as they may be, have a free media system, so if any inferences – speculations – are made, they can only be applicable to countries with free media systems. It is likely that other countries show national loyalty frames, simply because the nation state remains at the centre of climate change negotiations. It is difficult to say whether there is a possibility for political parallelism trumping or coexisting with national loyalty on an international level. To further explore the relationship of frames and the relationship between national loyalty and political parallelism, and to understand how different types of national loyalty are triggered, significantly more research is needed.

Both governments and the media certainly will find challenges in addressing these issues – if they address them at all. Following the Paris Agreement of 2015, a new chapter might have been opened in the history of climate change negotiations and time will tell how governments and media alike deal with the issue in the future. Many alarmed voices were heard immediately after the agreement was made public that this was the beginning and not the end of a successful battle against climate change. It can be a start for governments and the media alike to look beyond the national and acknowledge the global scope of the issue. However difficult this might be, this acknowledgement might have the strength to counter prevailing frames, such as “far away” or “the others have to do something” or “things are already taken care of”. Future research needs to closely monitor the development of the relationship between media and government frames. This relationship is essential for the development of audience frames, which, of course, is also an issue to follow closely.

Climate change as a global issue poses challenges to governments and media alike. This study indicates that climate change can both reconcile and reverse the political affiliations of newspapers. It did confirm, to a certain extent, the general tendency to blame other actors rather than one's own country for problems during the negotiations, something that had also been observed by other scholars. This did not shield the governments from being criticised and did not stop the newspapers from opposing government frames. This study provides an interesting insight in the relationship between newspaper and government frames and their dependence on political parallelism and national loyalty. Future studies can follow up on this first exploration of the issue, which remains important, especially for the issue of climate change, that will continue to pose a threat to the entire planet.

My research not only challenges Hallin and Mancini's media systems model, but gives key indications as to what matters to newspapers when reporting on climate change. This, firstly, is important for governments, who are trying to frame issues, and secondly, for any researcher looking into media coverage on climate change. The affiliation to the nation state has been shown to play a defining role and must be taken into account in addition to the known factors that shape news coverage. Despite challenging Hallin and Mancini, I have shown that their framework can be used to classify newspaper regimes outside of the realm of their study without locating the new country into one of the existing models. This emphasises the importance of their work. Framing has been proven a successful tool to evaluate the material, and the cultural angle in the definition used in this thesis can be useful for future research that looks to embed empirical research in its cultural context. This thesis is a comparative, longitudinal study, which, as outlined in Chapter 4, is rare when it comes to framing research on climate change. It is a first step towards filling this gap.

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APPENDIX: GOVERNMENT COMMUNICATION ITEMS AND NEWSPAPER ARTICLES USED IN CHAPTERS 6,7,8, AND 9

CHAPTER 6: UK

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